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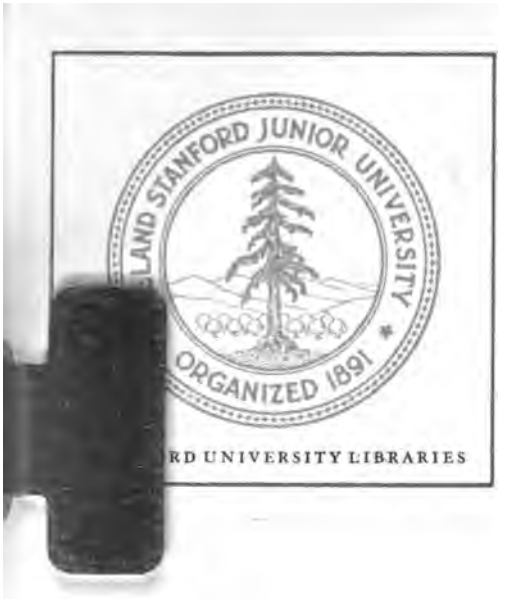
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BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 307

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO CALL FOR CERTAIN EVIDENCE AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION AND ALLIED INTERESTS AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT OF THEIR INVESTIGATION TO THE SENATE

VOL. 1

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 11 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary, in the Capitol, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present, Senators Overman (chairman), King, Wolcott, Nelson, and Sterling.

The subcommittee had under consideration the following resolution, which was considered and agreed to in the Senate of the United States on September 19, 1918, in pursuance of which it was appointed:

[Senate Resolution 307.]

Whereas Honorable A. Mitchell Palmer, Custodian of Alien Property, on or about September fourteenth made the following statement:

"The facts will soon appear which will conclusively show that twelve or fifteen German brewers of America, in association with the United States Brewers' Association, furnished the money, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, to buy a great newspaper in one of the chief cities of the Nation; and its publisher, without disclosing whose money had bought that organ of public opinion, in the very Capital of the Nation, in the shadow of the Capitol itself, has been fighting the battle of the liquor traffic.

"When the traffic, doomed though it is, undertakes and seeks by these secret methods to control party nominations, party machinery, whole political parties, and thereby control the government of State and Nation, it is time the people know the truth.

"The organized liquor traffic of the country is a vicious interest because it has been unpatriotic, because it has been pro-German in its sympathies and its conduct. Around these great brewery organizations owned by rich men, almost all of them are of German birth and sympathy, at least before we entered the war, has grown up the societies, all the organizations of this country intended to keep young Germans immigrants from becoming real American citizens.

"It is around the sangerfests and sangerbunds and organizations of that kind, generally financed by the rich brewers, that the young Germans who come to America are taught to remember, first, the fatherland, and second, America";

And

Whereas it has been publicly and repeatedly charged against the United States Brewers' Association and allied brewing companies and interests that there is in the Department of Justice and in the office of a certain United States district attorney evidence showing:

That, the said United States Brewers' Association, brewing companies, and allied interests have in recent years made contributions to political campaigns on a scale without precedent in the political history of the country and in violation of the laws of the land;

That, in order to control legislation in State and Nation they have exacted pledges from candidates to office, including Congressmen and United States Senators, before election, such pledges being on file;

That, in order to influence public opinion to their ends they have heavily subsidized the public press and stipulated when contracting for advertising space with the newspapers that a certain amount be editorial space, the literary material for the space being provided from the brewers' central office in New York;

That, in order to suppress expressions of opinion hostile to their trade and political interests, they have set in operation an extensive system of boycotting of American manufacturers, merchants, railroads, and other interests;

That, for the furthering of their political enterprises, they have erected a political organization to carry out their purposes;

That they were allied to powerful suborganizations, among them the German-American Alliance, whose charter was revoked by the unanimous vote of Congress; the National Association of Commerce and Labor; and the Manufacturers and Dealers' Associations, and that they have their ramifications in other organizations apparently neutral in character;

That they have on file political surveys of States, counties, and districts tabulating the men and forces for and against them, and that they have paid large sums of money to citizens of the United States to advocate their cause and interests, including some in the Government employ;

That they have defrauded the Federal Government by applying to their political corruption funds money which should have gone to the Federal Treasury in taxes;

That they are attempting to build up in the country through the control of such organizations as the United States societies and by the manipulation of the foreign language press, a political influence which can be turned to one or the other party, thus controlling electoral results;

That they, or some of their organizations, have pleaded nolo contendre to charges filed against them and have paid fines aggregating large sums of money: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized and directed to call upon the Honorable A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian, and the Department of Justice and its United States district attorneys to produce the evidence and documents relating to the charges herein mentioned, and to subpoena any witnesses or documents relating thereto that it may find necessary, and to make a report of the results of such investigation and what is shown thereby to the Senate of the United States as promptly as possible.

In connection with the resolution, extracts from the Congressional Record of Thursday, September 19, 1918, page 11351, are here inserted in the record as follows:

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I submit a Senate resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 307), heretofore printed in this record, was here read, immediately following which there appears in the Congressional Record, the following:

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. FLETCHER. I was engaged with another matter and I did not hear the whole of the resolution read. It seems to me that a resolution of such importance ought to go to a committee and let the committee consider it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. If the Senator will permit me, it recites various charges and facts that I think all Senators are acquainted with, and directs the Judiciary Committee or a subcommittee thereof to call upon Mr. Palmer and the Department of Justice for the facts and documents in their possession tending to sustain the charges. I take it that it will simply involve an investigation of documentary evidence, because I understand from information outside that whatever proof there is is of a deocumentary character. I have not even put in a provision which would involve any expense, because I understand Mr. Palmer can furnish the documents, and I think he can furnish them very promptly. These documents are available. So I do not think it will be a very complicated affair at all.

Mr. FLETCHER. The resolution does not provide for the appointment of a special committee?

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; the Judiciary Committee will make the investigation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

As throwing light upon the origin of the above resolution, by direction of the subcommittee there is here printed in the record the following correspondence:

UNITED STATES SENATE.
COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
September 18, 1918.

Hon. A. MITCHELL PALMER,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: My attention has been called to an address delivered by you at Harrisburg, Pa., on the 14th instant. In the course of your address, as published, the following appears:

"Let me say to you as an illustration of the lengths to which these interests will go, the facts will soon appear which will conclusively show that 12 or 15 German brewers of America, in association with the United States Brewers' Association, furnished the money, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, to buy a great newspaper in one of the chief cities of the nation; and its publisher, without disclosing whose money had bought that organ of public opinion, in the very capital of the nation, in the shadow of the Capitol itself, has been fighting the battle of the liquor traffic. That money was placed there under methods and by contrivances cleverly designed to keep secret forever who it was that put the money into that great newspaper and the purposes for which it was there.

"Now, I say to you that when this traffic, doomed though it is, undertakes and seeks by these secret methods to control party nominations, party machinery, whole political parties and thereby control the Government of State and nation, it is time that the people knew the truth, and it is time that we as Americans, as Pennsylvanians and as Democrats stand for the truth, no matter who gets hurt in the process.

"And I say another thing which is appropriate to be said at this time in this great hour of the country's emergency. I say another thing: That the organized liquor traffic of the country is a vicious interest because it has been unpatriotic; because it has been pro-German in its sympathies and its conduct. Why, you and I know perfectly well that it is around these great brewery organizations owned by rich men, almost all of them of German birth and sympathy, at least before we entered the war, that have grown up all the societies, all the organizations of this country intended to keep young German immigrants from becoming real American citizens. It is around the Saengerfests and the Saengerbunds and organizations of this kind, generally financed by the rich brewers, that the young Germans who come to America are taught to remember, first, the Fatherland and, second, America. You remember the exposure of the German Alliance, brought out first by Mr. Humes in Pittsburgh, and afterward in Congress, when the Senate of the United States revoked its charter because of its disloyal conduct. It was a German whisky alliance and everybody knows it. I know that these great interests have actually been willing to finance great newspapers for the purpose of spreading German propaganda and sentiments in this country."

You may recall that in January, 1918, a bill was introduced in the Senate to repeal the charter of the National German American Alliance. This bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and soon after its reference, a subcommittee, of which I was a member was appointed for the purpose of making such investigations as were deemed proper with a view to reporting upon the bill.

Hearings were had by the Committee and six or seven hundred pages of testimony were taken. During the hearings conducted by the Sub-Committee there was evidence tending to show that certain of the brewery and liquor interests of the United States were in close association with the National German American Alliance; that a corporation under the name of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, was formed by the brewery interests for the purpose of combating prohibition. Mr. Percy Andreae, who appeared before the sub-committee testified that during a period of three years, this organization collected approximately $600,000, and that a portion of it was paid to the National German American Alliance to be employed by it in opposing prohibitory movements in various states. The evidence before the committee showed that the National German American Alliance was very active in the State of Pennsylvania, and that there was a very close connection between its activities in that state and the liquor interests.

Some of the testimony submitted to the Committee tends to support some of the statements made by you and above referred to. In view of the testimony submitted to the Committee, your statement that twelve or fifteen German brewers of America, in association with the United States Brewers' Association, furnished several hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of securing a newspaper, is of more than passing interest. While the hearing upon the part of the sub-committee has been concluded

and a report made to the full committee, I feel that any facts that you might care to give respecting the matters mentioned in the portion of your address above set forth would be of interest to the members of the sub-committee, if not to the country.

Accordingly, I am writing you, and will be glad to receive any information which you may care to give, or any statement which you may be willing to submit, concerning the matters to which reference is made.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM H. KING.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1918.

Hon. WM. H. KING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of the eighteenth instant, quoting a part of my speech at Harrisburg last Saturday, and suggesting that you will be glad to receive any information which I may care to give or any statement which I may be willing to submit concerning the matters to which reference was made in my address.

In order that you may understand the occasion and the reasons for my making the statement to which you refer, I quote somewhat more fully from a stenographic report of my remarks before the Democratic State Central Committee at Harrisburg on the fourteenth instant. In concluding the speech, devoted chiefly to the Pennsylvania political situation, I said:

Extracts from speech of A. Mitchell Palmer at meeting of Democratic State Committee, Harrisburg, Pa., Sept. 14, 1918.]

What have we been fighting in Pennsylvania? What have we as the Democratic party tried to show? How have we justified our continued existence in this State? Why, the thing that we have been fighting is, and we have attempted to show, time after time, to the people of our State that the Republican party had made itself the willing tool of vicious interests, secretly seeking to control the Government through the agency of their political machine and deceiving the people into the belief that the Republican effort was a patriotic effort to govern instead of a selfish effort to accomplish the selfish and greedy ends of these special interests. We have shown how Senator Penrose, the leader of the Republican party, is the mere conduit through which these great interests have operated all these years, for the real powers behind the Penrose machine in Pennsylvania have been the triumvirate of interests represented by individuals well known in Pennsylvania who have joined together to support him and instruct him as to how the State should be operated, not in the public interests but in their interests. The powers behind Senator Penrose have been the protected tariff interests, the railroad interests and the organized liquor traffic. Those three have stood behind him and have had Pennsylvania in their grip these many years and the only earthly excuse that I have for being in State politics is to tell the people that that is true and fight against it to my dying day.

Now, thank God, the power of two of those interests has been broken and the power of the third will soon be destroyed. In these days of war, when the Government requires an unusual money support, systems of taxation have been invoked which have relegated to the discard the protective tariff proposition and the power of these great protected interests in Pennsylvania must speedily fade away before the new principles of government which will never protect them again in the future. And the exigencies of war and the necessity of rallying to the support of the Government every element of the population have also, thank God, freed us from the thraldom of the railroad interests of Pennsylvania. Ask Altoona how the men feel about it now! They are free for the first time since they have worked in the railroad shops and in offices and upon the trains. Now, my friends, shall we, when the Government at Washington has broken off the shackles of our people and freed us from this domination of the protected tariff interests and the railroad interests in Pennsylvania, shall we allow our party to be sold out and become the willing tool of the last remnant of the third, the dying liquor traffic?

That is the big question. Why, gentlemen, we know what it means. Mr. Berry talks about the liquor question upon its constitutional side and upon its moral side forcefully and well; but what concerns me now, particularly, is the political side of this liquor question in Pennsylvania and the Nation. I say that it has been a menace to our free institutions from a political standpoint. I have many friends who are in the liquor business, and I am not talking about individuals. I know many men engaged in the business, retail, wholesale, and otherwise, of high character, undoubted patriotism, and true Americanism, who are as good Democrats as we are. It is not about them that I speak but about the big men who control the destinies of the business as a whole in America; it is them that I indict. The steps to which they have gone to secretly control government by the secret ownership and control

of political organization has been almost beyond belief. The extent to which they have gone to befoul public opinion, almost its very sources, in the newspapers of the country secretly has been almost beyond comprehension by the American citizens. Let me refresh your memory. I will not go back to 1910 any more. That is a page written upon the history of Pennsyvlania that all men now can read aright. Mr. Bonniwell takes me to task because I refused to follow Berry in that campaign and supported Grim. I admit it; and I have privately and publicly apologized to Mr. Berry and the Democracy many times since. You know that story; and again in 1914 you know the story, how Mr. McCormick and I went up and down this State trying to make our people awake to the real condition by asserting that the powers behind Senator Penrose were these great interests I have named, secretly trying to rob the people of their rights, because, gentlemen, if the liquor traffic or any other business comes out in the open and says, "We are for this man and against the other," and contributes its money and accounts for it under the law so that the public may know the truth, the public can take care of itself. But it is the secret character of their attack upon the people that is to be condemned; and in that campaign, though they did not believe us, though we sought to have investigations during the campaign, though we stood up in open meeting and told Pennsylvania the truth, it was not until months and months afterwards when the harm had been done to the people and they had been deceived that through the efforts of a fearless district attorney in Western Pennsylvania, acting under the orders of the Government at Washington, the truth was disclosed and the result was that over one hundred brewers of this organized liquor traffic were indicted by a Federal grand jury for crime in that election. Are we going to stop fighting that? Worse than that, in my judgment, is this thing this year, when, secretly, without allowing the people to know the truth, the organized liquor traffic of the State, through its old conduit, seeks to fool the people into the belief that the Democratic party is fighting for personal liberty; when, as a matter of fact, its candidate is the instrument and tool of this same liquor traffic. With the truth told, no harm can be done the people, and the truth must be told.

Let me say to you, as an illustration of the lengths to which these interests will go, the facts will soon appear which will conclusively show that twelve or fifteen German brewers of America, in association with the United States Brewers Association, furnished the money, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, to buy a great newspaper in one of the chief cities of the nation; and its publisher, without disclosing whose money had bought that organ of public opinion, in the very Capital of the Nation, in the shadow of the Capitol itself, has been fighting the battle of the liquor traffic.

That money was placed there under methods and by contrivances cleverly designed to keep secret forever who it was that put the money into that great newspaper and the purposes for which it was there. Now, I say to you that when this traffic doomed though it is, undertakes and seeks by these secret methods to control party nominations, party machinery, whole political parties, and thereby control the Government of State and Nation, it is time that the people know the truth, and it is time that we as Americans, as Pennsylvanians, and as Democrats stand for the truth no matter who gets hurt in the process.

The facts in reference to the brewers furnishing the money to buy a newspaper are shown by certain documents, the originals of which are in my possession, as follows:

(6) Six checks of C. W. Feigenspan, Trustee, payable to the order of the Federal Trust Company of Newark, New Jersey, and drawn on said Trust Company, bearing various dates from June 21, 1917 to January 25, 1918, amounting in the aggregate to $400,000.00.

Check of C. W. Feigenspan, Trustee, bearing date ——— 1918, on the Federal Trust Company of Newark, New Jersey, to the order of Robert Crain, and endorsed by him, for $25,000.00.

(5) Five drafts of the Federal Trust Company on the American Exchange National Bank, bearing various dates from June 21, 1917, to January 25, 1918, and payable to bearer, amounting in the whole to $345,000.00.

These drafts are endorsed as follows:

"Pay to the order of A. Thursby, Growing Circulation Corporation, per L. B. Krause, Vice President. For deposit pay to Equitable Trust Company, Alice B. Thursby, per L. B. Krause, Secretary."

A. Thursby is evidently Alice Brisbane Thursby, whose address, according to the record at the Equitable Trust Company, is c/o Arthur Brisbane, 238 William Street.

The Corporation Directory for the year 1917 shows the following:

"Growing Circulation Corporation (N. Y.). Capital $10,000. Office 140 Nassau St. Telephone Rector 1502. Directors, Wm. A. Defod, John T. Sturdevent, Thomas E. McEntegart. Further information unattainable. Trucking."

Copy of note of Growing Circulation Corporation:

$300,000 NEW YORK, *June 21st, 1917.*

FOR VALUE RECEIVED five years after date we promise to pay to C. W. Feigenspan, Trustee, the sum of Three Hundred Thousand ($300,000) Dollars, payable at Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.

[SEAL.] GROWING CIRCULATION CORPORATION,
By L. B. KRAUSE (Sgd.) *Vice President.*

Twenty-five thousand paid on account of this note, $275,000.00 balance due.

(Sgd.) C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

Copy of receipt signed by A. Brisbane:

NEWARK, N. J., *June 21, 1917.*

CHRISTIAN W. FEIGENSPAN,
747 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.:

Received from C. W. Feigenspan, trustee, on account of note given for $300,000.00 three hundred thousand dollars, by the Growing Circulation Co.
$25,000.00 twenty-five thousand dollars.
235,000.00 two hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars.

260,000.00 total two hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

This two hundred and sixty thousand dollars to be used in the purchase of Mr. Munsey's newspaper in Washington by me.

The balance $40,000.00 forty thousand dollars to be paid in the near future.

A. BRISBANE.

Copy of letter from C. W. Feigenspan to Robert Crain:

NEWARK, N. J., *April 1, 1918.*

ROBERT CRAIN, Esq.,
Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR BOB: All told, I have received the following amounts from the following gentlemen:

George Ehret		$50,000
C. Feigenspan		25,000
Julius Liebmann		25,000
J. C. G. Hupfel		7,500
Jacob Ruppert		50,000
Jos. E. Uhlein		50,000
Edward Landsberg		15,000
Reuter & Co		15,000
A. J. Houghton Co		10,000
William Hamm		10,000
G. Pabst		50,000
Fred Miller Brewing Co		15,000
Shares for this check to be made up as follows:		
E. G. Miller	$3,000	
F. A. Miller	3,000	
E. P. Miller	3,000	
Mrs. C. A. Miller	3,000	
Mrs. E. K. John	3,000	
C. Schmidt & Sons		5,000
F. A. Poth & Sons		15,000
Bergner & Engel		10,000
U. S. B. A		30,000
U. S. B. A. adv		25,000
		407,500
Total advanced to the Growing Circulation Co		375,000
Difference, cash on hand, including $25,000 advanced by the advertising fund		32,500

I hold a memorandum in the shape of a note, given to me by the Growing Circulation Co., a copy of which is enclosed. The difference of $75,000 which you will note between these two items is the matter to which I called your attention at the last meeting, and for which no note has as yet been given to me.

I was called on the telephone the same afternoon that you were in New York, but the party stated that he would see you in Washington as his 'phone message to me was after the time of the leaving of your train.

Yours very truly,

C. W. FEIGENSPAN.

Statement of C. W. Feigenspan, covering deposit account at the Federal Trust Co., 740 Broad Street, Newark, N. J., such deposit account standing in the name of "C. W. Feigenspan, trustee":

NEWARK, N. J., *July 30, 1918.*

During the month of June 1917, to the best of my recollection, the matter of The Washington Times became of mutual interest to Mr. Arthur Brisbane and a number of brewers. Mr. Brisbane, as I have been informed by him, had an option to purchase The Washington Times from Mr. Frank A. Munsey for a sum which I recall as being $500,000. The terms of the sale, as I recall them were that $250,000 was to be paid down, the balance to be paid in installments of $50,000 each every six months.

In order to bring about the purchase of The Washington Times, I at various times advanced Mr. Brisbane funds through the Growing Circulation Corporation, a corporation which I believe is either owned or controlled by Mr. Brisbane. The aforesaid funds were advanced on the dates and in the amounts as hereinafter specified, and in the following manner: I first drew a check or checks on the account at the Federal Trust Company which stood in my name as trustee, such check or checks being payable to the order of the Federal Trust Company, and the Federal Trust Company then would in turn deliver to me a treasurer's check of the Federal Trust Company payable to bearer which treasurer's checks I in turn delivered to Mr. Brisbane personally.

The amounts so advanced to Mr. Brisbane and the dates thereof are as follows:

June 21, 1917	$25,000
June 22, 1917	235,000
June 28, 1917	35,000
August 3, 1917	55,000
November 26, 1917	25,000
	375,000

A statement of the relations which existed in connection with this transaction are more particularly set forth in a letter which I wrote to Mr. Brisbane, dated June 29, 1917, which reads as follows:

"I write this note to define a business arrangement existing between us. I and a number of my friends all of whom I am authorized to represent, have for years felt very strongly that the public welfare and our own industry—because of your well-known convictions—would be benefited by your personal ownership of a newspaper.

"We agreed to supply you with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars ($500,000) for the purchase and establishment of a newspaper by you. We have, at this time, supplied two hundred and ninety-five thousand dollars ($295,000), although I do not enter into any legal obligation to do so, on behalf of myself or others. The understanding of myself and my friends with you, of which understanding this is a memorandum is as follows:

"The money, which we gladly contribute to your enterprise, is to be disposed of, absolutely at your discretion for the purchase, maintenance and establishment of a daily newspaper.

"It is understood that, after a period of five years, you will repay to me and my associates, at your discretion and convenience, on account of the principal, so much of the profits as may be derived from such newspaper as may, in your judgment, be taken out of the business without interfering with its proper operation and development; and that you shall be under no liability whatsoever for repayment of the sums contributed other than out of such profits. It is understood that no interest shall be paid upon this money, our claim to be satisfied in full upon the repayment of the principal without interest.

"You may, of course, repay part or all of the principal at any time and in any manner that you may choose, and our agreement with you shall not be considered as giving me or my associates any interest whatsoever in said enterprise. Should you sell the paper at any time, you will repay to us, up to the full amount of the principal that we may have advanced, any sums received by you in payment for the paper."

The amounts contributed to the fund, and out of which I made the advances to Mr. Brisbane, and the names of the contributors to such fund, are more particularly set forth in a letter dated April 1, 1918, which I wrote to Mr. Robert Crain at Washington, D. C., to which last mentioned letter reference is hereby made.

The only evidence of the foregoing indebtedness which I hold is a note of the Gro ing Circulation Corporation, dated June 21, 1917, for $300,000, upon which there w advanced the sum of $275,000 only, and a memorandum, dated at Newark, N. J., June 21, 1917, signed by Mr. Arthur Brisbane. Up to the present date I have recive no payment on account of the foregoing indebtedness.

(Sigd.) C. W. FEIGENSPAN.

Witness:

July 30, 1918.

Dated New York, July 31, 1918.

I have read the foregoing statement and know the contents thereof and veri believe the same to be true.

(Sigd.) GEORGE EHRET, Jr.

In my Harrisburg address I further said:

"And I say another thing which is appropriate to be said at this time in this gre hour of the country's emergency. I say another thing: That the organized liqu traffic of the country is a vicious interest because it has been unpatriotic; because has been pro-German in its sympathies and its conduct. Why, you and I know pe fectly well that it is around these great brewery organizations owned by rich me almost all of them of German birth and sympathy, at least before we entered the wa that has grown up the societies, all the organizations of this country intended to ke young German emigrants from becoming real American citizens. It is around t saengerfests and the saengerbunds and organizations of that kind, generally financ by the rich brewers, that the young Germans who come to America are taught firs the Fatherland, and second, America. You remember the exposure of the Germa Alliance, brought out first by Mr. Humes in Pittsburgh, and afterwards in Congre when the Senate of the United States revoked the charter because of its disloyal con duct. It was a German whisky alliance and everybody knows it. I know that thes great interests have actually been willing to finance great newspapers for the purpos of spreading German propaganda and sentiments in this country."

As bearing upon the matter to which reference is there made, I submit the attache copies of letters written by Alexander Konta, which speak for themselves. Copies o these letters have been identified as correct by Mr. Konta.

Yours truly,

A. MITCHELL PALMER.

(Confidential.)

20 EXCHANGE PLACE, NEW YORK, *April 5, 1915.*

Capt. HANS TAUSCHER,
320 Broadway, New York City.

MY FRIEND TAUSCHER: I wish to acquaint you confidentially with a matter con cerning Dr. Dernburg and myself, in which I am sure I need not emphasize my wish for your sympathetic attention and cooperation.

The fact is I am unable to understand his august Excellency, nor why he should consider himself immune from contempt for not only ignoring the conventional courtesies but even the common decencies in his relations with gentlemen.

At a dinner lately, being seated beside Dr. Dernburg, he spoke to me regarding the purchase of a newspaper, and after listening attentively to his views, I promised at his request to write him a letter outlining the newspaper situation. I gave a good deal of thought to writing this letter, which was absolutely confidential, and set forth facts which I should be very much annoyed to have come under the notice of anyone upon whose discretion, I could not rely absolutely. I have received no answer to the letter—not even an acknowledgment of it.

Now, while I hesitate to put you to any trouble, my dear Captain Tauscher, this matter has annoyed me greatly, and as I have determined that I shall not write Dernburg again, I am forced to call upon you. I should be deeply obliged if you could ascertain whether my letter has been received at all and what disposition has been made of it. I must again repeat that it was written in deepest confidence and contains inside facts with which I would not have my name associated on account of my close and intimate associations with the press of New York. It may be just possible that you could recover the original copy for me. I need not say that any service you can do for me in the matter will be deeply appreciated.

Whatever may be the reputation and ability by reason of which Dr. Dernburg occupies his position, I for one have concluded from personal observation that the man is unpopular and that he has done little or nothing to influence the American

people. It would, of course, be a great pleasure to me to be shown that I am wrong in this, but I doubt if it is possible.

Believe me, my dear Tauscher, with kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

ALEXANDER KONTA.

MARCH 31, 1915.

Dr. BERNARD DERNBURG,
Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York City.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: In re the purchase and publication of a daily newspaper in this country in the interests of Germany and the German government, I beg leave to submit to your Excellency the following report, in pursuance of our recent conversations.

The expenses of the war news service, combined with a considerable decrease of advertising owing to business depression, have seriously affected the financial status of several papers in this city, already made sufficiently precarious by the excessive competition of the last fifteen years or so. With the standard price of the American newspapers down to one penny, they have shown a serious loss on each copy sold, which has had to be met entirely out of advertising profits. The consequence has been, and this state of affairs continues, that most of the daily papers in New York have been published at an annual loss which has had to be met by constant loans in Wall Street, which, as a rule, is content to take its profits indirectly—in abstention from hostility to its doings, if not in positive support of them.

In the field of the evening newspapers conditions are better. In fact, the morning papers publishing also evening editions look to the latter to cover their losses and show a profit. Thus it is the "Evening Journal" that earns much money, whereas the "New York American" is run at a loss. The Morning "World" comes out about even, according to common report, but the "Evening World" prospers. The morning "Sun" has been a heavy loser for many years; under its new management it has spent money so recklessly that it is seriously embarrassed, but the "Evening Sun" is an increasingly sound business proposition.

What is true of the morning papers that issue no evening editions is also true of the independent evening papers; that is, these that have no connection with a morning paper. "The Globe" has cost its proprietors considerably more than $1,000,000 already. "The Evening Mail" has borrowed so much money that it can never show a real profit. "The Evening Post" is in desperate straits. This paper, undoubtedly the ablest newspaper in America, and probably also in the English-speaking world, is published at three cents. Yet the cost of its excellence is so great, and its circulation so small (19,000 copies daily) that it simply cannot make both ends meet.

Leaving out of the reckoning the "Herald" with its "Evening Telegram" and the "Tribune" which is part of one of the great fortunes of America, and which is the hobby of the young and energetic son of its chief owner, Mrs. Whitelaw Reid; the "Times," which prospers, and the "World" which, like the "Tribune" is part of an enormously rich estate, we have in the morning field:

The Sun
The Press
The Morning Telegraph
The New York Commercial.

Whether "The Sun" is actually for sale I have carefully refrained from inquiring into before the time for action is ripe. Certain it is that Mr. Reick made a despairing pilgrimage to Europe last summer in the wake of a rich American in search of $...000,000 which he failed to get.

The drawback of the "Sun" is that it is not a member of the Associated Press, and consequently must rely for its news upon its own news service, the so-called Laffan service. This paper, I need not say, has an exceptionally high reputation for its foreign news.

The "Press" changed hands less than a year ago, and its old owner, was so delighted to get it off his hands that he made his managing editor a present of $10,000 out of the purchase price. Whether the new ownership has grown tired of its bargains yet remains to be seen.

The "Morning Telegraph" can be bought at any moment. This is a five-cent paper which has endeavored to be a sort of New York "Gaulois." It has no standing as an authority on foreign affairs; in fact, its field is deliberately local, and confined chiefly to the gay life of the town, sports, etc. It would have to be remodelled from beginning to end.

The "New York Commercial" is a mere skeleton of a newspaper, which has tried for years to compete with the "Commercial Advertiser." It has no Associated Press service, and has already lost $1,000,000. In 1907 the owners were on the point of stopping its publication altogether. I mention it only as a last resort.

In the evening field we have, as already said:
The Evening Post
The Evening Mail
The Globe

The first of these would give its new management at once an influence that can hardly be computed. Notwithstanding its small circulation, it reaches all parts of the country, the editors of the provincial press accepting it as an unimpeachable authority, and following its lead. A change from 3 cents to 1 cent per copy would be necessary, and a heavy loss would have to be looked for at first.

The price quoted for "The Evening Mail" by its editor, who controls the stock is $1,000,000; whether control of the "Globe" can be had at all is a matter for cautious inquiry. Of course, an evening paper can be turned into a morning paper, if preferred. Certain it is that generally speaking, and with the exception of the "Evening Post," the morning press has far more influence on political opinion in this country than have the evening papers, which are held to be more read by women. Hence their superiority in the advertising field.

In all this I have assumed that the purpose is to buy a paper already existent, and not to found a new one. The chief advantages of this, aside from the invaluable Associated Press franchise, which inhered in the paper however often it changes hands,—the chief advantages of the purchase of a paper already in existence, however precarious its state, must be obvious. There is a name already familiar; there is an organization in working order, easily remodeled; there is a complete plant—all advantages to be had for much less than it would cost to found a new paper, organize its own news service, find its editorial and business staff, establish connections with advertisers, newsdealers, etc., etc.

It is perhaps little to the purpose now to reflect upon what might have been done twenty years ago. One of the most sensible schemes then proposed was the purchase of the "Staats-Zeitung" and its conversion into an American paper. The stock of this paper is rapidly changing hands just now, but who or what is behind this I have been unable to find out. The present editor declares that he still has the controlling interest safely in his hands. Whether the paper will be able to retain the circulation which it has regained since the beginning of the war is open to serious doubt. It might be well to bear the "Staats-Zeitung" in mind for future consideration. Some ten years ago there was much talk of the purchase of the "Tribune." This is now out of the question.

In ordinary circumstances a loss of from $250,000 to $500,000 per year would have to be provided for, but I believe that, owing to my connection with certain interests in this country, this could be greatly reduced, if not wiped out altogether by attention to newspaper management.

Prohibition is seriously occupying the minds of the brewers and distillers of this country. It is not a question of temperance, which they advocate, but of the actual prohibition by law of the sale of beers, wines and liquors. A paper that would not be hostile to the personal liberty of the citizen to drink in moderation what he pleased could count upon the powerful support of the brewers and distillers, who command almost illimitable capital, and what is more, means of giving the paper in question a circulation large enough to attract advertisers. Add to this a discreet appeal to every German society in the country for support by its members, and we could easily count upon a national daily circulation of 500,000 copies. This, to be sure, would be a circulation among German and German-Americans, whereas what is wanted is native American readers, but if this German circulation is built up discreetly as I suggest, the man in the street will only be impressed by numbers. A large circulation widely advertised would impress the native American and lead him to take the paper. And, meanwhile, a deficit would be changed into a profit to be used for further propaganda.

The interests to which I refer have repeatedly consulted me on this very subject of a newspaper not hostile to their industry, and I know that they would be more than ready to give their support to the plan now in hand.

This is a general survey of the field. Financially the moment is favorable to the plan under discussion. The newspapers have suffered heavily from the war, and from some of them the load is beginning to be too heavy. Politically the transaction would have to be handled with the utmost delicacy. No suspicion of the influences behind it should be allowed to reach the public. And the newspaper world is like a sounding-board.

I shall be delighted to keep myself at Your Excellency's disposal in case you should desire further facts.

(The proceedings of the subcommittee on this day were in executive session, and at 1.15 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to the call of the chairman, at 11 o'clock a. m., in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), Wolcott, and Nelson.

Senator OVERMAN. The committee will come to order. Upon the adjournment of the subcommittee on September 27, pursuant to the direction of the subcommittee I wrote to the Attorney General of the United States the following letter:

SEPTEMBER 27, 1918.

Hon. T. W. GREGORY,
Attorney General, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: On behalf of the subcommittee appointed in pursuance to Senate Resolution 307, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, I have the honor to request that you send to the Committee all documents and evidence in the possession of your Department, or in the hands of United States District Attorneys, relating to the charges therein mentioned.

Very truly yours,

LEE S. OVERMAN,
Chairman of Subcommittee.

To this letter, at this date, no response has been received.

I wrote to Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian, the following letter:

SEPTEMBER 27, 1918.

Hon. A. MITCHELL PALMER,
Alien Property Custodian, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PALMER: On behalf of the subcommittee appointed in pursuance to Senate Resolution 307, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, I have the honor to request that you send to the Committee all documents and evidence in your possession relating to the charges therein mentioned.

Very truly, yours,

LEE S. OVERMAN,
Chairman of Subcommittee.

In response to this communication Mr. Palmer has sent to me, as chairman of the subcommittee, certain documents, which will be printed in the record at this point.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

[Copy.]

MARCH 31, 1915.

Dr. BERNHARD DERNBURG,
Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York City.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: In re the purchase and publication of a daily newspaper in this country in the interests of Germany and the German government, I beg leave to submit to your Excellency the following report, in pursuance of our recent conversation:

The expenses of the war news service, combined with a considerable decrease of advertising owing to business depression, have seriously affected the financial status of several papers in this city, already made sufficiently precarious by the excessive competition of the last fifteen years or so. With the standard price of the American newspapers down to one penny, they have shown a serious loss on each copy sold, which has had to be met entirely out of advertising profits. The consequence has been, and this state of affairs continues, that most of the daily papers in New York have been published at an annual loss which has had to be met by constant loans in Wall Street, which, as a rule, is content to take its profits indirectly—in abstention from hostility to its doings, if not in positive support of them.

In the field of the evening newspapers conditions are better. In fact, the morning papers publishing also evening editions look to the latter to cover their losses and show a profit. Thus it is the "Evening Journal" that earns much money, whereas the "New York American" is run at a loss. The Morning "World" comes out about even, according to common report, but the "Evening World" prospers. The morning "Sun" has been a heavy loser for many years; under its new management it has spent money so recklessly that it is seriously embarassed, but the "Evening Sun" is an increasingly sound business proposition.

What is true of the morning papers that issue no evening editions is also true of the independent evening papers, that is, those that have no connection with a morning paper. "The Globe" has cost its proprietors considerably more than $1,000,000 already. But they are Standard Oil people, and can stand the loss. "The Evening Mail" has borrowed so much money that it can never show a real profit. "The Evening Post" is in desperate straits. This paper, undoubtedly the ablest newspaper in America, and probably also in the English-speaking world, is published at three cents. Yet the cost of its excellence is so great, and its circulation so small (19,000 copies daily) that it simply can not make both ends meet.

Leaving out of the reckoning the "Herald" with its "Evening Telegram", the "Tribune", which is part of one of the great fortunes of America, and which is the hobby of the young and energetic son of its chief owner, Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, the "Times" which prospers, and the "World" which, like the "Tribune", is part of an enormously rich estate, we have in the morning field:

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In ordinary circumstances a loss of from $250,000 to $500,000 per year would have to be provided for, but I believe that, owing to my connection with certain interests in this country, this could be greatly reduced, if not wiped out altogether from the very first, by a plan which has for a long time turned my attention to newspaper management.

Prohibition is seriously occupying the minds of the brewers and distillers of this country. It is not a question of temperance, which they advocate, but of the actual prohibition by law of the sale of beers, wines, and liquors. A paper that would not be hostile to the personal liberty of the citizen to drink in moderation what he pleased could count upon the powerful support of the brewers and distillers, who command almost illimitable capital, and what is more, means of giving the paper in question a circulation large enough to attract advertisers. Add to this a discreet appeal to every German society in the country for support by its members, and we could easily count upon a national daily circulation of 500,000 copies. This, to be sure, would be a circulation among Germans and German-Americans, whereas what is wanted is native American readers, but if this German circulation is built up discreetly as I suggest, the man in the street will only be impressed by numbers. A large circulation widely advertised would impress the native American and lead him to take the paper. And, meanwhile, a deficit would be changed into a profit to be used for further propaganda.

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I shall be delighted to keep myself at your Excellency's disposal in case you should desire further facts.

———.

[Confidential.]

(Copy.)

Alexander Konta, 20 Exchange Place, New York.

APRIL Fifth, 1915.

Capt. HANS TAUSCHER,
320 Broadway, New York City.

MY FRIEND TAUSCHER: I wish to acquaint you confidentially with a matter concerning Dr. Dernburg and myself, in which I am sure I need not emphasize my wish for your sympathetic attention and cooperation.

The fact is I am unable to understand his august Excellency, nor why he should consider himself immune from contempt for not only ignoring the conventional courtesies but even the common decencys in his relations with gentlemen.

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Whatever may be the reputation and ability by reason of which Dr. Dernburg occupies his position, I for one have concluded from personal observation that the man is unpopular and that he has done little or nothing to influence the American people. It would, of course, be a great pleasure to me to be shown that I am wrong in this, but I doubt if it is possible. Believe me, my dear Tauscher, with kindest regards.

Sincerely yours, ALEXANDER KONTA.

NEW YORK, *June 21, 1917.*

For value received five years after date, we promise to pay to C. W. Feigenspan, trustee, the sum of three hundred thousand ($300,000) dollars, payable at Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.

GROWING CIRCULATION CORPORATION,
[Seal of Corporation.] By L. B. KRAUSE, *Vice President.*

Twenty-five thousand paid on account of this note, $275,000 balance due.

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

NEWARK, N. J., *June 21, 1917.*

CHRISTIAN W. FEIGENSPAN,
747 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.:

Received from C. W. Feigenspan Trustee on account of note given for $300,000 (Three Hundred Thousand Dollars) by the Growing Circulation Co.

$25,000 Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars.
235,000 Two Hundred and Thirty-Five Thousand Dollars.

260,000 Total, Two Hundred and Sixty Thousand Dollars.

This Two Hundred and Sixty Thousand Dollars to be used in the purchase of Mr. Munsey's newspaper in Washington by me.

The Balance, $40,000 (Forty Thousand Dollars), to be paid in the near future.

A. BRISBANE.

C. Feigenspan, trustee, in account with Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.—Statement for month of June, 1917.

[Number of checks listed below, 4.]

Day.	Checks.	Day.	Deposits.
21	$25,000	14	$50,000
22	235,000	14	25,000
25DM*	10,000	16	25,000
28	35,000	16	7,500
		18	75,000
		19	50,000
		20	50,000
		28	25,000
		Balance	2,500

* DM—Dr. Memo.

Kindly sign and promptly return the inclosed receipt for statement and checks Statement will stand as rendered unless notice of error therein is given within 10 days

C. W. Feigenspan, trustee, Newark, N. J., in account with Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.—Statement for month of August, 1917, September, 1917.

[Number of checks listed below, 1.]

Day.	Checks.	Day.	Deposits.
		Balance brought forward	$2,500
30DM*	$55,000	17	55,000
		30	30,000
		Balance your account to close of business	32,500

* DM—Dr. Memo.

Kindly sign and promptly return the inclosed receipt for statement and checks. Statement will stand as rendered unless notice of error therein is given within 10 days.

C. W. Feigenspan, trustee, Newark, N. J., in account with Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.—Statement for months of October, 1917, November, 1917, December, 1917.

[Number of checks listed below, 1.]

Day.	Checks.	Day.	Deposits.
5	$25,000	1 Balance brought forward	$32,500
		2 Balance your account to close of business	7,500

Kindly sign and promptly return the inclosed receipt for statement and checks. Statement will stand as rendered unless notice of error therein is given within 10 days.

C. W. Feigenspan, trustee, Newark, N. J., in account with Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.—Statement for month of January, 1918, February, 1918, March, 1918.

[No. of checks listed below, 1.]

Day.	Checks.	Day.	Deposits.
25	$25,000	3 Balance brought forward	$7,500
		25	25,000
		12	25,000
		1 Balance your account to close of business	32,500

Kindly sign and promptly return the inclosed receipt for statement and checks. Statement will stand as rendered unless notice of error therein is given within 10 days.

C. W. Feigenspan, trustee, Newark, N. J., in account with Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.—Statement for months of April, 1918, May, 1918, and June, 1918.

[Number of checks listed below, 1.]

Day.	Checks.	Day.	Deposits.
		1, balance brought forward	$32,500
		30, balance your account to close of business	32,500

Kindly sign and promptly return the inclosed receipt for statement and checks. Statement will stand as rendered unless notice of error therein is given within 10 days.

C. Feigenspan, trustee, in account with Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J.—Statement for month of July 30, 1918.

[No. of checks listed below, 2.]

Day.	Checks.	Day.	Deposits.
24	$25,000	1, balance brought forward	$7,500
17	25,000	24	25,000
		12	25,000
		29	25,000
		Balance your account to close of business	32,500

Kindly sign and promptly return the inclosed receipt for statement and checks. Statement will stand as rendered unless notice of error therein is given within 10 days.

[Checks.]

No. 37095. NEW YORK, *June 13, 1917.*

THE GERMANIA BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Pay to the order of Christian W. Feigenspan, fifty thousand 00/100 dollars ($50,000 00/100.)

GEORGE EHRET.
GEORGE EHRET, Jr.

On left-hand end of check George Ehret, Brewer, East 92nd Street, New York. (Indorsement on back:) Christian W. Feigenspan. For deposit Cr. a/c C. W. Feigenspan, trustee.

No. 664. NEWARK, N. J., *June 21, 1917.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO.

Pay to the order of Federal Trust Co., $235,000 (two hundred and thirty-five thousand 00/100 dollars).

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

Indorsement on back *————.

No.————.

NEWARK, N. J., *June 21, 1917.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO.

Pay to Federal Trust Co. or bearer twenty-five thousand and 00/100 dollars ($25,000).

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

Indorsement on back *————.

No.————.

NEWARK, N. J., *June 28, 1917.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO.

Pay to Federal Trust Co. or bearer thirty-five thousand and 00/100 dollars ($35,000.00).

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

Indorsement on back *————.

No ————.

NEWARK, N. J., *August 3, 1917.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO., *747 Broad Street.*

Pay to the order of Federal Trust Co. $55,000 (fifty-five thousand 00/100 dollars).

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

Indorsement on back *————.

No.————.

NEWARK, N. J., *November 26, 1917.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO.

Pay to Federal Trust Co. or bearer twenty-five thousand and 00/100 dollars ($25,000).

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

No.————.

(There is no indorsement on back of this check. Stamped on face "General Bookkeeper.")

NEWARK, N. J., *January 25, 1918.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO., *747 Broad Street.*

Pay to the order of Federal Trust Co. $25,000 (twenty-five thousand dollars).

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

No.————.

(There is no indorsement on back of this check. Stamped on face "General Bookkeeper.")

No. 6302.

To FEDERAL TRUST CO., *Newark, N. J.*

Pay to the order of Robert Crain $25,000 (twenty-five thousand and 00/100 dollars).

C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Trustee.*

(Indorsement on back:) Robert Crain.
(Stamped on back:) Federal Reserve Bank of New York, July 16, 1918.

---

* Signature illegible.

No. 1446.

NEWARK, N. J., *June 21, 191*

FEDERAL TRUST CO. OF NEWARK, N. J.

Pay to the order of bearer $25,000 (twenty-five thousand 00/100 dollars).
To the American Exchange National Bank of New York.

J. M. CAVANAGH, *Treasurer.*
*——— ———, *Secretary-Treasurer*

(Indorsement on back:) Pay to the order of A. Thursby, Growing Circulat Corporation. By L. B. Krause, Vice Pres't. For deposit pay to the order of Equitable Trust Co. A. Thursby.

No. 1450.

NEWARK, N. J., *June 22, 191*

FEDERAL TRUST CO., OF NEWARK, N. J.

Pay to the order of bearer $235,000 (two hundred thirty-five thousand 00/1 dollars).
To the American Exchange National Bank of New York.

J. M. CAVANAGH,
Treasurer.
E. J. MAGUIRE, *Vice Pres.*

(Indorsement on back:) Pay to the order of A. Thursby, Growing Circulati Corporation. Per L. B. Krause, Vice Pres't. For deposit pay to Equitab Trust Co. Alice B. Thursby, per L. B. Krause, Secy.

No. 1461.

NEWARK, N. J., *June 28, 1917.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO. OF NEWARK. N. J.

Pay to the order of bearer thirty-five thousand 00/100 dollars ($35,000).
To the American Exchange National Bank of New York.

J. M. CAVANAGH, *Treasurer.*
*——— ———, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

(Indorsement on back:) Pay to the order of A. B. Thursby, Growing Circulatio Corporation. L. B. Krause, V. P. For deposit pay to the order of the Equitabl Trust Co. A. B. Thursby.

No. 2359.

NEWARK, N. J., *November 26, 1917.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO. OF NEWARK, N. J.

Pay to the order of bearer twenty-five thousand 00/100 dollars ($25,000.00).
To the American Exchange National Bank of New York.

*——— ———, *Treasurer.*
*——— ———, *Secretary.*

(Indorsement on back:) Pay to the order of A. Thursby, Growing Circulatio Corporation. C., per L. B. Krause, V. Pres't. Pay to order of Equitable Trust Co A. Thursby; L. B. Krause, Secy.

No. 2752.

NEWARK, N. J., *January 25, 1918.*

FEDERAL TRUST CO. OF NEWARK, N. J.

Pay to the order of bearer twenty-five thousand 00/100 dollars ($25,000.00).
To the American Eachange National Bank of New York.

J. M. CAVANAGH, *Treasurer.*
*——— ———, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

(Indorsements on back:) None in handwriting.
(Stamp:) The American Exchange National Bank, New York City, or group, Mar. 12, 1918. Federal Trust Co., Newark, N. J., J. M. Cavanagh, treasurer.
(Stamp:) Received payment through New York Clearing House, Mar. 13, 1918. The American Exchange National Bank, New York. Arthur P. Lee, cashier.

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*Signature illegible.

NEWARK, N. J., *April 1, 1918.*

ROBERT CRAIN, Esq.,
Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR BOB: All told, I have received the following amounts from the following gentlemen:

George Ehret	$50,000
C. Feigenspan	25,000
Julius Liebmann	25,000
J. C. G. Hupfel	7,500
Jacob Ruppert	50,000
Jos. E. Uihlein	50,000
Edward Landsberg	15,000
Reuter & Co.	15,000
A. J. Houghton Co.	10,000
William Hamm	10,000
G. Pabst	50,000
Fred Miller Brewing Co. (shares for this check to be made up as follows: E. G. Miller, $3,000; F. A. Miller, $3,000; E. P. Miller, $3,000; Mrs. C. A. Miller, $3,000; Mrs. E. K. John, $3,000)	15,000
C. Schmidt & Sons	5,000
F. A. Poth & Sons	15,000
Berner & Engel	10,000
U. S. B. A.	30,000
U. S. B. A., adv.	25,000
Total	407,500
Total advanced to the Growing Circulation Co.	375,000
Difference, cash on hand, including 25,000 advanced by the advertising fund	32,500

I hold a memorandum in the shape of a note, given to me by the Growing Circulation Company a copy of which is enclosed. The difference of $75,000 which you will note between these two items is the matter to which I called your attention at the last meeting, and for which no note has as yet been given to me.

I was called on the telephone the same afternoon that you were in New York, but the party stated that he would see you in Washington as his phone message to me was after the time of the leaving of your train.

Yours very truly,

Statement of C. W. Feigenspan, covering deposit account at the Federal Trust Co., 730 Broad Street, Newark, N. J., such deposit account standing in the name of "C. W. Feigenspan, trustee":

NEWARK, N. J., *July 30, 1918.*

During the month of June, 1917, to the best of my recollection, the matter of the Washington Times became of mutual interest to Mr. Arthur Brisbane and a number of brewers. Mr. Brisbane, as I have been informed by him, had an option to purchase the Washington Times from Mr. Frank A. Munsey for a sum which I recall as being $500,000. The terms of the sale, as I recall them, were that $250,000 was to be paid down, the balance to be paid in installments of $50,000 each every six months.

In order to bring about the purchase of the Washington Times, I at various times advanced Mr. Brisbane funds through the Growing Circulation Corporation, a corporation which I believe is either owned or controlled by Mr. Brisbane. The aforesaid funds were advanced on the dates and in the amounts as hereinafter specified, and in the following manner: I first drew a check or checks on the account at the Federal Trust Co., which stood in my name as trustee, such check or checks being payable to the order of the Federal Trust Co., and the Federal Trust Co. then would in turn deliver to me a treasurer's check of the Federal Trust Co. payable to bearer, which treasurer's checks I in turn delivered to Mr. Brisbane personally.

The amounts so advanced to Mr. Brisbane, and the dates thereof, are as follows:

June 21, 1917	$25, 00
June 22, 1917	235, 00
June 28, 1917	35, 00
Aug. 3, 1917	55, 00
Nov. 26, 1917	25, 00
	375, 00

A statement of the relations which existed in connection with this transaction ar more particularly set forth in a letter which I wrote to Mr. Brisbane, dated June 29 1917, which reads as follows:

"I write this note to define a business arrangement existing between us. I and number of my friends all of whom I am authorized to represent, have for years fel very strongly that the public welfare and our own industry—because of your well known convictions—would be benefited by your personal ownership of a newspaper

"We agreed to supply you with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars ($500,000 for the purchase and establishment of a newspaper by you. We have, at this time supplied two hundred and ninety-five thousand dollars ($295,000) and we shall, a soon as possible, supply the balance—namely, two hundred and five thousand dollar ($205,000), although I do not enter into any legal obligation to do so, on behalf of my self or others. The understanding of myself and my friends with you, of which understanding this is a memorandum, is as follows:

"The money, which we gladly contribute to your enterprise, is to be disposed of absolutely at your discretion, for the purchase, maintenance and establishment of daily newspaper.

"It is understood that, after a period of five years, you will repay to me and my associates, at your discretion and convenience, on account of the principal, so much of the profits as may be derived from such newspaper as may, in your judgment, be taken out of the business without interfering with its proper operation and develop ment; and that you shall be under no liability whatsoever for repayment of the sum contributed other than out of such profits. It is understood that no interest shal be paid upon this money, our claim to be satisfied in full upon the repayment of the principal without interest.

"You may, of course, repay part or all of the principal at any time and in any manner that you may choose, and our agreement with you shall not be considered a giving me or my associates any interest whatsoever in said enterprise. Should you sell the paper at any time, you will repay to us, up to the full amount of the principa that we may have advanced, any sums received by you in payment for the paper."

The amounts contributed to the fund, and out of which I made the advances t Mr. Brisbane, and the names of the contributors to such fund, are more particularly set forth in a letter dated April 1, 1918, which I wrote to Mr. Robert Crain at Wash ington, D. C., to which last mentioned letter reference is hereby made.

The only evidence of the foregoing indebtedness which I hold is a note of the Growing Circulation Corporation, dated June 21, 1917, for $300,000, upon which there was advanced the sum of $275,000 only, and a memorandum, dated at Newark, N. J. on June 21, 1917, signed by Mr. Arthur Brisbane. Up to the present date I have received no payment on account of the foregoing indebtedness.

C. W. FEIGENSPAN.

Witness:
GEO. J. CORBETT.
JULY 30, 1918.

Dated New York, July 31st, 1918.

I have read the foregoing statement and know the contents thereof and verily believe the same to be true.

GEORGE EHRET, JR.

Senator OVERMAN. The following letter was received by me on September 29 from Mr. Arthur Brisbane:

THE WASHINGTON TIMES,
Washington, D. C., September 28, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR: It is stated in the Washington Star that an investigation ordered by the Senate into the affairs of my newspaper, the Washington Times, and other matters may be conducted without the summoning of witnesses on the part of the Judiciary Subcommittee of which you are chairman.

I request most earnestly that you allow me to appear before your committee and answer charges that are implied in a letter from A. Mitchell Palmer made public through the Senate and the Senate resolution.

The documents published, with which my newspaper has been connected, included a letter written in 1915 by a man whom I have not seen and from whom I have not heard in eight years, a letter having no connection with me, my own newspaper or any newspaper with which I am connected.

This letter has been used by newspapers throughout the United States as basis of a charge, preposterous on the face of it, since my newspaper is published at Washington where every Government agent has seen it, that the Washington Times or I, its sole owner, have been guilty of sympathy for a nation with which the United States is at war.

I request that you give me a hearing, and an opportunity to testify under oath to the following facts which I can prove:

First, that I am the sole owner of the Washington Times, absolutely in control of its management, and policies, from the day I purchased it.

Second, that from the day I bought it, the Washington Times has been, to borrow the expression of a Senator, "100 per cent American, and 500 per cent anti-German."

The accusation against me has been reprinted and magnified in hundreds of newspapers in this country. Its publicity being partly due to the Senate resolution, I hope that the Judiciary Subcommittee will not refuse me an opportunity to reply publicly to false accusations thus publicly made.

Yours, very truly,

ARTHUR BRISBANE.

Hon. L. S. OVERMAN,
United States Senate.

To that letter I replied as follows:

SEPTEMBER 30, 1918.

ARTHUR BRISBANE, Esq.,
The Washington Times, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your September 28 letter, I have to say that the Judiciary Subcommittee has not yet determined upon the exact course it will pursue in the investigation committed to its charge. In due time the committee will settle what witnesses should be examined and the course and scope of the examination. In the meantime, however, I suggest that you may, if you see fit, send to me, as chairman of the committee, all articles printed in the Washington Times under its present management which have direct relation to the war or to our controversies with Germany and other enemy countries.

The above papers if furnished now will probably facilitate the progress of the investigation.

Very truly,

LEE S. OVERMAN,
Chairman of Subcommittee.

In response to this letter Mr. Brisbane has sent to the subcommittee what he says are all of the articles on this subject which have appeared in the Washington Times since it became his property. His reply, transmitting these articles, will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The letter referred to is here printed in full as follows:)

THE WASHINGTON TIMES,
Washington, D. C., September 30, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your letter just received suggesting that I may send you as chairman of the Committee, all articles printed in the Washington Times under its present management which have direct relation to the war or to our controversies with Germany and other enemy countries.

I accordingly present herewith, by the messenger who brings me your letter, 130 editorials and signed articles written by me since I became owner of the Washington Times. They include ALL of the articles of any kind relating to the war or to our controversies with Germany or other enemy countries, since the Times has been my property.

The first copy of the Washington Times under my ownership was published June 27th. The first editorial on the subject of the war, suggesting and urging the use of dynamite from flying machines behind the German lines, a demand that has been

constantly repeated since, was published in the Times July 2nd, 1917, five days after I had become the owner of the Times.

I thank you for permitting me to put in the hands of the Committee the articles that on their face answer the charge of disloyalty that has been unofficially but very widely made against the Washington Times and against me as its owner, in thousands of newspapers in the United States.

Yours sincerely,

A. BRISBANE.

P. S.—I send with this also all the cartoons, published in the Washington Times under its present management which have direct relation with the war or our controversies with enemy countries. Cartoons are often more efficient than written words in forming public opinion.

Many of these cartoons and articles have been cut from the bound files of the Times. If they could properly, without inconvenience, be returned at the close of your investigation, I should be glad.

Hon. LEE S. OVERMAN
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Senator OVERMAN. The question we have to decide now is whether, in the absence of Senator Sterling, and of Senator King, who I understand is sick, we should go on with the matter before the subcommittee, or what we can do before we hear from the Attorney General.

Senator WOLCOTT. If I may suggest, I think we should have the assistance of the full subcommittee when we proceed. Senator King presumably will be able to attend the committee meetings soon, but Senator Sterling will be absent for some time. He proved himself a very valuable member of another committee of which I was a member, and I think he should be here.

Senator OVERMAN. The scope of our investigation under the provisions of the resolution is a matter which was discussed at our last meeting, and it is a matter for the consideration of the full subcommittee. The question is whether we should now go on, or take an adjournment subject to the call of the chairman.

Senator NELSON. One objection to going on now is that if we do so, when the other members come back we will have to go all over it again.

Senator OVERMAN. The Attorney General has not yet said whether he would send us the documents or not. As I understand, these documents called for by the resolution are very numerous, and it would take us a long time to go over all those records. I expect it would be best for us to employ some one to go over them and cull out those that are material here, in regard to disloyalty.

Senator NELSON. It would be well for us to have a man to go over them and brief them for us, and call attention to those we ought to see.

Senator OVERMAN. I think this is as far as we can go this morning. We will have printed such documents as we have, and await the reply of the Attorney General. We do not want to make two bites at a cherry, and when we have all the documentary evidence before us then we can determine as to the matter of examining witnesses and as to the scope of the investigation.

Senator NELSON. I think, if there is such a great volume of documents, it would be a good plan to have them briefed for us. Perhaps the Attorney General could put a man to work on that.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Senator OVERMAN. What is your name?

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Antisaloon League.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Inasmuch as the colloquy between Senator Jones, the proponent of this resolution, and Senator Fletcher, is to be printed in this record, would it be appropriate for Senator Jones to make a statement to the committee as to the scope of the resolution as he understood it, and what he intended it to cover?

Senator OVERMAN. If Senator Jones desires, he can come before the committee any time he wants to do so.

Mr. WHEELER. If the Senate is not in session, could that be done by written communication?

Senator OVERMAN. No; if Senator Jones desires to make a statement, let him come before the committee and make it.

Mr. WHEELER. I thought, inasmuch as the question had been raised on his statement——

Senator OVERMAN. That question is not before us now. I have put in the record a quotation showing what took place in the Senate, and the resolution itself.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. We will determine later whom we will hear; and Senator Jones is a Member of the Senate, and if he wants to explain his resolution or say anything at all, he has a right to do it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, there are two or three matters that have about them an atmosphere of indefiniteness now. There is the probability of the absence of members of the subcommittee; there is the probability of Congress taking a recess, and there is the probability of the Attorney General sending us a vast mass of documents that will have to be analyzed. In view of those uncertainties, I do not see why we should go on at this particular time, and I do not know what date we should adjourn to. Therefore I suggest that we adjourn subject to the order of the chairman.

Senator NELSON. I second the montion.

(The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.)

Senator OVERMAN. If we find that Congress is going to stay here in session, we will go on with the investigation; and provided the Attorney General sends those documents here, I want to have authority from the subcommittee to employ someone to brief them and find out what is in them. I suppose there will be thousands of them.

Senator NELSON. I move that the chairman of the subcommittee be authorized to employ a man to examine those documents in the Department of Justice and brief them for us. He may not send them up here, but he may have them down there.

Senator OVERMAN. My understanding is that these documents are in Pittsburgh and in other places in the country, in the hands of the different district attorneys, and, of course, he will have to get them together and in a measure look over them.

Senator NELSON. He will have to get them together at the Department of Justice from his different attorneys?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes. I will see the Attorney General personally and see if he will have them briefed for us, if he is going to send them to us at all.

Senator NELSON. Let him have them briefed, and then if he is going to send them up here——

Senator OVERMAN. We can ask for just what we want.

Senator NELSON. Yes; after he has briefed them.

The amounts so advanced to Mr. Brisbane, and the dates thereof, are as follows:

June 21, 1917	$25,000
June 22, 1917	235,000
June 28, 1917	35,000
Aug. 3, 1917	55,000
Nov. 26, 1917	25,000
	375,000

A statement of the relations which existed in connection with this transaction are more particularly set forth in a letter which I wrote to Mr. Brisbane, dated June 29, 1917, which reads as follows:

"I write this note to define a business arrangement existing between us. I and a number of my friends all of whom I am authorized to represent, have for years felt very strongly that the public welfare and our own industry—because of your well-known convictions—would be benefited by your personal ownership of a newspaper.

"We agreed to supply you with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars ($500,000) for the purchase and establishment of a newspaper by you. We have, at this time, supplied two hundred and ninety-five thousand dollars ($295,000) and we shall, as soon as possible, supply the balance—namely, two hundred and five thousand dollars ($205,000), although I do not enter into any legal obligation to do so, on behalf of myself or others. The understanding of myself and my friends with you, of which understanding this is a memorandum, is as follows:

"The money, which we gladly contribute to your enterprise, is to be disposed of, absolutely at your discretion, for the purchase, maintenance and establishment of a daily newspaper.

"It is understood that, after a period of five years, you will repay to me and my associates, at your discretion and convenience, on account of the principal, so much of the profits as may be derived from such newspaper as may, in your judgment, be taken out of the business without interfering with its proper operation and development; and that you shall be under no liability whatsoever for repayment of the sums contributed other than out of such profits. It is understood that no interest shall be paid upon this money, our claim to be satisfied in full upon the repayment of the principal without interest.

"You may, of course, repay part or all of the principal at any time and in any manner that you may choose, and our agreement with you shall not be considered as giving me or my associates any interest whatsoever in said enterprise. Should you sell the paper at any time, you will repay to us, up to the full amount of the principal that we may have advanced, any sums received by you in payment for the paper."

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C. W. FEIGENSPAN.

Witness:
GEO. J. CORBETT.
JULY 30, 1918.

Dated New York, July 31st, 1918.

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GEORGE EHRET, JR.

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I request most earnestly that you allow me to appear before your committee and answer charges that are implied in a letter from A. Mitchell Palmer made public through the Senate and the Senate resolution.

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This letter has been used by newspapers throughout the United States as basis of a charge, preposterous on the face of it, since my newspaper is published at Washington where every Government agent has seen it, that the Washington Times or I, its sole owner, have been guilty of sympathy for a nation with which the United States is at war.

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Second, that from the day I bought it, the Washington Times has been, to borrow the expression of a Senator, "100 per cent American, and 500 per cent anti-German."

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ARTHUR BRISBANE.

Hon. L. S. OVERMAN,
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SEPTEMBER 30, 1918.

ARTHUR BRISBANE, Esq.,
The Washington Times, Washington, D. C.

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Very truly,

LEE S. OVERMAN,
Chairman of Subcommittee.

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The first copy of the Washington Times under my ownership was published June 27th. The first editorial on the subject of the war, suggesting and urging the use of dynamite from flying machines behind the German lines, a demand that has been

in his possession relating, of course, especially to the charges made by him; and it also authorizes the Committee to call upon the Department of Justice and its United States district attorneys to produce the evidence and documents in their possession, especially relating to the second phase of the inquiry as disclosed in the preamble. But, of course, each of these agencies is directed to produce the evidence and documents in its possession relating to any of the charges whether under the first "whereas" or the second "whereas." And to leave no doubt as to the unlimited scope of the Committee in securing evidence to sustain or disprove the charges recited in the preamble, the resolution further authorizes the Committee or Sub-Committee to subpœna "any witnesses or documents relating thereto that it may find necessary."

It seems to me there can be no question at all but that the Committee is fully authorized to subpœna any witness or document that it has reason to believe will furnish evidence or testimony relating to the various charges set forth in the resolution. Whether or not a given document, or such testimony, tends to prove the charges set forth in the resolution; of course, is to be decided by the Committee. But if any evidence or testimony is secured or presented which is relevant to these charges, I respectfully submit that the Committee is fully authorized to secure and consider the same. I have no doubt it will do it.

I believe that the documentary evidence alone that will be secured, if called for, under this resolution will fully establish the following facts:

1. That the United States Brewers' Association, individual Brewers and corporations have financed newspapers in the interest of the liquor traffic, and deceived the public as to the secret arrangements made for money loaned, which in some cases was to be repaid only at the discretion of the newspaper owner out of the profits of the paper, if there should be any profits. Evidence of this may be obtained from the Custodian of Alien Property, A. Mitchell Palmer, and no doubt evidence of other papers will come to the Committee or information from which it can get further proof.

2. That the United States Brewers' Association and certain individual Brewers who helped to finance certain newspapers, advocating the liquor traffic, also contributed to the National German-American Alliance and financed the publication of its official organ, "The Official Bulletin," after the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other similar German atrocities. Evidence of this will be found in the Official Bulletin, the organ of the National German Alliance. Copies of this Bulletin are in the possession of Gustavus Ohlinger, of the General Staff Military and Intelligence Branch of the War Department.

3. That the United States Brewers' Association and certain individual Brewers and Brewery Corporations have been convicted, plead guilty or plead nolo contendere to charges of violation of Federal corrupt practices act and other criminal laws and paid several hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines and penalties. Evidence of this is obtainable from the Attorney General of Texas, the United States District Attorney at Pittsburgh and other sources.

4. That the National German-American Alliance was financed in part by the United States Brewers' Association and individual Brewers and liquor dealers; that the National German-American Alliance through state and local organizations and societies has carried on a propaganda which hindered the assimilation of Germans by America; promoted German Kultur and German ideals to the detriment of the United States; carried on political activities in the interest of the German Alliance; attempted to force compulsory teaching of German in the elementary public schools of the United States; proclaimed that our Government was a failure and that a constitutional monarchy was preferable to it; discouraged war loans to our allies and hindered the war program of the United States. Evidence of this will be found in the Official Bulletin, the organ of the National German-American Alliance. Copies of this Bulletin are in the possession of Gustavus Ohlinger, of the General Staff Military and Intelligence Branch of the War Department, in the documents in the United States District Attorney's office at Pittsburgh and in the office of the Attorney General of Texas and persons whose names will be given the Committee if desired.

5. That the United States Brewers' Association through organizations whose identity has been concealed, such as the so-called National Association of Commerce and Labor, Manufacturers and Dealers' Association, Business Mens' Association, Tax Payers League, Home Rule and other organizations, have made political surveys relating to the attitude of candidates for office and how they could be influenced and controlled in the interest of the liquor traffic. Evidence of this will be found among the documents in the control of the Attorney General of Texas, Hon. B. F. Looney and among the documents in the United States District Attorney's office at Pittsburgh.

6. That the United States Brewers' Association, State Brewers' Associations and allied liquor organizations have employed men to organize and dominate labor organizations in the interests of the liquor traffic. Evidence of this will be found in the office of the United States District Attorney at Pittsburgh, Pa.

7. That the United States Brewers' Association and individual Brewers and liquor organizations have by indirect methods attempted to subsidize certain newspapers, magazines, periodicals and publications, many of the articles being first censored in the office of the United States Brewers' Association before being printed.

8. That the United States Brewers' Association and individual Brewers and liquor dealers have contributed large sums of money in political campaigns to committees and candidates and exacted pledges of support in return for such financial help. The evidence of this will be found in the United States District Attorney's office at Pittsburgh, Pa., in the Attorney General's office in Texas and from many other sources.

9. That the Brewers who have contributed largely to political campaigns in violation of laws, have deducted similar amounts from their tax returns and defrauded the Government out of sums of money due the Government in payment of taxes. This evidence is in the United States District Attorney's office in Pittsburgh.

10. That the State Brewers' Associations, United States Brewers' Association, individual Brewers and organizations under their control, have expended large sums of money in payment of poll taxes for voters in Texas in violation of law and have expended sums of money to control State and Federal elections in violations of law. Evidence of this may be found in the United States Courts and the United States District Attorney's office at Pittsburgh; State Court records and the Attorney General's office in Texas, and in other states.

11. That the United States Brewers' Association, State Brewers' Associations, and individual Brewers and persons and organizations which they control have instituted boycotts against merchants, manufacturers, railroads and business men who have opposed the liquor traffic. The aforesaid organizations and individuals have also encouraged the starting of strikes in dry territory and instigated local troubles in shops and factories whose owners and managers favored prohibition. Evidence of this will be found in the documents in possession of the United States District Attorney at Pittsburgh and further evidence will be disclosed to the committee as the investigation proceeds.

12. That the Brewery trade and liquor traffic is pro-German in its sympathy and conduct as charged by Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, Custodian of Alien Property, will be shown by testimony in the hands of the United States District Attorney at Pittsburgh; the United States District Attorney's office at Detroit, from the records in the trial of Mr. Keltschmidt; and from the records of the trial of Mr. Jacobson in the District Attorney's office at Chicago; from the records of the trials of the owners, editors and officers of the Tageblatt, a German paper at Philadelphia, and officers of various other German papers and periodicals, who have been tried in the Federal courts under the espionage and other criminal laws.

13. Evidence of the general practices and activities of the Brewers' corruptive politics, violating election laws, influencing improperly State and Federal legislation, will be found in documentary form and otherwise in the office of the Attorney General of Texas, Honorable B. F. Looney, who I am sure will bring this proof upon the call of the Committee.

Evidence of the brazen methods used by the Brewers and liquor interests to corrupt electorates and public officials, will be found in the United States District Attorney's office in Indiana where Dan Roberts and others were convicted for violating the Federal election and criminal laws. Honorable Frank C. Dailey, of Indianapolis, was the United States District Attorney who prosecuted the cases.

I trust this letter will be made a part of the Record and if more detailed information as to any source of evidence is desired, I shall be glad to try to furnish it.

Respectfully yours,

The subcommittee considered a request in writing from Mr. Alexander Konta, 20 Exchange Place, New York City, that he be heard by the committee.

On motion of Senator King, seconded and agreed to, the subcommittee directed that Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, Enemy Property Custodian, and Mr. Alexander Konta, should be notified that they would be heard on Tuesday next, October 15, 1918, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned until Tuesday, October 15, 1918, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 11 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Capitol, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), Wolcott, and Nelson.

Senator OVERMAN. There is a quorum of the committee present, andI will call the committee to order.

I will say to the members of the committee that the Attorney General of the United States is going to furnish us with the facts and documents requested in the resolution, and he is going to send to Pittsburgh Mr. Humes, who was formerly United States district attorney in Pittsburgh, who is going to get these papers together and give us a digest of their contents, and I expect to have a conference with Mr. Humes.

I will say also that I wrote to Mr. Looney, the attorney general of the State of Texas, as suggested in the letter of Senator Jones, which you will recall, which is printed in the record, asking him to send us any evidence they have there, as suggested in the memorandum.

This meeting of the subcommittee was called for the purpose of hearing Mr. Alexander Konta, who demanded a personal hearing. I did not know when he could come here, and then I got a letter from his lawyer claiming that he is entitled to a hearing and saying that he wants a hearing, so that I called a meeting of the subcommittee for this morning in order to hear him, and notified him of the fact that I had done so. I received from him yesterday or the day before a telegram which said that he had influenza and did not know whether he would be able to come here or not, following which I telegraphed him to know whether he would be here.

Senator NELSON. That is, Mr. Konta?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; as I did not want to have the committee come together to hear him unless he was going to be here, this meeting having been called for him only. I then received from him the following telegram:

NEW YORK, *October 14, 1918.*

Hon. LEE S. OVERMAN,
Chairman, Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

Your dispatch of this date received at Mr. Konta's office and forwarded to me as his attorney for reply; Mr. Konta, much to his disappointment, is still confined to his house with influenza, forbidden by his physicians to go out; my associate, Senator Saxe, will attend before your committee to-morrow morning and explain the facts fully, with supporting documentary evidence.

S. HANFORD.

Is Mr. Saxe here?

Mr. SAXE. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. We called Mr. Konta to appear here, and thi telegram says that you will attend "with supporting documentar evidence." What kind of documents have you here?

Mr. SAXE. I think possibly the chairman has misconceived the tele gram. I appear solely for Mr. Konta, to explain why he is not her and to show our respect to this committee. Mr. Konta received th notice of this meeting last Friday, and he immediately telegraphe the committee that he was confined to his house and feared he migh not be able to keep the appointment, but stated that he still hope to attend to-day.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SAXE. He has been hoping ever since that he could come her to-day, but at a consultation of doctors yesterday morning they sai it was impossible for him to take the stand or to get here to-day and he therefore sent me to thank the committee very much for hav ing afforded him the opportunity to appear before the committe and to express his regret that he could not possibly be here upon th particular date set, and to ask for a further opportunity, about a week hence, to appear.

Out of respect for the committee I took the liberty of procurin the certificates of the two different doctors who attended Mr. Konta and I want to submit to the committee these certificates, of Dr. Horn and Dr. Colles, who both saw him yesterday morning and said tha it was actually unsafe for him to attempt to come. He has the grippe or influenza, and while he is convalescent, he ought not to go out o the house at this time. But we very seriously and earnestly as that Mr. Konta be given an opportunity about a week hence t appear before the committee.

(The certificates of the doctors presented by Mr. Saxe are a follows:)

NEW YORK, *October 14, 1918.*

To whom it may concern:

This is to certify that Mr. Alexander Konta, residing at 1 West Eighty-fifth Stree is under my care since the 11th instant; he is barely over an attack of the prevailin epidemic of influenza and is not permitted to leave the house for a few more days for fear of complications.

DR. FRANK I. HORN.

DR. CHRISTOPHER J. COLLES,
115 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York, October 14, 1918.

This is to certify that I have this day examined Mr. Alexander Konta, of 5 West Eighty-fifth Street, New York City. Mr. Konta has had an attack of grippe of four days' duration, and is now in a depressed physical condition from its effects. He has a subnormal temperature and a depressed pulse rate. The mucous membrane of the nose and throat is still congested and inflamed, which makes him feel very uncomfortable. I consider his condition such that exposure in railway traveling, etc., would render him exceedingly prone to a reinfection, with all its dangerous possibilities and sequences. I have therefore advised him to remain in his home and not expose himself for some days.

CHRISTOPHER J. COLLES, M. D.

Mr. SAXE. So far as Mr. Hanford refers to documentary evidence the thought of Mr. Konta was that he would like at this time, at the very beginning of the hearings, to file the shortest kind of an affidavit denying all connection with the purchase of the Washington Times, whatsoever, and the only document that I care to offer at

just a very short affidavit covering that general feature and nothing else, and I ask the committee's leave that I may file that affidavit.

Senator OVERMAN. Will you please read it.

Mr. SAXE. Yes, sir. [Reading.]

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

ALEXANDER KONTA, being duly sworn, says:

1. I am informed by my physicians that I can not attend before the Senate Judiciary Committee at Washington on Tuesday, October 15, 1918. I am most desirous of attending at an adjourned date, and I file this affidavit solely that the committee may have before it at once my positive denial of any connection whatsoever with the purchase of the Washington Times.

2. Mr. Palmer has given out a letter which I wrote to Dr. Dernburg in March, 1915. In the latter part of March, 1915, I attended, by invitation, a dinner at the German Club in New York City. I was not a member of that club and have never been a member. I was seated next to Dr. Dernburg. During the dinner he complained bitterly about his inability to place before the American public the German side of matters connected with the war. He stated that he thought a newspaper ought to be purchased for such purpose, and he said that unfortunately there were no funds at the disposal of the German officials for that purpose. He asked me whether, if funds could be obtained, I would act as broker in the matter, and with that end in view whether I would procure for him some data as to the financial standing of the various New York papers. A day or two later I wrote him the report or letter which Mr. Palmer has made public. Dr. Dernburg did not acknowledge this letter and I have never heard from him since. I have never discussed the proposition with anyone else, and I have never had any conversation about the proposition with any brewers in America.

I have never been a member of the German Alliance. I have not seen, spoken to or communicated with Arthur Brisbane for over eight years. I have never met William R. Hearst in my life. At the time of the purchase of the Washington Times I knew nothing whatever about the facts. There was absolutely no connection between my letter to Dernburg, in March, 1915, two years before the United States entered the war, and the purchase of the Washington Times in June, 1917, several months after the United States entered the war.

ALEXANDER KONTA.

Sworn to before me this 14th day of October, 1918.

[SEAL.] MABEL GOUDCHAUX.
Notary Public, N. Y. Co., 736, N. Y. Reg. No. 10007.

I certainly hope that you can give Mr. Konta an opportunity of a hearing about a week hence.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think we ought to hear him.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; I think so. May I ask what reasonable probability there is that a week hence Mr. Konta will be well enough to appear here? I ask that because some of us have to travel some distance to reach here for the hearing.

Mr. SAXE. I asked that very question of Dr. Christopher Colles at noon yesterday before taking the train to come here, and he said that Mr. Konta was convalescent, and that it was, he thought, almost certain that he would be all right in a week from now. That is what the doctor told me, and I really have not any reasonable doubt but what he will be all right, say about a week from to-day. I asked that very question for the purposes of the committee, because I knew you would want to know just when he could appear, if you could hear him.

Senator NELSON. Would it not be better for us to let him first notify us when he is ready to come?

Senator WOLCOTT. You say he has influenza?

Mr. SAXE. He has influenza, or grippe.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is a thing that is rather tenacious when it gets hold of anyone. Mr. Chairman, I am perfectly willing to say

next Tuesday, if we have to go on on that date, but this thing that Mr. Konta has is, as I said, a tenacious thing, and we might all be coming here on Tuesday and Mr. Konta still be unable to get here. I think we had better postpone his hearing long enough so as to give him ample time, to make sure that he can be here.

Senator NELSON. How would it be, Mr. Chairman, to let him write to you and let you know when he can come, and then you can arrange for a meeting to suit our convenience?

Senator WOLCOTT. I think that is the better plan.

Senator OVERMAN. Will you communicate, Mr. Saxe, for him, when he can come, and say whether he can be here next Tuesday?

Mr. SAXE. I feel reasonably sure that he can be here next Tuesday.

Senator NELSON. Let him write a letter to the chairman of the subcommittee and state when he can come.

Senator OVERMAN. Will you communicate that to him, and say we would like to have him say when he can come?

Mr. SAXE. That is entirely satisfactory.

Senator NELSON. Of course, we may not be able to meet on the very day, but when he is well and can come, then we will fix a day.

Senator OVERMAN. As soon as I have an assurance of a certainty of his being able to come, I will call the committee together and notify him of the date fixed.

Mr. SAXE. I shall be very glad to have it set for a week from to-day, at the same hour, and then I will telegraph you to-morrow, if it is all right, if that is satisfactory. I will telegraph you as soon as I get back to-morrow.

Senator NELSON. When he is sure that he can come the chairman can call a meeting.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; I will adjourn the meeting, subject to the call of the chairman.

Mr. SAXE. I want to thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for having given us this opportunity.

Senator OVERMAN. You have no other documents you want to present to us?

Mr. SAXE. No. I appeared personally just to show my respect to the committee and to show appreciation.

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Konta is not here. This affidavit is offered to show that he had no connection whatever with the matter of the purchase of the Washington Times. I think Mr. Konta ought to be examined before we proceed further with Mr. Palmer. Mr. Humes, who was formerly United States district attorney in Pittsburgh, is now in the office of the Judge Advocate General of the Army. He was in Washington, and he has been sent out to Pittsburgh to get these papers, and I suppose they will be delivered to him and he will be ready to present them here at any time, and I suggest to the committee that we request him to make a digest of these papers for us so that we may indicate what papers we want. I thought I would ask the Secretary of War to detail Maj. Humes down here to help us.

I have a gentleman here this morning, Capt. Lester, who has had charge of all this matter in the Military Information Division of the War Department, and who has furnished me a story of what he has discovered in regard to this German propaganda in this country, which is very, very interesting. I do not know whether the committee will want to ask him any questions or not, but I would like

to have you, Senator Nelson, read this statement—I have given Senator Wolcott a copy—and see whether we should put this in the record or whether we should put Capt. Lester on the stand and examine him.

I want to say that Mr. Palmer was asked to come down also and make a statement, but Mr. Brisbane is not present this morning, and he ought to be here when Mr. Palmer testifies, so I have excused Mr. Palmer until our next meeting, and he will be here when we want him. I will probably get through with Mr. Konta first and then put Mr. Palmer on the stand. Mr. Konta's representative came to me and asked me if we expected to hear Mr. Palmer, and I told him no, that we expected to hear Mr. Konta first, and therefore his representative is here.

Senator NELSON. Mr. Palmer ought to be here when Mr. Konta testifies.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; I want him to hear Mr. Konta testify.

Gentlemen, the subcommittee will stand adjourned until we hear further from Mr. Konta, subject to my call, and I will call the committee together probably, if Mr. Konta can be here, to meet on Tuesday next. If there is no further business before the committee now we will have an executive session.

(At 11.30 o'clock a. m. the subcommittee went into executive session, at the conclusion of which it adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to the call of the chairman, in room No. 226 Senate Office Building, at 10 o'clock a. m., Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), King, Wolcott, and Nelson.

Senator OVERMAN. The subcommittee will come to order. Under the resolution, an investigation having been made in Pennsylvania by the district attorney, Maj. E. Lowry Humes, by the kindness of the Secretary of War and of Maj. Humes himself, who has consented to it, Maj. Humes has been detailed to aid this committee in systematizing the matter and documents before it and to aid the committee in conducting this investigation.

The Chief of Staff of the Army also, at my request, has detailed to assist the committee Capt. George B. Lester, of the Division of Military Intelligence, War Department.

(The orders detailing Maj. Humes and Capt Lester are here printed in the record, in full, as follows:)

OCTOBER 19, 1918.

Memorandum for the Judge Advocate General:

The Chief of Staff directs that you be advised that the Secretary of War has approved the request of Senator Overman, who is chairman of a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee investigating certain allegations of alien enemy influence in connection with the purchase and management of some American newspapers, that Major Humes, of the Judge Advocate General's Office, be assigned to temporary duty with Senator Overman's Committee, in order to assist this Committee in the enquiry referred to.

He accordingly directs that Major Humes be instructed to report to Senator Overman for the duty referred to, it being understood that he is acting under the direction of the Senate Committee and that he is not expected to produce before that Committee intelligence secured by the Army of a confidential character and of such military importance that its disclosure at this time would be against the public interest.

FULTON Q. C. GARDNER,
Colonel, General Staff, Secretary.

[Copy.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, October 19, 1918.

Memorandum for the Director of Military Intelligence:

The Chief of Staff directs that you be advised that the Secretary of War has approved the request of Senator Overman, who is Chairman of a sub-committee

of the Senate Judiciary Committee investigating certain allegations of ali enemy influence in connection with the purchase and management of some Ame can newspapers, that Captain Lester, of the Military Intelligence Division, be assigned to temporary duty with Senator Overman's Committee, in order to ass this Committee in the inquiry referred to.

He accordingly directs that Captain Lester be instructed to report to Senat Overman for the duty referred to, it being understood that he is acting und the direction of the Senate Committee and that he is not expected to produ before that committee intelligence secured by the Army of a confidential cha acter and of such military importance that its disclosure at this time would against the public interest.

FULTON Q. C. GARDNER,
Colonel, General Staff, Secretary.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES MOORE.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Moore, you are the assistant cashier of th Northwestern National Bank of Philadelphia?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Was a subpoena duces tecum served upon the ban to produce certain papers?

Mr. MOORE. It was.

Maj. HUMES. Who is the president of that bank?

Mr. MOORE. Edward A. Smith.

Maj. HUMES. Have you the papers that were called for by th subpoena?

Mr. MOORE. I have.

Maj. HUMES. Will you produce them, please?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir [producing papers].

Maj. HUMES. Are these the papers relating to a certain loan mad to Charles H. Allen, of Montgomery, Ala.?

Mr. MOORE. They are.

Senator NELSON. You had better have each one of those paper marked as an exhibit, by the stenographer, in connection with the tes timony of the witness.

Maj. HUMES. Part of these papers are original notes of consider able sum that I assume the committee does not care to be charge with the responsibility of, and it might be better to read them int the record so as not to assume responsibility for the securities.

Senator OVERMAN. That is a good idea.

Maj. HUMES. I offer in evidence a note dated Philadelphia, Au gust 14, 1918, $45,000.

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 1.

Six months after date I promise to pay to the order of the Northwestern Na tional Bank Forty-five Thousand Dollars, without defalcation, for value re ceived, and have delivered to the said bank as collateral security collateral at tached hereto. Also Policy 359998 of the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insuran Company for Ten Thousand Dollars, and twenty-five shares of the Advertis Company, Montgomery, Alabama, with interest at six per cent, payable at th Northwestern National Bank.

CHARLES H. ALLEN.

The note contains the usual judgment clause.

Senator WOLCOTT. What do you mean by the usual judgmen clause?

Maj. HUMES. Pennsylvania form.

Senator WOLCOTT. With power of attorney?

Maj. HUMES. With power of attorney to confess judgment, and waiver of inquisition.

Senator NELSON. It is what they call a judgment note?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir. I also offer in evidence the collateral attached to this note, as follows:

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 2.

$47,500.00 PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 14th, 1918.*

One year after date we promise to pay to the order of The Northwestern National Bank, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the sum of Forty-seven Thousand Five Hundred Dollars, in the individual proportions as set forth below, without defalcation for value received. With interest from date at the rate of 6 per cent per annum. It is covenanted and agreed between the makers and the payee of this note, and each with the other, that the individual obligation of each of the makers hereof is limited to the sum set opposite their respective names, and interest thereon in like proportion, and the makers are not to be held liable by the payee in any greater sum by reason of any of them defaulting in either their share of principal or interest.

Makers.	Amount of liability assumed by each maker hereunder.
Edw. A. Schmidt,	Forty-seven hundred & Fifty Dollars $4750.
Louis B. Schram,	Forty seven hundred & Fifty Dollars.
J. Liebman,	Forty Seven Hundred & Fifty Dollars. ($4750).
R. J. Schaefer,	Forty seven Hundred & fifty Dollars ($4750).
Jacob Ruppert,	Forty seven hundred & fifty Dollars ($4750).
C. W. Fiegespan,	Forty seven & Fifty 00/00 $4750.
George Ehret, Jr.	Ninety-five hundred Dollars $9500.00/000.
N. J. & M. L. Griel,	Forty seven hundred & Fifty ($4750) Dollars."

And as additional collateral security, certificate of deposit No. 7605, Northwestern National Bank of Philadelphia.

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 3.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *August 16, 1918.*

P. Ballantyne & Sons have deposited in this bank $2,250 payable to the order of cash, on return of this certificate properly endorsed.

WILLIAM C. RANGAN, for cashier.

Also, as further collateral, stock certificates Nos. 18, 27, 28, 29 and 30 of the Advertiser Company.

Senator OVERMAN. What Advertiser Co.? Does it say of where?

Maj. HUMES. City and county of Montgomery, State of Alabama.

Senator WOLCOTT. Let me understand, Maj. Humes. The primary obligation is of Charles H. Allen, $45,000?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. And collateral under that note consisted of this stock and this certificate of deposit that you read into the record, and another note signed by various gentlemen in certain amounts; is that the situation?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir. The original obligation, however, was for another amount, and the proof will subsequently show the original amount of the obligation, there having been between the time this collateral note was made and the time the original obligation was renewed, a payment of $2,500 made. That is why the amounts vary.

Senator OVERMAN. Those persons who obligate themselves to pay, whose names you have read, who are they, do you know?

Maj. HUMES. I know who they are, if it is proper for me to state.

Senator NELSON. I suppose the witness might answer that.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; I was expecting to establish that by a witness rather than by any statement by myself.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That is only one of the notes, and these exhibits are not yet all presented to you.

Senator WOLCOTT. You said $2,500 was paid on the renewal of the note?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; in August.

Senator WOLCOTT. You mean paid on that original note?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Originally the notes were $50,000 each, and there have been reductions since that time, until the notes are now $45,000 each, there having been $10,000 paid on the two obligations, one of which has not yet been presented to the committee.

Senator WOLCOTT. This collateral accompanied both of the notes?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; there is another note with the other collateral.

Senator WOLCOTT. I see.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Moore, this is the original note and these are the collaterals attached thereto, of William T. Sheehan, are they?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I offer in evidence the following note, which is identified by the witness:

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 4.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 14, 1918.*

$45,000.

Six months after date I promise to pay to the order of the Northwestern National Bank Forty-five Thousand Dollars, without defalcation, for value received, and have delivered to said bank as collateral security collateral attached hereto. Also Policy 5748 of the American Life Insurance Company for $10,000 and twenty-five shares of the Advertiser Company, Montgomery, Alabama,

WILLIAM T. SHEEHAN.

Attached thereto as collateral is the following:

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 5.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 14th, 1918.*

$47,500.00.

One year after date we promise to pay to the order of The Northwestern National Bank, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the sum of Forty-seven Thousand, Five Hundred Dollars, in the individual proportions as set forth below, without defalcation for value received, with interest from date at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. It is covenanted and agreed between the makers and the payee of this note, and each with the other, that the individual obligation of each of the makers hereof is limited to the sum set opposite their respective names, and interest thereon in like proportion, and the makers are not to be held liable by the payee in any greater sum by reason of any of them defaulting in either share of principal or interest.

Makers.	Amount of liability assumed by each maker hereunder.
Edward Landsberg,	Fifty-seven hundred dollars ($5700)
Gustave Pabst,	Fifty-seven hundred dollars.
Henry Vahlkamp,	Twenty-eight hundred fifty—$2850.00 Dollars
Aug. A. Busch,	Fourteen thousand two hundred & fifty ($14250) Dollars
Eugene M. Keeley	Forty-seven hundred fifty $4750.
John Moerlein,	Forty-seven hundred fifty Dollars (4750)
The F. W. Cook Brewing Co. By G. Michael Daussman, Pres't.	Forty seven hundred fifty Dollars ($4750.00)
Peter S. Theurer,	Forty-seven hundred fifty dollars (4750.00)

Senator WOLCOTT. That collateral note is not the same collateral note that you read in the first connection?

Maj. HUMES. No, sir. This is the collateral note that is attached to the note of Mr. Sheehan. The former collateral note I read was attached to the note of Mr. Allen.

Senator WOLCOTT. I gather from you that there were two notes, totaling $100,000?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Which the first collateral note you read in the record accompanied?

Maj. HUMES. No, it accompanied one of them; one of the $50,000 notes: and this collateral note accompanied the second $50,000 note.

Senator WOLCOTT. I misunderstood the situation.

Maj. HUMES. Attached as further collateral are certificates of stock Nos. 21, 22, 45, 48, 16, 19, and 20 of the Advertiser Co., of Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Chairman, I am making no mention, further than is embraced in the bodies of these notes, of the life-insurance policies. I assume there is no desire for any further mention of that item of collateral.

Mr. Moore, have you the correspondence of the Northwestern National Bank that was subpœnaed, relative to this transaction?

Mr. MOORE. I have.

Maj. HUMES Will you produce it?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir [producing papers].

Senator NELSON. This evidence, as I understand it, is for the purpose of showing who purchased this newspaper?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Senator KING. Is the proprietor of the paper here?

Maj. HUMES. Not that I know of.

Senator OVERMAN. Who is the proprietor?

Maj. HUMES. There is correspondence here that establishes that. Much of this correspondence which I have here is purely formal correspondence, and if the committee desires me to take the time I shall pick out certain portions of it.

Senator KING. The point I had in mind is whether there is any controversy as to the ownership of the newspaper at present, and the contention which I understand you make, namely, that it was acquired by brewers or the brewery interests.

Maj. HUMES. I know of no dispute. The records of the other departments of the Government show that the ownership is as indicated by these securities.

Senator KING. The question I had in my mind was whether or not there is any necessity of encumbering the record with so much of this, if there is no controversy; if the ultimate fact might be stated, so that these exhibits might be left here for reference in case there should be any subsequent dispute.

Senator OVERMAN. You might read two or three of the letters and put them in evidence.

Maj. HUMES. There were a few letters that I thought would clear that up, and if the committee will bear with me for a moment I think I can pick them out right now.

Senator KING. Mr. Chairman, did the newspaper or the reputed owners of the newspaper understand that that matter was to be gone into to-day?

Senator OVERMAN. No.

Senator KING. Did they know that the question as to the ownership of that paper would be the subject of inquiry to-day?

Senator OVERMAN. No; no notice was given to anyone.

Senator KING. I was wondering whether they wanted to be heard or if they dispute any of these contentions.

Senator OVERMAN. I suppose there will be notice of it in the newspapers. The claim, as I understand it, Major, is that the brewers paid for the Montgomery Advertiser $100,000?

Maj. HUMES. That they financed the purchase.

Senator OVERMAN. Of course, they would be entitled to be heard if they desire to be heard.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I submit a letter for the purpose of showing the consumation of the transaction, signed by Charles H. Allen, publisher.

(The letter referred to was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 6" and is here printed in the record in full as follows):

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 6.

[F. P. Glass, Prest. The Advertiser Co. Proprs. R. F. Hudson, Sec'y. The Montgomery Advertiser, established 1828. The leading Alabama paper in news, influence, and quality of circulation.]

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *August 19, 1915.*

Mr. NICE,
Cashier, N. W. National Bank,
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. NICE: Although I expressed my appreciation of your courtesy and consideration in our transaction, I cannot refrain from repeating the thought of appreciation by mail.

I take great pleasure in enclosing you herewith front page of the Advertiser carrying the announcement of the change in the ownership of this newspaper which I know will be of passing interest to you.

With warm personal regards and assuring you that I shall always remember my past relations with you as happy and most congenial, believe me.

Sincerely yours,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,
Publisher.

Senator OVERMAN. Is Mr. Allen the publisher of the Advertiser?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Is it the desire of the committee to incorporate into the record the announcement as published on the front page of the paper?

Senator WOLCOTT. I was just going to look at that to see what it said. For certain reasons that occur to me I suggest that it would be well to have the statement in the first issue of the paper after its change of hands inserted in connection with the letter which has just been read.

Senator OVERMAN. I think so; and also the news item in respect to it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes: the news item on the last column of the first page.

(The articles referred to were marked "Moore Exhibits No. 7 and No. 8" and are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 7.

THE ADVERTISER'S NEW MANAGEMENT.

We have purchased from Mr. Frank P. Glass his entire interest in The Advertiser which is fifty per cent of the total capital stock. We will operate and control the paper with the aid and cooperation of the family of the late Major W. W. Screws which owns the other fifty per cent of the stock.

In the new organization Mr. Sheehan will be President and Editor; he will have sole control of the editorial and news department of the paper. Mr. Allen will be Publisher and General Manager. He will be in sole charge of the business and mechanical end of the paper. Mr. R. F. Hudson, will continue under the new management as under the old, as Secretary and Treasurer.

The transfer of this stock severs all the connection of Mr. Frank P. Glass with the Advertiser; that connection has covered a period of thirty years, during which the Advertiser has been a very vital force in the political, industrial and civic life of Alabama. The Advertiser, in that period has not only been an aggressive and influential factor in the affairs of Alabama, but it has been a continuous business success.

Mr. Glass had ended this connection, so rich in memories of struggles and triumph of satisfying labor and achievements with a deep personal regret, understood by those who know his love for the Advertiser. He was moved to offer for sale, his stock, by the belief that he could concentrate his efforts in Birmingham and upon the Birmingham News of which he is part owner. He felt and said so that the ownership and control of the Advertiser by men living in Montgomery who were in the daily work of making the paper, and whose ability and experience he was kind enough to say, were equal to the task of conducting the paper, would be best for the Advertiser and for Montgomery.

We assume the responsibility for the management and conduct of The Advertiser with a full understanding of its gravity. We hope to make The Advertiser the very best paper in Alabama; all the ability, all the energy and all the experience that we have will be centered in the attainment of that purpose. We propose so far as it is our power to do so to make The Advertiser essentially an agency for the upbuilding of Montgomery and of Alabama.

The policy of The Advertiser will be to emphasize the importance of the material and industrial interests of the State, rather than to overemphasize political personages and political issues. We hope to make The Advertiser primarily, a paper of progress and development. We enter upon our new task firmly convinced that the South and particularly Middle Alabama is on the eve of a great industrial and commercial progress. A live paper alert for opportunities to assist in this development, we believe will be a potent fact for its stimulation. To this particularly we will bend our efforts to preaching Montgomery and its prosperity, Middle Alabama and its progress.

We are gratified, for instance, that we had a hand in establishing the new Farm and Immigration Section of The Advertiser, which is the most ambitious effort made by any Southern paper for the improvement of the farming interests of the State and the extension of the doctrine of diversification. We are going to seek alignment in other progressive endeavors with the live aggressive forces of the city and of the section. We would make The Advertiser the organ of progress and when called in the name of progress no night will be dark, and no day too stormy for The Advertiser to respond. This we want the business community of Montgomery to know—The Advertiser is primarily and essentially an agency for service.

It is more than probable that we will minimize politics in comparison to progress and to service as a newspaper. We begin the conduct of this paper, believing that Alabama has too much politics and that the attention of the people of Alabama is too much distracted by politics. Assuredly we reserve the right to take any position we may see fit on public issues as they arise; this we propose to do. We are firmly convinced of the wisdom of the basic political convictions upon which the policy of The Advertiser as developed by Major W. W. Screws are just, correct and best for the welfare of the people of Alabama. These fundamental principles, set down and taught by the great

editor of The Advertiser, will continue to be the guide of the editorial policy of The Advertiser. The present editor of the paper was for more than twelve years intimately associated with Major Screws and on his death became editor of the paper. On issues of public policy, therefore there will be no change. We will continue to assert our views on these issues, with the characteristic aggressiveness of The Advertiser.

Primarily, the function of a newspaper is to publish the news; it is in this particular field that we hope to do our best work. We propose to plan and labor to the extent of our capacity to make the news columns of this paper live and vital. We consider that the main clause in our implied contract with our subscribers is to give them the news, "with the bloom on it." And, we propose to publish the news fairly and impartially.

We are proud of the reputation of The Advertiser for cleanliness in its news columns; we will maintain in the future that reputation of the past. The Advertiser will be sent to its subscribers with its news columns so wholesome, that every line in it can be read aloud in the sitting room with the entire family gathered about. It is possible that we may make errors which may do some person or some interest an injustice. If such an unintentional error occurs, it will be our policy to rectify it at once. The Advertiser is too important and too fair an institution to do an individual an injustice.

Under the direction of the General Manager, the entire force of The Advertiser will endeavor to come into sympathy and cooperation with the business community of Montgomery. We realize fully that the future of this paper depends upon the quality of the service this paper renders to the community as a whole and second, to the business men of the city who wish to reach our people, through its columns. We intend to be helpful, as accommodating and as generous as possible in cooperating with the business interests of the city.

And, finally this is our city and these our people. What we have is invested here, our future is committed to this city. Our families are established here and we will rear our children here. Our interests are indissolubly wrapped up in the interests of Montgomery; we progress or we stagnate with the city. We will strive to the limit of our power for a better, a larger and a more prosperous Montgomery. We only ask such recognition as our work merits.

W. T. SHEEHAN.
CHAS. H. ALLEN.

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 8.

F. P. GLASS SELLS HIS INTEREST IN THE ADVERTISER TO SHEEHAN AND ALLEN.

Mr. W. T. Sheehan Becomes President and Editor and Mr. Chas. H Allen, Publisher and General Manager with this Issue of Paper—General Policy is Clearly Outlined in Statement—No Sweeping Changes to be Made in the Conduct—Stock Owned by family of Late Maj. Screws is Unaffected by Change, Remaining Entirely in Possession of Members of That Family.

Frank P. Glass, who has been for thirty years owner of fifty per cent of the stock of The Advertiser has disposed of his entire holdings to W. T. Sheehan, editor of the paper, and Charles H. Allen, the paper's advertising manager. Messrs. Sheehan and Allen will, in the future, personally conduct the paper, with the sympathy and cooperation of the family of the late Major W. W. Screws, which owns the remaining fifty per cent of the stock.

On the sale of his stock Mr. Glass resigned from the Presidency of the Advertiser Company and from its directorate. W. T. Sheehan will be President of the paper, Charles H. Allen will become Publisher and General Manager. Under the new organization Mr. Sheehan will have exclusive control of the editorial and news departments of the paper. Mr. Allen will be in exclusive control of the business and operating department of the paper.

POLICY IS OUTLINED.

The new officers of the company, in a statement published in another column of the paper, indicate the general line of policy which they will follow in the conduct of the paper. They contemplate a number of improvements in time, but no sweeping changes are considered. The officers, who have had many years

of newspaper experience, stated Saturday night that they would devote their time and energy to making The Advertiser a newspaper which would please and satisfy Montgomery and Middle Alabama, and which would be an energetic factor in stimulating the inevitable progress of Alabama.

For several months the purchase of the stock of Mr. Glass by Messrs. Sheehan and Allen has been under consideration and discussion. Mr. Glass, who was associated for nearly thirty years as an equal partner of Major W. W. Screws, the great editor of the paper, was reluctant to sell his stock and sever a connection, in which he achieved so much and of which he was so proud. Inasmuch as he was part owner and editor of The Birmingham News and vitally interested in the welfare of the Birmingham district, he agreed to part with his stock in order to concentrate his resources and his energies in the very important work in which he is engaged in Birmingham. Mr. Glass believed too, that it would be best for The Advertiser and best for Montgomery that The Advertiser be conducted by men who gave it "the daily concentration of the mind which a successful newspaper needs."

OTHER HOLDINGS UNAFFECTED.

The stock owned by the family of the late Major W. W. Screws, who was for nearly fifty years the guiding spirit of The Advertiser, is unaffected by the change. It remains in its entirety in the possession of the members of the family of Major Screws. They are in sympathy and in partnership with the new owners of the other half interest.

Mr. Sheehan and Mr. Allen are not only now connected in active work with The Advertiser, but they are, each in his own field, newspaper men of wide experience. Both are native Alabamians, both were born in the Alabama Black Belt, Mr. Sheehan in Barbour County, Mr. Allen in Sumter County. Both were not only born in Alabama, but they have lived all their lives in this State and all their interests are in the city of Montgomery. It is believed that their wide knowledge of Alabama, and their acquaintance and sympathy with the people of Alabama qualifies them in their announced purpose of making a newspaper which will truly serve the people of Alabama, and which will fairly represent the life and views of the people of Alabama.

SHEEHAN BORN IN EUFAULA.

Mr. Sheehan was born in Eufaula, Jan. 8, 1874. He was the son of Wm. T. Sheehan and Emma Garrett Sheehan. His father was a victim of the Cholera epidemic in Birmingham in 1874; his mother died in 1879. Left orphan at 5 years of age, he was reared by kindly relatives and educated in the public schools of Eufaula. In his later school life he assisted by his labor in securing an education in various ways. He was at various times office boy in a mercantile house, drug clerk, clerk in the Eufaula postoffice, and substitute railway mail clerk. Upon his graduation from the Eufaula High School, he was elected a teacher in the grammar school of that city. He taught in these schools for four years, retiring as Assistant Principal of the High School.

In April, 1898, he resigned his place in the schools as he had volunteered for service in the Spanish-American War. He went out as a member of Company G, Second Albama Volunteers, and served in the various camps of that regiment in Mobile, Miami, Jacksonville, and Montgomery. Following that service he retained his connection with the Alabama National Guard for ten years serving successively as Captain in the Second Alabama and Lieutenant-Colonel upon the Governor's staff.

Following the advice of former Governor Jelks, a close personal friend who was then editor of the Eufaula Times, Mr. Sheehan entered upon newspaper work at the close of the Spanish-American War. His first newspaper connection was a short service in the circulation department of The Age-Herald. He left this paper to become associated with Honorable W. D. Jelks in the publication of the Eufaula Times. This connection was maintained until the sale of the paper to other parties in 1899.

CAME HERE IN 1899.

In November, 1899, Mr. Sheehan came to Montgomery and has since then continuously resides in this city. His first position in Montgomery was as cub reporter on the Montgomery Journal. From this position he was quickly pro-

moted to be City Editor of The Journal. In February 1902, he became a reporter on The Advertiser, and since then he has been continuously connected with this paper. In the past thirteen years he has filled every place in the news and editorial department of the paper from cub reporter to editor. He was successively, reporter, capitol and political reporter, staff correspondent, city editor, news editor, associate editor and editor.

For the six years previous to the death of the late Major Screws, Mr. Sheehan was his associate and assistant. He worked in the closest intimate relation with the great editor and enjoyed in a rare degree his confidence. He was the choice of Major Screws as his successor on The Advertiser, and he was chosen as editor upon the death of Major Screws. For the past two years he has been in editorial control of The Advertiser.

Mr. Sheehan was married in April 1901, to Miss Mary Crawford of Eufaula; she died in August of the same year. He was married in November 1907 to Miss Elizabeth Houston Winston of Sumter County. They have three children, two boys and a girl.

VISITS EVERY COUNTY.

Mr. Sheehan's active newspaper work has taken him into every county in Alabama. As staff correspondent of The Advertiser he visited every county in Alabama and every county seat except two. He has taken an active part in public affairs, especially in the affairs of the city of Montgomery. He is a director of The Advertiser Company, a director of the Business Men League, a director of the Paragon Press, a member of the Beauvoir Club, the Thirteen Club of the Elks and of the Knights of Pythias. In 1904 he was the Alabama Messenger to the National Electrical College. He is now Tax Collector of Montgomery County—an office to which he was appointed by former Governor O'Neal.

Charles H. Allen, the new publisher and General Manager of the Advertiser, has been actively engaged in newspaper work ever since as a boy he "stuck type" in the office of his father C. H. Allen, one of the best known of the older editors of Alabama. The elder Allen for many years published a paper at Gainesville in Sumter county, and he is known to the editors of the present day as an associate a few years ago, when he was Editor and Publisher of the Sumter County Sun.

BORN AT GAINESVILLE.

Charles H. Allen the younger was born November 11th, 1879, at Gainesville, where his father was engaged in publishing a paper in that once thriving town. Charles H. Allen the elder, was not only one of the best known editors of his day, but he was an attorney and a member of the Alabama State Bar Association. The mother of the younger Mr. Allen, was before her marrige, Miss Belle Stewart, the daughter of Mr. Wiley W. Stewart, who before the war was a leading planter in North Sumter county. Mr. Alex Stewart who is now a prominent merchant and planter of Gainesville is an uncle of Mr. Allen.

Mr. Allen gained his schooling in Gainesville and at Livingston to which place his father moved while he was a boy. His school training was alternated with work in his father's printing office. He became trained in his father's office in every line of work in a weekly newspaper office, from distributing type to washing rollers and writing editorials and personals. Before he reached his majority, he purchased the Demopolis Dispatch at that time a prosperous weekly of Marengo county. Realizing that Demopolis offered a somewhat circumscribed field in newspaper work, he accepted a very flattering offer from the Birmingham Age-Herald. For a little less than two years he was actively engaged in advertising work for the Age-Herald.

BUYS INTO MOBILE PAPER.

From Birmingham he went to Mobile where he had purchased an interest in the old Mobile Herald. For three years he was Business Manager of the Herald. Upon the purchase by Frederick I. Thompson of a controlling interest in the Mobile Register, Mr. Allen was offered and accepted the position of Business Manager of the Register. His success in the business office of the Register attracted notice and attention throughout newspaper circles in the South. For five years Mr. Allen was in charge of the business department of the Register. He was at this time one of the largest stockholders in the Register.

Mr. Allen remained with the Register until he received a flattering offer from the Advertiser to become Manager of the Advertising Department of this paper. He assumed this position in December and quickly made an impression upon the business community of Montgomery.

Mr. Allen was married in November 1903 to Miss Retitia Rundle Shearer of Mobile. They have three children, two boys and a girl. Mr. Allen is a member of the Rotary Club and several prominent fraternal organizations.

Maj. HUMES. I also introduce in evidence the following letter on the letterhead of P. Ballantine & Sons, signed by Charles Bradley.

(The letter referred to was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 9," and is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 9.

[P. Ballantine & Sons, brewers & maltsters, Newark, N. J.]

AUGUST 4TH, 1916.

Mr. EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
c/o C. Schmidt & Sons Brg. Co.,
127 Edwards Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: We desire to inquire in regard to the loan negotiated by you a year ago toward which we contributed $2500, under date of July 16th, 1915. You acknowledged receipt of our check and stated that "it is understood that the loan is to be made for one year and to bear interest at the rate of 6% per annum and to be repaid to the subscribers pro rata as collected."

The year having expired, we should be glad to learn whether the sum is in hand to repay the loans.

Yours truly,

P. BALLANTINE & SONS,
CHARLES BRADLEY,
Vice President.

Maj. HUMES. I next introduce in evidence a letter on the letterhead of the Birmingham Trust & Savings Co., signed by Tom O. Smith.

(The letter referred to was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 10," and is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 10.

[Birmingham Trust & Savings Co. Capital, $500,000. Surplus, $650,000. Arthur W. Smith, president; Tom O. Smith, vice president; Wm. H. Manly, cashier; Benson Cain, ass't cashier; C. D. Cotten, ass't cashier; E. W. Finch, ass't cashier.]

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., *August 5, 1915.*

Mr. L. C. NICE,
Cashier Northwestern National Bank,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed herein we hand you draft for $100,000.00 on Charles H. Allen, with fifty shares of the Capital Stock of The Advertiser Company attached.

You will hold this draft for the convenience of Mr. Allen until Monday, the 9th, and upon payment of same, place proceeds with the Hanover National Bank, New York for our credit, advising us by wire at our expense.

Yours truly,

TOM O. SMITH,
Vice President.

TOS—H
Registered mail.

Maj. HUMES. I next introduce an unsigned carbon copy of a letter produced by the Northwestern National Bank as a part of the correspondence in connection with this matter, dated July 16, 1917.

(The letter referred to was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 11," and is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 11.

JULY 16TH, 1917.

Mr. CHARLES H. ALLEN,
The Montgomery Advertiser,
Montgomery, Ala.

DEAR SIR: We enclose herewith copy of letter from the Alabama Audit Company as of January 10th, 1917, said copy we are forwarding you at the request of Mr. John A. McDermott.

Trusting both Mr. Sheehan and yourself are enjoying your usual good health, with kind regards, we remain

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

Cashier.

Senator KING. In your investigations and inquiry into the correspondence which you have produced, did you discover whether or not this was a clandestine transaction or was open and public—whether the public knew of it?

Maj. HUMES. I have made no investigation of the matter except since the records have been produced by the bank. I had reason to believe that the records existed, and the records were subpœnaed.

Senator WOLCOTT. That makes pertinent a question which I was about to ask. Have you any proof disclosing the terms of the contractual relations between the purchasers of this newspaper and the signers of these collateral notes?

Maj. HUMES. I have not. I knew nothing about the transaction except the intimation that I had that there was such a transaction until I had an opportunity to look at these records last evening in an effort to see if we could not make copies of them to submit to the committee, and not delay the committee or unduly inconvenience the witness. At that time, in order to save time, we made copies of those collateral notes because of the difficulty in reading the signatures when they should be presented at the hearing.

Mr. RUBY R. VALE. Do you not think it is fair to the bank, in answer to Senator King, Maj. Humes, to state that your investigation disclose that this was an ordinary transaction taking place in a bank, and that the directors are absolutely innocent? Mr. Chairman, as legal representative of the Northwestern National Bank in answer to Senator King, I think it only fair to state that this was an ordinary banking transaction, where notes were discounted in the ordinary course of business, where the board of directors subsequently passed on the loan, and further, that when we were asked subsequently to produce the papers for the information of this committee and the information of Maj. Humes, in the examination of the Pennsylvania investigation, we freely and frankly did so. There was nothing secretive about it. It was an open banking transaction.

Senator KING. What are your relations to the bank?

Mr. VALE. I am counsel for the bank. My name is Ruby R. Vale.

Senator WOLCOTT. And I might say in that connection that Mr. Vale is a Delaware citizen and I know him well. He is a very reputable gentleman.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that I said anything which reflected in any way upon the transaction from the standpoint of the bank. I did not intend to say anything that might give a wrong inference. I denied knowledge of any agreement between

these indorsers and the purchasers of this paper. There is nothing in the records produced by the bank to indicate any such agreement.

Senator WOLCOTT. Naturally the bank would not have such records.

Maj. HUMES. I assume they would not.

Senator NELSON. Had you not better put into the record here evidence as to who those men are—in what business they are engaged—who signed these collateral notes?

Maj. HUMES. There are some more of these records that are not yet introduced, and we will do that as soon as we get the records.

Senator NELSON. Very well. I think it should be supplied. In other words, I mean if these men who signed these collateral notes are brewers it ought to appear in the record.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Chairman, I now offer in evidence a letter on the letterhead of the Montgomery Advertiser, signed by Charles H. Allen.

(The letter was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 12," and is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 12.

[The Montgomery Advertiser. Established 1828. The leading Alabama paper in news, influence, and quality of circulation. W. T. Sheehan, president; Chas. H. Allen, publisher; R. F. Hudson, secretary and treasurer.]

Personal.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *July 17th, 1917.*

Mr. EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
Pres., Northwestern National Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: Your letter of July 12th to hand and contents noted.

Our situation as far as issuing the bonds is to date about the same as it was when I last saw you, other than the fact that paper is in still better shape, as you will note from the enclosed audit made up to July 1st.

I have had the matter up repeatedly with the Washington party who in turn has been in correspondence with Mr. Warfield of Baltimore and the last information I have is the following letter from the Baltimore party addressed to the Washington party, under date of July 10th:

"Referring to your letter of the 30th ultimo, I beg to say that I have, for one reason or another, been unable to get in touch with Mr. Townsend Scott, the gentleman I originally saw in the matter of the Montgomery bonds."

"I not only saw Mr. Scott but also have made some inquiries in other directions, and feel that in these times it would not be possible to float an issue of bonds such as Mr. Allen desires."

"I shall be very glad to watch this and when the times are propitious, to do what I can in connection with the subject. I am afraid nothing can be done at present. I regret this, as I would like to have been of real service."

"Believe me, with kind regards—

Yours very truly."

Business conditions look much brighter for this Fall than at any time during the past two years. Our crops to date promise a better yield than at any time within the past five years and the market price is sure to be good. Our local bankers are more optomistic than for a long time and I have taken the matter up of our bond issue with one of them who tells me that he believes he will be able to handle it. All statements, etc., have been supplied him and I have every reason to hope that something will be accomplished from this source. In the meantime, I can only say that we are prepared to pay the interest when note comes due August 14th.

If you will take the time to go over the audit that I am enclosing herewith you will see that if we were able to pay mortgage of $28,000 and outstanding bonds of $25,000, or a total of $53,000, there would be no question about promptly issuing the bonds, but with these two claims recorded against the property it is impossible to issue first mortgage bonds.

We stand ready to do anything that our friends suggest to satisfy them and we feel that it will only be a matter of time before we can take care of the

situation in full. You will note from the financial statement that the 50% stock you hold as collateral is to-day worth a great deal more than the amount of the loan, which should be an assurance that the collateral is sufficient to insure anyone against loss.

I expect to hear from the local banker as to bond issue within ten days and will then write you promptly. In the meantime, if you have any suggestion to make, will be glad to hear from you, and if you deem it wise will come to Philadelphia to see you.

With warm personal regards, believe me—

Sincerely, yours,

CHAS. H. ALLEN.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Moore, have you the records of the bank showing the history of these loans?

Mr. MOORE. I have; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Will you produce them?

(The witness produced certain papers.)

Maj. HUMES. What is this, Mr. Moore?

Mr. MOORE. That is the record from our credit ledger or liability ledger, showing the accounts of Charles H. Allen and W. T. Sheehan.

Maj. HUMES. Showing the history of these two transactions?

Mr. MOORE. The notes and the transactions.

Maj. HUMES. The notes presented and now introduced being the last renewals?

Mr. MOORE. That is right.

Maj. HUMES. We offer in evidence the record just identified by the witness, showing the history of the note of Charles H. Allen, as follows: August 13, 1915, the original note was made, amounting to $53,000, the $3,000 being interest that was added to the note, the principal sum being the $50,000.

Senator NELSON. The $3,000 was the discount?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; also the note of W. T. Sheehan, the original note being dated August 13, 1915, for $53,000; the notes having been renewed at six months' periods since that time and reduced until the principal sum is now $45,000 in each note.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 13," and is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

MOORE EXHIBIT NO. 13.

NORTHWESTERN NATIONAL BANK, PHILADELPHIA—CHARLES H. ALLEN

Date of Discount	Name	Number	As Payer		Due
			Dollars	Cts.	
1915					1916
August 13th	Collat	8898			Aug. 14
August 13th, 1916	do	1893			Feb. 14, 1917
Feb 13th, 1917	do	3505			Feb. 14, 1918
August 14, 1917	do	4890			Aug. 14, 1917
Feb 14, 1918	do	6506			August 14, 1918
August 14, 1918	do	8104	$46,350		Feb. 14, 1919

NORTHWESTERN NATIONAL BANK, PHILADELPHIA—W. T. SHEEHAN

1915					
August 13	Collat	8897			Aug. 14, 1916
August 13, 1916	do	1894			Feb. 14, 1917
March 1, 1917	do	3518			Aug. 14, 1918
August 14, 1917	do	4889			Feb. 14, 1918
Feb 14, 1918	do	6505			Aug. 16, 1918
August 14, 1918	do	8105	$46,350		Feb. 16, 1919

Maj. HUMES. That is your original record, is it not?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you think it is necessary to put in the whole record, or just make a statement?

Maj. HUMES. There are only five lines in the record; just five lines in the renewals.

Senator OVERMAN. Very well.

Maj. HUMES. We also offer in evidence the statement of ownership of the paper for October 1, 1918, made pursuant to the act of Congress.

(The paper was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 14," and is here printed in full in the record as follows:

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 14.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Montgomery Advertiser published Daily and Sunday at Montgomery, Ala. for October 1 1918.
(Insert title of publication.) (State frequency of issue.) (Name of post office and State.) (State whether for April 1 or October 1.)

STATE OF ALABAMA
County of Montgomery } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared R. F. Hudson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager
(State whether editor, publisher, business manager or owner
of the Montgomery Advertiser and that the following is, to the best of his
(Insert title of publication.)
knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of—	Post office address—
Publisher, Charles H. Allen	Montgomery, Ala.
Editor, W. T. Sheehan	Montgomery, Ala.
Managing Editor, ----------	----------
Business Managers, R. F. Hudson	Montgomery, Ala.

(If there none, so state.)

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

Estate of W. W. Screws	Montgomery, Ala.
W. T. Sheehan	Montgomery, Ala.
Charles H. Allen	Montgomery, Ala.
----------	----------

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

First National Bank	Montgomery, Ala.
W. C. Oates	Montgomery, Ala.
M. Taylor Pyne	New York, N. Y.
Travelers Insurance Co.	Hartford, Conn.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders, and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but

also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is 23,177. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

R. F. HUDSON
(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2 day of Oct. 1918.
[SEAL.]

R. C. PHELPS.

(My commission expires April, 1922.)

NOTE.—This statement must be made in duplicate and both copies delivered by the publisher, who shall send one copy to the Third Assistant Postmaster General (Division of Classification), Washington, D. C., and retain the other in the files of the post office. The publisher must publish a copy of this statement in the second issue printed next after its filing.

Senator OVERMAN. What does that show?

Maj. HUMES. It shows that Mr. Allen, Mr. Sheehan, and an estate are the owners of the property.

Senator OVERMAN. An estate?

Maj. HUMES. An estate; yes.

To amplify the matter set forth in the last letter offered, showing the situation—I will not take the time to read it unless the committee desires it—we offer in evidence a letter of January 31, 1918, from Mr. Allen, with reference to the situation of the paper, and especially because of the postscript on the bottom: "Jno. Mc. was here yesterday."

(The paper was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 15," and is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

MOORE EXHIBIT No. 15.

[The Montgomery Advertiser, established 1828, the leading Alabama paper in news, influence, and quality of circulation. W. T. Sheehan, president; Chas. H. Allen, publisher; R. F. Hudson, secretary and treasurer.]

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *January 31, 1918.*

Mr. EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
Northwestern National Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: Your letter of January 21st to hand and contents noted. I assure you that nothing would please me better than to issue our bonds and deposit a part of them with you as collateral as you suggested; and this would be done promptly if it were possible, but I cannot record a bond or mortgage on this property's assets until I have paid and caused to be cancelled the present bond issue and mortgage on building, total of which amounts to $43,500.00.

I trust that this explains our inability to issue bonds until an advanced arrangement for selling at least this amount is made. We are working hard on this proposition and nothing will be left undone to make this bond issue as quick as possible—in the meantime, you may expect us to make remittance to reach you by February 14th as agreed upon.

With warm personal regards—

Very truly, yours,

C. H. ALLEN.

Jno. Mc. was here yesterday.

Senator NELSON. Who was "Jno. Mc."?

Maj. HUMES. I think it means the same man that is referred to in another letter—Mr. John McDermott, of the organization bureau of the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator WOLCOTT. Where does Mr. McDermott live?

Maj. HUMES. In New York.

Senator OVERMAN. Who is he?

Maj. HUMES. He has been subpœnaed as a witness. He will appear.

At the request of counsel for the Northwestern National Bank, we call to the attention of the committee the fact that on August 17, 1915, the following appears on the minutes of the board of directors:

Loans covering from 8858 to No. 8917, both inclusive, amounting to a total of $158,524.19, as per discount book, were made and approved.

Showing a compliance by the bank with the requirements of the national banking law.

Senator WOLCOTT. And those numbers include these loans?

Maj. HUMES. Those numbers include the two notes that have been offered in evidence; yes, sir.

Mr. LAMBERT. Major, have you there the names of those who were present at that meeting—that is, the directors?

Maj. HUMES. I do not know. I did not look at that.

Senator KING. I do not suppose anybody is questioning the good faith.

Maj. HUMES. There was no inference at all of any disregard of banking laws in the matter, and therefore I had not gone into that subject.

Senator WOLCOTT. It is the regular minute book of the bank?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; it is the regular minute book.

Senator OVERMAN. If they want to put it in, let them put it in. I do not think it is necessary; there is no question about the good faith of the bank.

Senator KING. The question I propounded some time ago, as to whether this transaction was clandestine or open, related to the persons who purchased and those who sold the interest in the paper, and those who furnished—if anyone did furnish—the money with which to make the partial payment or the full payment. It did not contemplate any reference whatever to the bank or its activity in being a conduit or intermediary in the transaction.

(At this point informal conversation occurred between Mr. Vale, counsel for the Northwestern National Bank, and Maj. Humes.)

Mr. VALE. Mr. Chairman, we have brought all the correspondence. The Major has read in evidence those letters which he considers pertinent and important for the consideration of the committee. I am simply suggesting that the other letters be returned to us, so that we may take them to our files, and that those letters which have been read, after they have been verified by the reporter, may be returned to us.

Senator OVERMAN. That will be done.

Maj. HUMES. The rest of this correspondence is merely with reference to renewals from time to time, and I assume that it would only lumber up the record. It is largely the transactions of the bank, and no one is questioning the legality of the bank's transactions.

Mr. VALE. Thank you very much, Major.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHRISTIAN W. FEIGENSPAN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Senator OVERMAN. What is your name?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Christian W. Feigenspan.

Senator WOLCOTT. And your residence?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. 53 Lincoln Park, Newark, N. J.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Feigenspan, you were present while the collateral was being presented and the names read a few moments ago?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Will you state in what business the individuals and concerns whose names were signed to that collateral are engaged?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think they are all brewers.

Maj. HUMES. I believe you are one of the signers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I am.

Maj. HUMES. Are you in the brewing business?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I am.

Maj. HUMES. Will you state whether or not all of those persons are members of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe they are.

Maj. HUMES. Will you state who Mr. John A. McDermott is?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. McDermott is a member of the organization committee of the United States Brewers' Association.

Maj. HUMES. He is the manager, is he not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The manager; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You were subpoenaed to produce certain papers. Have you those papers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Will you produce them?

Senator WOLCOTT. Pardon me a moment, Major. Is Mr. McDermott himself a brewer?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; that is, I do not think he is.

Maj. HUMES. And, if he were, you would know it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think so.

Maj. HUMES. Have you those papers? Will you produce them?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. You have asked me to produce a great variety of papers, and I have some of them here myself, and the secretary may have some. My subpoena would rather have brought them.

Maj. HUMES. That is frequently true of subpoenas duces tecum.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes. Now, if you will indicate which you want, I will try to produce them as you ask for them?

Maj. HUMES. First, you are the chairman of the publication committee of the United States Brewers' Association, are you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I am not. I was.

Maj. HUMES. During what period of time were you the chairman of that committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Up to about a year and a half ago, two years prior to that. Let me see: That would be about 1915 to 1917, I should say.

Maj. HUMES. Who succeeded you as chairman of that committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Harry Poth.

Maj. HUMES. Of Philadelphia?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Of Philadelphia; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you the records called for by this subpoena as chairman of that committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No. The secretary, I believe, has all of the records that are the result of the activities of that committee since I have ceased to be its chairman.

Maj. HUMES. You mean the secretary of the association, Mr. Fox?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Fox.

Maj. HUMES. He was ex officio secretary of the committee, too?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you the records of the committee covering the period when you were chairman?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Fox has all the records that there are of that committee, even during my period of chairmanship.

Maj. HUMES. Have you the records of all activities in which you participated, looking to the purchase of subsidization or financing, by loan or otherwise, of newspapers, periodicals, or magazines?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. In so far as I know of any, I have them all.

Maj. HUMES. Will you produce those?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have what I have left of the Washington Times matter. The Alien Property Custodian has most of it, and there is a memorandum in there of the papers that are in his possession.

Senator KING. Let me suggest that there is considerable evidence in the record, as I recall, relative to the purchase of the Washington Times, the loans which were made, if they were loans, to Mr. Brisbane, and that transaction. So far as that is in the record, I do not think there is any necessity of duplication.

Maj. HUMES. It was not my purpose to go into that particular transaction in a documentary way.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Those papers you have now are the only papers that are subsequent to the matters that the Alien Property Custodian has.

Mr. LAMBERT. May I ask a question there? I understood Senator King to say that there was considerable in the record relative to the purchase of the Washington Times. As I understand, this is only the second session that this committee has held, and I was present at the previous session, and I do not recall any evidence at all being submitted in connection with this matter at that time.

Senator KING. What I had reference to was the matter found upon pages 6, 7, 8, 9, and down to the middle of page 10 of the record.

Senator OVERMAN. Papers furnished by Mr. Palmer.

Mr. LAMBERT. I see. These were not formally taken up at the other hearing, but were just put in the record, as I understand.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; they were just put in the record.

Senator KING. I suppose there is no controversy as to those items referred to there, and there will be no controversy as to the authenticity of the documents therein referred to.

Mr. LAMBERT. We had not had the record, and I did not know that they had been formally put in.

Maj. HUMES. Do these all relate to the Washington Times?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In order that there may be no duplication, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that at leisure we look these over to see if there is anything that supplements what is in the record.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; it will save time.

Maj. HUMES. It is rather difficult to do that and to do it accurately in a haphazard way.

Mr. Feigenspan, have you any other papers showing the furnishing of money or the furnishing of security by you, or others in cooperation with you, to other newspapers than the Washington Times?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have in my relations personally with another paper.

Maj. HUMES. What newspaper is that?

Senator KING. Mr. Chairman, I have been absent from the city and was not present at a number of meetings, and I am not entirely familiar, perhaps, with the conclusions of the committee. My understanding was that the committee would receive from Mr. Palmer, the alien property custodian, any evidence that he had relative to the purchase of the Times, and that a notice should be served upon the Attorney General to produce any papers or documents which he had relative to the same transaction, and that after those documents had been submitted, if the committee conceived that their duties were to make broader and further investigations than the transaction relating to the purchase of the Times the matter should be referred back to the full committee.

Senator OVERMAN. The full committee had another meeting when you were not present, and concluded to go into this whole matter.

Senator NELSON. We decided to go on with the investigation.

Senator KING. So that I may know the scope of the investigation as it was broadened, as I understand the chairman and Senator Nelson, is it the understanding of the subcommittee, based upon subsequent instructions from the full committee, that the investigation shall extend to the activities of the liquor interests or brewery interests in political matters?

Senator OVERMAN. In the publishing of magazines and newspapers, or advertisements, boycotting, or anything of that sort.

Senator KING. Within any restricted period, or covering an indefinite period?

Senator OVERMAN. It is indefinite. Nothing was said as to the time it was to cover.

Senator NELSON. No time was fixed.

Senator KING. Then, as I understand, the hearing is to go beyond the scope of the resolution?

Senator NELSON. Not at all. It is not beyond the scope of the resolution that was passed by the Senate.

Senator KING. I refer to the resolution passed by the Senate. At any rate, then, as I understand the chairman and Senator Nelson, the committee has placed an interpretation upon the resolution called the Jones resolution, which authorizes the investigation of the activities of the liquor and brewery interests for an indefinite period, and relating to newspapers and magazines, their purchase and operation?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes. That is covered by the resolution as furnished by Senator Jones and also by the preamble. It is covered by the preamble.

Senator KING. I do not think the wording of the resolution itself would authorize the construction just indicated by the chairman.

Senator NELSON. Is not that a matter we had better discuss in executive session instead of here?

Senator KING. I am not sure about that. It would seem to me that if testimony is offered which any member of the committee thinks contravenes the resolution the suggestion ought to be made, at least, so that the subcommittee might determine the matter.

Senator OVERMAN. If you have any objection to this, Senator, we will have an executive session.

Senator KING. In view of what has been stated as to the construction placed upon the resolution by the full committee, I do not know that I have any objection. At any rate, if so——

Senator OVERMAN. You can object at any time.

Senator KING. Yes; I understand that. At any rate, if I have, I shall call the matter to the attention of the committee in executive session.

Senator OVERMAN. All right. Proceed, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Feigenspan, what was the business of the publication committee of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. To gather information, generally speaking, pertaining to our business, and to endeavor to make publicity of the facts that were ascertained, with the viewpoint of presenting the favorable side of our question.

Senator OVERMAN. For the purpose of making public sentiment in the country in favor of the brewers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. We were trying to present the good qualities of our product.

Senator NELSON. Was that all—simply the good qualities of your beer? Was that all you had in view?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That was the principal object. We tried to preserve our business.

Senator NELSON. Did you devote your propaganda to that question solely?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say that that was the object we hoped to attain.

Senator NELSON. I ask you, did you devote your propaganda to that subject, of showing the qualities of your beer?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say, yes.

Senator NELSON. And that was all?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Did you not aim to secure newspapers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. They are mediums of publicity. We did not try to secure them. We tried to present certain facts to newspaper editors generally that would show them what our product was, so as to present a favorable viewpoint of it.

Senator NELSON. Did you buy space in the newspapers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. We bought space for advertising purposes; yes.

Senator NELSON. What was your advertising; was that all?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That was what we hoped to accomplish by it.

Senator NELSON. To advertise the quality of your beer?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; not necessarily the quality of our beer, altogether. I have not any of our advertisements to show you: but they speak for themselves.

Senator NELSON. Did you hire editorial writers to write articles for the magazines?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not editorial writers, but we hired writers to write up certain subjects.

Senator OVERMAN. What subjects?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Oh, you might say one subject that figured was the increasing consumption of drugs in prohibition territory. That was one that comes to mind at the moment.

Senator NELSON. Did you employ John Koren to write articles in the Atlantic Monthly?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. John Koren?

Senator NELSON. Koren?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Koren was not engaged by me; but was employed by the association while I was chairman. He was engaged as a statistician.

Senator NELSON. I remember seeing articles written by him in the Atlantic Monthly.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Koren, I believe, has written some articles.

Senator NELSON. Did he write those at the instance or suggestion of any of these associations?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not think so.

Senator NELSON. Was anyone paid for it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Koren?

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Koren was under a retainer from the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator NELSON. By whom was he retained?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know who originally retained him; but he was retained by the United States Brewers' Association while I was chairman of the publication committee.

Senator OVERMAN. How much was he paid?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think it was $5,000 a year. I would not be positive as to that amount, but that is my recollection.

Senator NELSON. You recall his articles in the Atlantic Monthly, do you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not, to tell you the truth, because I did not read them; but I believe he did write them.

Senator NELSON. He had the kindness to send me a marked copy of the magazine; that is how I come to know.

Senator KING. I suppose, Mr. Witness, that in those States or districts in which the campaign for prohibition was being waged, the brewers—under their organization, the representatives of the organization—took steps, so far as they thought they could, to counteract whatever propoganda, if there was any, was being carried on by the other side?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator KING. And for that purpose, I suppose, they acquired newspaper space and employed writers to put before the public the views of the brewers.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is what we endeavored to do.

Senator NELSON. Are you not mistaken, Senator? Has he not said that their activities were merely as to the good quality of the beer?

Senator WOLCOTT. No; but you had elicited from him that it went further than that.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Feigenspan, what part did you or your people take in reference to controlling or influencing legislation?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. None that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a letter on the letterhead of your concern. The corporate name is Christian Feigenspan——

Mr. FEIGENSPAN (after examination of paper). Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I show you this letter and inclosure, to refresh your recollection, and ask you if you ever interested yourselves in controlling legislative matters [handing witness Exhibit 772]?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN (after examining paper). That was in 1911. I must say I had forgotten this. That letter is written not by me.

Maj. HUMES. It is written by one of the officers of your company?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; he is not an officer. He is an employee, though.

Maj. HUMES. An employee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You remember the transaction now, do you?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I know Fitzgerald and Walsh. They are people that we have business with in New Haven, or have had in the past. I do not recollect this particular thing, but it must be so; there is the letter.

Maj. HUMES. Then it is so that you, in connection with other brewers connected with the United States Brewers' Association, spent or expended or caused to be expended $3,000 in the State of Connecticut in connection with legislative matters?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not want to answer that, if I may be excused, because I do not know enough about that particular thing to know exactly whether that is a legislative thing, although it is in that communication.

Senator NELSON. Please talk a little louder.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I say I do not recollect this particular instance well enough to wish to commit myself on it.

Maj. HUMES. The letter covers the transaction pretty fully.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I suppose it does.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you going to introduce that letter in evidence?

Senator NELSON. Are you not going to put that letter in?

Maj. HUMES. It is for the committee to say whether we want to put the whole of these long letters into the record or not, and it is a question whether it would not be better to decide upon that matter later.

Senator WOLCOTT. You had better have that marked or identify it; and Mr. Feigenspan vouches for the authenticity of the letter.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. There is no doubt about the letter.

Maj. HUMES. Now, I show you this letter marked "Exhibit No. 772," and ask you if that is the letter to which you have referred in the last few questions you have answered.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is the letter. It is marked "772."

Maj. HUMES. And you have no independent recollection of the transaction, but the letter speaks for itself?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The facts are there—1911.

Maj. HUMES. Is it the desire of the committee to read into the record matters of this kind at this time, or, the exhibits having been

Maj. HUMES. In order that there may be no duplication, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that at leisure we look these over to see if there is anything that supplements what is in the record.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; it will save time.

Maj. HUMES. It is rather difficult to do that and to do it accurately in a haphazard way.

Mr. Feigenspan, have you any other papers showing the furnishing of money or the furnishing of security by you, or others in cooperation with you, to other newspapers than the Washington Times?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have in my relations personally with another paper.

Maj. HUMES. What newspaper is that?

Senator KING. Mr. Chairman, I have been absent from the city and was not present at a number of meetings, and I am not entirely familiar, perhaps, with the conclusions of the committee. My understanding was that the committee would receive from Mr. Palmer, the alien property custodian, any evidence that he had relative to the purchase of the Times, and that a notice should be served upon the Attorney General to produce any papers or documents which he had relative to the same transaction, and that after those documents had been submitted, if the committee conceived that their duties were to make broader and further investigations than the transaction relating to the purchase of the Times the matter should be referred back to the full committee.

Senator OVERMAN. The full committee had another meeting when you were not present, and concluded to go into this whole matter.

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Senator KING. So that I may know the scope of the investigation as it was broadened, as I understand the chairman and Senator Nelson, is it the understanding of the subcommittee, based upon subsequent instructions from the full committee, that the investigation shall extend to the activities of the liquor interests or brewery interests in political matters?

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Senator KING. Within any restricted period, or covering an indefinite period?

Senator OVERMAN. It is indefinite. Nothing was said as to the time it was to cover.

Senator NELSON. No time was fixed.

Senator KING. Then, as I understand, the hearing is to go beyond the scope of the resolution?

Senator NELSON. Not at all. It is not beyond the scope of the resolution that was passed by the Senate.

Senator KING. I refer to the resolution passed by the Senate. At any rate, then, as I understand the chairman and Senator Nelson, the committee has placed an interpretation upon the resolution called the Jones resolution, which authorizes the investigation of the activities of the liquor and brewery interests for an indefinite period, and relating to newspapers and magazines, their purchase and operation?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes. That is covered by the resolution as furnished by Senator Jones and also by the preamble. It is covered by the preamble.

Is your definition of what a political purpose is, correct in that report?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know any more than that might have been, and undoubtedly was, a local option campaign or State-wide prohibition, or something of that sort.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever in your activities as a member of the publication committee, or as a committee, have any connection with the Socialist Party?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the same report, which reads as follows:

We are supplying the committee on alcohol of the Socialist Party with much important data, which will be used in connection with their report next year.

Were you in communication with the Socialist Party and the socialist organization in your activities?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I was not.

Maj. HUMES. Who was?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. If there had been any, the secretary might know of it. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Whom do you mean by the Secretary?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Fox.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox. And he might have been in touch with the socialist organization, then?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Who prepared this report?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe Mr. Fox prepared it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who made the report; who filed it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I imagine I presented it to the convention as chairman of the committee. It was in 1915. I must have presented it.

Senator NELSON. Is this a report made by you?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. If it was during my time, it was.

Maj. HUMES. It was made in 1915.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. 1915? I think I was chairman of that committee at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Max Eastman, the editor of The Masses?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you or your committee or anyone for your committee have any connection or any business transactions with Mr. Eastman or with The Masses?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. You arranged to secure the publication of articles of supposed literary merit in many of the periodicals of the country, did you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. We endeavored to get certain articles reproduced in some periodicals, I believe.

Maj. HUMES. You succeeded, did you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. In some instances.

Maj. HUMES. By what method did you succeed?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The best of my recollection of that is that they were presented and in some instances paid for by the periodical—in some instances, I believe.

Maj. HUMES. In order that there may be no duplication, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that at leisure we look these over to see if there is anything that supplements what is in the record.

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Senator KING. I do not think the wording of the resolution itself would authorize the construction just indicated by the chairman.

Senator NELSON. Is not that a matter we had better discuss in executive session instead of here?

Senator KING. I am not sure about that. It would seem to me that if testimony is offered which any member of the committee thinks contravenes the resolution the suggestion ought to be made, at least, so that the subcommittee might determine the matter.

Senator OVERMAN. If you have any objection to this, Senator, we will have an executive session.

Senator KING. In view of what has been stated as to the construction placed upon the resolution by the full committee, I do not know that I have any objection. At any rate, if so——

Senator OVERMAN. You can object at any time.

Senator KING. Yes; I understand that. At any rate, if I have, I shall call the matter to the attention of the committee in executive session.

Senator OVERMAN. All right. Proceed, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Feigenspan, what was the business of the publication committee of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. To gather information, generally speaking, pertaining to our business, and to endeavor to make publicity of the facts that were ascertained, with the viewpoint of presenting the favorable side of our question.

Senator OVERMAN. For the purpose of making public sentiment in the country in favor of the brewers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. We were trying to present the good qualities of our product.

Senator NELSON. Was that all—simply the good qualities of your beer? Was that all you had in view?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That was the principal object. We tried to preserve our business.

Senator NELSON. Did you devote your propaganda to that question solely?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say that that was the object we hoped to attain.

Senator NELSON. I ask you, did you devote your propaganda to that subject, of showing the qualities of your beer?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say, yes.

Senator NELSON. And that was all?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Did you not aim to secure newspapers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. They are mediums of publicity. We did not try to secure them. We tried to present certain facts to newspaper editors generally that would show them what our product was, so as to present a favorable viewpoint of it.

Senator NELSON. Did you buy space in the newspapers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. We bought space for advertising purposes; yes.

Senator NELSON. What was your advertising; was that all?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That was what we hoped to accomplish by it.

Senator NELSON. To advertise the quality of your beer?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; not necessarily the quality of our beer, altogether. I have not any of our advertisements to show you; but they speak for themselves.

Senator NELSON. Did you hire editorial writers to write articles for the magazines?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not editorial writers, but we hired writers to write up certain subjects.

Senator OVERMAN. What subjects?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Oh, you might say one subject that figured was the increasing consumption of drugs in prohibition territory. That was one that comes to mind at the moment.

Senator NELSON. Did you employ John Koren to write articles in the Atlantic Monthly?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. John Koren?

Senator NELSON. Koren?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Koren was not engaged by me; but was employed by the association while I was chairman. He was engaged as a statistician.

Senator NELSON. I remember seeing articles written by him in the Atlantic Monthly.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Koren, I believe, has written some articles.

Senator NELSON. Did he write those at the instance or suggestion of any of these associations?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not think so.

Senator NELSON. Was anyone paid for it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Koren?

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Koren was under a retainer from the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator NELSON. By whom was he retained?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know who originally retained him; but he was retained by the United States Brewers' Association while I was chairman of the publication committee.

Senator OVERMAN. How much was he paid?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think it was $5,000 a year. I would not be positive as to that amount, but that is my recollection.

Senator NELSON. You recall his articles in the Atlantic Monthly, do you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not, to tell you the truth, because I did not read them; but I believe he did write them.

Senator NELSON. He had the kindness to send me a marked copy of the magazine; that is how I come to know.

Senator KING. I suppose, Mr. Witness, that in those States or districts in which the campaign for prohibition was being waged, the brewers—under their organization, the representatives of the organization—took steps, so far as they thought they could, to counteract whatever propoganda, if there was any, was being carried on by the other side?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator KING. And for that purpose, I suppose, they acquired newspaper space and employed writers to put before the public the views of the brewers.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is what we endeavored to do.

Senator NELSON. Are you not mistaken, Senator? Has he not said that their activities were merely as to the good quality of the beer?

Senator WOLCOTT. No; but you had elicited from him that it went further than that.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Feigenspan, what part did you or your people take in reference to controlling or influencing legislation?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. None that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a letter on the letterhead of your concern. The corporate name is Christian Feigenspan——

Mr. FEIGENSPAN (after examination of paper). Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I show you this letter and inclosure, to refresh your recollection, and ask you if you ever interested yourselves in controlling legislative matters [handing witness Exhibit 772]?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN (after examining paper). That was in 1911. I must say I had forgotten this. That letter is written not by me.

Maj. HUMES. It is written by one of the officers of your company?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; he is not an officer. He is an employee, though.

Maj. HUMES. An employee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You remember the transaction now, do you?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I know Fitzgerald and Walsh. They are people that we have business with in New Haven, or have had in the past. I do not recollect this particular thing, but it must be so; there is the letter.

Maj. HUMES. Then it is so that you, in connection with other brewers connected with the United States Brewers' Association, spent or expended or caused to be expended $3,000 in the State of Connecticut in connection with legislative matters?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not want to answer that, if I may be excused, because I do not know enough about that particular thing to know exactly whether that is a legislative thing, although it is in that communication.

Senator NELSON. Please talk a little louder.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I say I do not recollect this particular instance well enough to wish to commit myself on it.

Maj. HUMES. The letter covers the transaction pretty fully.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I suppose it does.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you going to introduce that letter in evidence?

Senator NELSON. Are you not going to put that letter in?

Maj. HUMES. It is for the committee to say whether we want to put the whole of these long letters into the record or not, and it is a question whether it would not be better to decide upon that matter later.

Senator WOLCOTT. You had better have that marked or identify it; and Mr. Feigenspan vouches for the authenticity of the letter.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. There is no doubt about the letter.

Maj. HUMES. Now, I show you this letter marked "Exhibit No. 772," and ask you if that is the letter to which you have referred in the last few questions you have answered.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is the letter. It is marked "772."

Maj. HUMES. And you have no independent recollection of the transaction, but the letter speaks for itself?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The facts are there—1911.

Maj. HUMES. Is it the desire of the committee to read into the record matters of this kind at this time, or, the exhibits having been

identified, will it be sufficient simply to have them before the committee as exhibits?

Senator OVERMAN. We do not want to encumber the record with a great many items. It is all right, just so that you make a statement as you go along so that you can identify the papers afterwards.

Maj. HUMES. I think it is probably the better way to content ourselves with identifying the papers as we go along and afterwards the committee can determine whether they want them in the record or not.

Senator KING. You might identify them; and if so, if counsel should appear later or other persons who would want to be informed, they may, understand, give a résumé of the documents. If we do not want to put them all into the record we will not do so.

Maj. HUMES. You have been asked, Mr. Feigenspan, with reference to Mr. John Koren. Did you not also at the instance of the United States Brewers' Association write and cause to be printed articles in the National Municipal Review?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know. I might say, in answering that question, that I, as chairman of that committee, in a general sort of way, assumed the chairmanship and defined, again to a limited extent, its policy. The details as to what individual writers may have written I was acquainted with at the time, in all likelihood, but they were primarily left to the Secretary. I am not intimately acquainted with who did the writing or how many writers there were or what they wrote, any more than that I got it in a casual way as the committee's work progressed.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you have any considerable number of writers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I do not think they were very numerous.

Senator OVERMAN. About how many were there?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know offhand. I should not say much over half a dozen or so. I do not think there were that many.

Maj. HUMES. With reference to the advertising that was conducted by this committee, was that advertising for trade purposes or for political purposes?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The advertising that was conducted by that committee, according to my recollection, was for the purpose of trying to offset the prohibition propaganda that had been put up against us.

Maj. HUMES. For a political purpose or for a trade purpose?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. With the viewpoint of trying to present our side of the question. I do not know whether you would call that political or trade. It seems to me it was with the idea of letting the people know the merits of our side of the question.

Maj. HUMES. Were you a member of the organization committee in 1915?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Maj. HUMES. Or of the publication committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think I was a member at that time.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to a report marked "A confidential report of the publication committee, to be read in executive committee," in 1915, and cite the following:

> We have also conducted the society financially in the advertising campaigns which have been carried on for political purposes in Georgia, Louisiana, and Maryland, and during the Michigan campaign we furnished the services of three journalists.

Is your definition of what a political purpose is, correct in that report?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know any more than that might have been, and undoubtedly was, a local option campaign or State-wide prohibition, or something of that sort.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever in your activities as a member of the publication committee, or as a committee, have any connection with the Socialist Party?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the same report, which reads as follows:

We are supplying the committee on alcohol of the Socialist Party with much important data, which will be used in connection with their report next year.

Were you in communication with the Socialist Party and the socialist organization in your activities?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I was not.

Maj. HUMES. Who was?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. If there had been any, the secretary might know of it. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Whom do you mean by the Secretary?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Fox.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox. And he might have been in touch with the socialist organization, then?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Who prepared this report?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe Mr. Fox prepared it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who made the report; who filed it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I imagine I presented it to the convention as chairman of the committee. It was in 1915. I must have presented it.

Senator NELSON. Is this a report made by you?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. If it was during my time, it was.

Maj. HUMES. It was made in 1915.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. 1915? I think I was chairman of that committee at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Max Eastman, the editor of The Masses?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you or your committee or anyone for your committee have any connection or any business transactions with Mr. Eastman or with The Masses?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. You arranged to secure the publication of articles of supposed literary merit in many of the periodicals of the country, did you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. We endeavored to get certain articles reproduced in some periodicals, I believe.

Maj. HUMES. You succeeded, did you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. In some instances.

Maj. HUMES. By what method did you succeed?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The best of my recollection of that is that they were presented and in some instances paid for by the periodical—in some instances, I believe.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, you employed some one to write an article, and because of the standing of the author the author was able then to sell the article to a periodical for publication?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe that is true.

Maj. HUMES. And the author of the article received remuneration both from your organization and from the periodical in which the article was published?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe that is true in some instances.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the confidential report of the publication committee that was in executive session in 1915, that comes from the files of the United States Brewers' Association, as follows:

During the past year a large number of articles have been published in many of the leading newspapers and magazines which have either been suggested by us or have been based on our investigations, and from the medical viewpoint articles and editorials have been published in the Medical Record, in the Journal of the Medical Association, and in the British Journal of Inebriety.

Now, I ask you who arranged for the writing of articles that were published in those papers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Who would know?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Fox.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the following in the same report:

Articles have been published in the Survey, Outlook, American Underwriter, and the Journal of the American Statistical Association, and the American Food Journal, and the National Municipal Review.

Do you know who arranged for the publication of those articles?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not. The secretary might know.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is Mr. Fox?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Fox; yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Were these articles mentioned paid for?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I could not tell you. I really do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Feigenspan, did you have any relations with any foreign language publications in the country as chairman or representative of that committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Louis N. Hammerling?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever have any correspondence or business transaction with him?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I never had any.

Maj. HUMES. In connection with foreign-language papers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have never had any correspondence.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever have any correspondence or connection with Sylvester Viereck?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have never had any.

Maj. HUMES. Did your committee have negotiations with him?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. If negotiations were carried on between your committee or anyone representing the United States Brewers' Association and the gentlemen just named, by whom would they have been conducted on behalf of your association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Well, by Mr. Fox, as secretary of the United States Brewers' Association; and there was a period where Mr. Andreae, who was connected with one of the activities of the United States Brewers' Association, had some correspondence, I believe, with Mr. Hammerling.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any knowledge of any transaction——

Senator KING. Major, are you through inquiring as to Hammerling?

Maj. HUMES. Of this witness; yes, sir.

Senator KING. Did you know that Mr. Hammerling claimed to control between 700 and 800 foreign-language newspapers in the United States?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I know very little about the Hammerling matter as chairman of the publication committee. I have heard of some things about Mr. Hammerling in connection with what we termed the "Andreae bureau."

Senator WOLCOTT. What was the Andreae bureau? Did that come under the euphemistic title of the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The National Association of Commerce and Labor was, I believe, a branch of it. Mr. Andreae, so to speak, hypnotized our convention one year and received practically carte blanche to conduct certain activities against prohibition.

Senator WOLCOTT. How much money did your association turn over to him to finance that propaganda of his, do you recall?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, I do not. It was a considerable sum, I believe.

Senator KING. He got a little over $800,000 in three years, did he not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I would not be surprised.

Senator KING. And he was to use a portion of it through the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe that there was something said about the National German-American Alliance in regard to that matter. Personally, I do not know of the transaction.

Maj. HUMES. You have no personal knowledge as to any moneys being paid by the United States Brewers' Association to the National German-American Alliance?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Of your own knowledge?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You were a member of the board of trustees of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. During what period of time?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have been a trustee for a considerable period; I do not remember just when I became a trustee.

Maj. HUMES. Was not the relation either established or to be established between the United States Brewers' Association and the National German-American Alliance discussed at this meeting of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not that I recall.

Maj. HUMES. Did you say that you did or did not know George Sylvester Viereck?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have never met the man.

Maj. HUMES. You have never met the man. Did you keep in touch with the activities of the publication committee and the places where they were appearing on their propaganda, and expending money, when you were on that committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The publication committee was located in the home office of the United States Brewers' Association, and as chairman, I kept in reasonable touch with it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know anything about the financing of this Montgomery Advertiser?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I was one of the indorsers on the notes.

Senator NELSON. One of the guaranty notes?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Feigenspan, what arrangements did you have with these men Allen and Sheehan to take care of your secondary liabilities?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know what the details of that transaction were any more than that Mr. Schmidt asked me whether I would indorse a note for a certain man, and I did so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did Mr. Schmidt tell you the arrangement existing between the purchasers of the newspapers and the brewers who were to indorse the notes?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I imagine he in a general way outlined it to me at the time. I do not recall the details of it. I knew we were to guarantee a certain amount of money which was in turn to be repaid at some future time.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was the agreement between the purchasers of the paper and the indorsers of the collateral security reduced to writing?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know of any of the details of the arrangement. Those arrangements were made by Mr. Schmidt.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Schmidt was an intermediary, then, between the group of indorsers and the purchasers of the paper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And he ought to be in possession of all the facts in connection with the transaction?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think he is.

Maj. HUMES. Was there any arrangement or understanding between the United States Brewers' Association and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association with reference to financing the political activities of their joint interests?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know of any definite arrangement as between the liquor interests and——

Maj. HUMES. Was there not an agreement by which the two interests would join in their political activities, and a certain percentage of the expense would be borne by the brewers and a certain percentage would be met by the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, or the distillers, as the word was frequently used?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that years ago there was some such arrangement.

Maj. HUMES. How many years ago did that arrangement exist?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say about up to two years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Up to two years ago. That would be up to 1916?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Along in that neighborhood, I should judge.

Maj. HUMES. Under what circumstances did the relation cease to exist?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I became president of the association about two years ago—a year and a half ago, I think is the exact time—and my own feelings in the matter were that it were better that we take care of ourselves and let them take care of themselves; that any arrangement or any matters that might be done, that they do them as they saw fit, and we would do ours as we saw fit.

Senator WOLCOTT. What was your reason for thinking that the better policy?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Well, I think there is quite a difference between beer and whisky as a product.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is it not a fact also that along about that time the brewers recognized that some concession had to be made to the so-called temperance forces, and that the reasonable thing for the brewers seemed to be that the stronger drink had just as well be cut out in the hope that the milder drink therefore be saved?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I do not think that was altogether the viewpoint. I think a great many brewers have been of the belief that their product was the superior product and not an injurious product in any way, and they have been more or less antagonistic to whisky themselves. I say that was probably a minority of our members. Others thought we had a common battle and that we should fight it together, and the result was that the severance finally came about, I should say, about a year and a half or two years ago.

Senator NELSON. But there has been no hostility between the two interests since then, has there?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. That has always been your position, has it, Mr. Fiegenspan. that you ought to divorce your interests?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I felt that way personally.

Maj. HUMES. Now, do you remember a joint meeting that was held on the 29th day of December, 1914, where there was a conference between the brewers and the distillers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Well, I am not sure as to the date.

Maj. HUMES. You remember attending such a conference?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I remember that there was such a conference and——

Maj. HUMES. Along in the early fall or winter of 1914?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I remember that there was such a conference.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that at that conference this very matter of the separation of the distilling from the brewing business was under discussion, at that meeting, and that the purpose of the meeting was to reconcile those differences, as the result of some criticism that had been made of the distillery people by you brewers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that may be correct.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, at that meeting, declare as follows:

Many of my friends outside of the trade have expressed this sentiment to me. That is, the sentiment that there should be a division.

With many of the brewers it is a question of salvage, and you can not stop the brewer whose business is destroyed or threatened with destruction from

taking a course of this kind if they believe it will be to their advantage. Personally, I am opposed to any division, but the momentum for it is growing greater outside of the industry.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. Did not that occur at that meeting?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. Now, was this question of the share that each organization was to pay discussed at that meeting?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember Col. Ruppert being present?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know whether he was there or not. He probably was.

Maj. HUMES. I will refresh your recollection. Do you remember Col. Ruppert making a statement of this kind?

The distillers are not paying their fair share. Instead of paying one-third in these campaigns they ought to pay one-half.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that Col. Ruppert quite likely said that if he was there.

Maj. HUMES. That was his sentiment, was it not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think so.

Maj. HUMES. But do you remember that having been discussed at the meeting?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I really believe it was, but I do not recollect that positively.

Maj. HUMES. In order to refresh your recollection, is it not a fact that up until recently the working agreement between the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association and the brewers has been that one-third of the expense of the political activities should be defrayed by the distillers, or the wholesale liquor dealers, and two-thirds by the brewers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe that was the arrangement some years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that that same arrangement goes on down through the State organizations of these respective trades?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Senator WOLCOTT. How is it in your State; does that arrangement exist?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir; it does not.

Senator WOLCOTT. Between the local organizations of these trades in your own State?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did it exist?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. It never did to my knowledge?

Maj. HUMES. Are you familiar with the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Were you present at the Atlantic City convention when that association was organized?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I must have been there. I have not missed any conventions.

Maj. HUMES. Have you not had any conferences at which the work of that association was discussed both in the presence of and in the absence of Mr. Andreae?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have been at some conferences where that has been discussed; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not one of the purposes of that organization to control the foreign-language press of the country and to dominate its policy?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not think so. I do not recall any such matter in connection with the controlling of the foreign-language press.

Maj. HUMES. Can you tell us how the activities of the publication committee were carried on, other than the advertising that you have referred to? What other activities were conducted?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Well, we spoke about the articles that were prepared by the statistician and the advertising. That about covers the scope of the activities of the publication committee, as I recall it.

Maj. HUMES. Did the publication committee concern itself with the moving-picture business?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that there were a number of moving-picture suggestions presented, but I do not know—I think there was one film gotten out.

Maj. HUMES. One film gotten out that was used over the country?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that was the film of the manufacture of beer.

Maj. HUMES. "Liquid Bread" was the title of it, was it not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think so.

Maj. HUMES. Did you undertake to utilize the legitimate stage for the purpose of carrying on your propaganda?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know how that film was——

Maj. HUMES. Well. I mean aside from the films, now; the legitimate stage, the drama. Did you utilize the drama?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Well, no; that was Mr. Andreae.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Andreae did that?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. He had something to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Senator NELSON. You have referred to a commerce and labor organization. Will you tell us what that is? It was mentioned awhile ago.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. To the best of my knowledge the National Association of Commerce and Labor is an organization which was created for the purpose of raising funds.

Senator NELSON. Was that inspired directly or indirectly by the brewers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that was the creation of Mr. Andreae.

Senator NELSON. How is that?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Of Mr. Andreae.

Senator NELSON. I know, but I asked you the question, Was that inspired directly or indirectly by the brewing interests?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Why, I imagine you might say that.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Andreae was the man who conceived the idea.

Senator NELSON. When was that organization formed, the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know the exact year. I am guessing, but I should say about 1914; somewhere along there. It was about 1914. I am not sure of the year.

Senator OVERMAN. Was he in the employ of the brewers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. What is that?

Senator OVERMAN. Was Mr. Andreae in the employ of the brewers.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Andreae was in the employ of the brewers. He was a brewer himself, however.

Senator NELSON. What was the object of that organization?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. To raise funds.

Senator NELSON. For what?

Senator WOLCOTT. It was more than that, Mr. Feigenspan.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Well, I know very little about the Association of Commerce and Labor. I know that it was created for the purpose of raising funds in connection with Mr. Andreae's scheme of general publicity, and so on.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course the raising of funds was for a purpose; the funds were to be used in a certain way.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The funds were to be used by Mr. Andreae for whatever his ideas were. He probably had full charge of them.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that the purpose of that was to raise funds to carry on propaganda under Mr. Andreae's direction.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That about covers it.

Senator OVERMAN. Was it to raise funds from the brewers or from the general public?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Why, from the brewers. It was trying to interest the allied trades with us; in other words, those people who were more or less dependent in their business on what purchases the brewers made from them.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know why it was named an association of commerce and labor?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know why they chose that name.

Senator NELSON. Was it not for the purpose of making the people, the public, believe that it was a kind of an innocent concern and was not interested in carrying on the propaganda of the brewers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. May I just interrupt for one question there, Senator?

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know, as a matter of fact, that the reason that the name National Association of Commerce and Labor was accepted at the meeting at which it was organized at Atlantic City, was because of the similarity of that name to that of one of the departments of the Federal Government?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, I do not.

Maj. HUMES. And was not that suggested as one of the advantages of that name?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recollect that.

Senator KING. The organization, the corporation, known as the National Association of Commerce and Labor, was a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, and it was incorporated in 1913, was it not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Senator KING. And under the direction of Mr. Andreae?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe that is true.

Senator KING. And it was for the purpose of interesting what you have denominated allied organizations, such as the manufacturers of bottles?

Senator OVERMAN. And stoppers?

Senator KING. Well, all articles that would be remotely or directly related to the brewing and the liquor trades?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is true.

Senator KING. And Mr. Andreae received carte blanche there from the brewers and the liquor organizations to solicit contributions from those allied trades, and then to utilize the contributions which he received from them and from the brewers' organizations and the liquor organizations, for the purpose of combatting the temperance movement in any portion of the United States where they appeared?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. For the purpose of combating the prohibition movement.

Senator KING. The prohibition movement; and that his authority went so far as to authorize him to oppose candidates in various legislative districts within States, who might be opposed to the brewing and liquor interests, and to secure legislation that would be favorable to the brewers and to the liquor interests; or at any rate, to oppose legislation that would be hostile to those interests?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. His idea—the idea of it was to create public opinion, to express itself favorably to our interests.

Senator NELSON. Public opinion against candidates as well as principles, I suppose?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Well, public opinion, that we might not be exterminated.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. As against the prohibition movement.

Senator WOLCOTT. And that activity extended not only to creating favorable sentiment toward the business concerns but also to the securing of men on the party tickets who would be favorable to that business?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not believe that the idea of the Andreae program was entirely a political machine in the sense in which you are trying to put it. The Andreae program, as I understood it and as I believe it has been presented on a number of occasions by Mr. Andreae himself, was for the purpose of trying to create public opinion with reference to prohibition.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes: it is perfectly clear that that was one of the purposes; but Mr. Andreae is also very explicit in saying that the organization went a bit further than that.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I know very little about it.

Senator WOLCOTT. It went clear down to indorsing nominees on party tickets, in seven or eight States, as I recall.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I know very little of Mr. Andreae's bureau. He took matters very much in his own hands and conducted it as he saw fit.

Senator KING. I suppose it is a fact, and it seems to me it is a matter of public knowledge, that there was a strong public sentiment being developed in the United States; that there were antisaloon organizations being established in the counties and States, and efforts

were being made against these local organizations, and the brewers and liquor interests seeing that their business was being jeopardized, they organized for the purpose of combating the organizations against them; and if prohibition candidates were put up in various legislative districts—that is, men supposed to favor prohibition—the liquor interests and the brewing interests attempted to defeat them and to secure men as candidates for the legislature who would oppose prohibition?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. We endeavored to have men elected who would oppose prohibition.

Maj. HUMES. You were present at a meeting of the board of trustees of the United States Brewers' Association on February 11, 1915; and, to refresh your recollection of the arrangement between the two organizations, I call your attention to this extract from the report of the organization bureau at that meeting:

> Mr. Gardner presented the report of his organization bureau. He reviewed the recent activities of the bureau and stated that a joint committee of six—three from the brewers and three from the distillers—would be created to regulate the expenditure of funds in any of the contests in which the two interests might cooperate, with the understanding that expenditures must not be made in any State that will not bear the closest scrutiny and of the legality of which there must be no doubt.
>
> On motion the report was received and adopted.

Do you remember that?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall that. It may be correct.

Maj. HUMES. Does that refresh your recollection as to the proportion of the expense which each one of these organizations was to pay?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe I have stated that my recollection of that was that the brewers paid two-thirds and the distillers one-third.

Maj. HUMES. What other newspapers than the Washington Times and the Montgomery Advertiser did you help, either personally or through your official connection with the United States Brewers' Association and your association with other brewers, to finance?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have helped one other paper personally, the Newark Ledger.

Senator NELSON. What paper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The Newark Ledger.

Senator OVERMAN. New York or Newark, did you say?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The Ledger of Newark, N. J.

Senator NELSON. Is that a weekly or a daily paper, or both?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. It is a daily paper, and also a Sunday paper.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a morning and evening paper, both?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Morning and evening and Sunday.

Maj. HUMES. To what extent have you financed that paper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Personally?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I have financed it to the extent of about $15,000, I think it is.

Senator NELSON. You mean that personally?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. $15,500 on notes.

Senator NELSON. And the association, or the interests?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Nothing.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that you have financed it to the extent of $15,000?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I personally have loaned this newspaper $15,500.
Senator NELSON. Did your organization loan them any money?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not a cent.
Maj. HUMES. What is the nature of the security that you hold?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Notes indorsed by the owner.
Maj. HUMES. Is it a corporation?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. For how long a period of time have those notes been running—approximately?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say about a year altogether.
Maj. HUMES. And this financial support was given for the purpose of starting the paper, was it not?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; the paper had started.
Maj. HUMES. The morning paper had started?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The morning paper had started.
Maj. HUMES. But the evening paper was started as a result of your financial assistance?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I had made some advances to him while the morning paper was in existence, and the evening paper required some more assistance.
Maj. HUMES. That is all the financing that you have done for that paper?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is all that I have done personally. I am interested in two other companies that have financed them to some extent.
Senator NELSON. What are those companies?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. One is the Oraton Investment Co., which is a holding company for the Christian Feigenspan Brewery, and the other company is the New Jersey Development Co., which is a small company of which I am the principal stockholder.
Senator NELSON. Is that mixed up in the brewing business also?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.
Senator NELSON. What is the New Jersey Development Co.?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. It is a company that I organized about four or five years ago to take over a small interest that I had in different things. I called it the Jersey Development Co.
Senator NELSON. How much have those two companies you have just named contributed to this newspaper?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. One has contributed $75,000, and the other $59,500.
Senator NELSON. What security have they got? Is it in the shape of a loan?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. In the shape of a loan—notes.
Senator NELSON. Who signed the notes?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The owner of the paper.
Senator WOLCOTT. That is a total of $150,000 which you and the concerns in which you are interested have advanced to this newspaper?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.
Senator OVERMAN. Have you any collateral?
Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Notes; that is all.
Senator OVERMAN. Just simply notes for the money?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is all; notes indorsed by the owner.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the understanding as to the repayment of those notes?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. To repay them as he can. The fact of the matter is that there would not have been as much money in it if I could have avoided it. The paper has not been successful, and has been rather expensive.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who controls the paper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The owner has the stock interest.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who controls the policy of the paper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. He does.

Senator WOLCOTT. You have no voice in it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. And never undertake to make any suggestions to him as to the policy?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No. It is up to him to decide his own policy.

Senator WOLCOTT. And there was no understanding with him when the loans originated as to what should be the policy of the paper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. With respect to the brewing interests?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I assumed that he was friendly to our interests, otherwise I probably would not have helped him along with the paper. He had been friendly, and he came to me and asked for assistance, and I gave it to him, and the result is that I have been helping him since—it is purely personal, a more or less friendly matter rather than anything else.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was a case where there was a newspaper that was friendly to your interests, and to save that newspaper from going out of business you came to its rescue?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is about what it amounts to.

Senator WOLCOTT. And of course your motive was that the paper might continue as an advocate of your ideas in connection with the business.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I was pleased to have it that way. There is no doubt about that.

Maj. HUMES. Did you at any time have any discussion with the publisher of this paper as to whether or not there should be secrecy maintained as to your connection with the paper or your financial obligations?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No. That matter has been public for some time. As a matter of fact, he himself, I believe, gave it out. about six or eight months ago.

Maj. HUMES. In order to keep the record straight, I call the committee's attention to the following report of this newspaper, which does not appear to show these particular securities outstanding, which accounts for the inquiry as to secrecy.

Senator OVERMAN. That is the sworn statement by the newspaper?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; to the Post Office Department, and I place it in evidence.

(The paper was marked "Feigenspan Exhibit No. 1," and is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

FEIGENSPAN EXHIBIT No. 1.

[Copy.]

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of Newark Morning Ledger, published Daily
(Insert title of publication.) (State frequency of issue.)
at Newark, N. J., for Oct. 1, 1918.
(Name of post office and State.) (State whether for April 1 or October 1.)

STATE OF NEW JERSEY, } ss.
COUNTY OF ESSEX }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared F. T. Russell, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of the Newark Morning Ledger
(State whether editor, publisher, business manager, or owner.) (Insert title of publication.)
and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of—	Post office address—
Publisher F. T. Russell	Newark, N. J.
Editor "	" "
Managing Editor F. T. Russell	" "
Business Managers "	" "

(If there are none, so state.)

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

F. T. Russell, Newark, N. J.
Marion H. Russell,

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

Mergenthaler Linotype Co., New York City, N. Y.
Scott Printing Press Company, Plainfield, N. J.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for which such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is 28,744. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

F. T. RUSSEL.
(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this Second day of October, 1918.
[SEAL.] H. A. KABCENELL.
(My commission expires October 1920.)
Form 3526.—Ed. 1916.

NOTE.—This statement must be made in duplicate and both copies delivered by the publisher to the postmaster, who shall send one copy to the Third As-

sistant Postmaster General (Division of Classification), Washington, D. C. and retain the other in the files of the post office. The publisher must publish a copy of this statement in the second issue printed next after its filing.

Senator WOLCOTT. The notes which you hold as evidence of this indebtedness are the notes of the individual owner of the paper, or are they the notes of the corporation?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. They are the notes of the corporation indorsed by the individual.

Maj. HUMES. With reference to this corporation, this New Jersey Development Co., who are the stockholders?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. They are mostly relatives, and some of the employees of our brewery.

Maj. HUMES. Are there any other brewers or brewing concerns who are stockholders?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Maj. HUMES. I do not care who the individuals are.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; there are no brewing interests interested in that company in any way.

Maj. HUMES. What is the business of that corporation?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The history of it is that I grub-staked a man to South Africa, and he happened to bring home a little money, and I had bought some hops once for a lot of friends on a different speculation, and I made some money, and instead of dividing it up we thought we would put it into one pot and see if we could not make some more money, and that is how it came into existence.

Maj. HUMES. Has it been used in any way for newspaper purposes, to control or dominate the policy of any newspaper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Absolutely not.

Maj. HUMES. Except this one loan?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is all.

Maj. HUMES. When you made the loan or became an indorser for the loan to the Montgomery Advertiser, at whose solicitation did you do it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Mr. Edward Schmidt, I believe, presented that.

Maj. HUMES. He is the president of the E. Schmidt & Sons Brewery in Philadelphia?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And also is the president of the Northwestern National Bank?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And at his solicitation you became one of the gentlemen who were the signers of these indorsements?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What, if any, understanding or agreement was entered into at that time with reference to the cost of the paper?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know anything about that.

Maj. HUMES. You entered into it on the faith of Mr. Schmidt recommendation?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. With reference to the Washington Times, did you negotiate that loan, or did some one else negotiate it, the same as Mr. Schmidt negotiated the Montgomery Advertiser matter?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not remember how it began, but I probably had more to do with it—in fact had all to do with it, ultimately bringing that transaction to a conclusion.

Maj. HUMES. Who first solicited this financial support?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall. I do not know whether that matter came to me through Mr. Brisbane or not, but I am inclined to think it did. I think it did.

Maj. HUMES. Who else might possibly have initiated the negotiations?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think it was Mr. Brisbane. Mr. Crain might have suggested it, and that might have led on to Mr. Brisbane, but I do not recall exactly.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Crain?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You mean Mr. Crain of Washington?

Maj. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. The general counsel for the Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever discuss that loan and the preliminary negotiations with anyone except Mr. Brisbane and Mr. Crain and the signers of the notes?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I might have asked some people to sign who did not agree to go along with it.

Maj. HUMES. How long had you known Mr. Brisbane?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say for a few years—two or three years.

Maj. HUMES. How did you get acquainted with him?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not just recall now. I think I met him when I went over to see him at his office one day about a certain matter that I had in mind.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever meet him prior to that time?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. Did you meet him as the result of business relations that you had with any of the New York papers?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No. I think I recall a newspaper in New Jersey, the Star-Eagle, which was in the hands of a receiver and which was offered for sale, and I went over there with the thought of trying to interest Mr. Brisbane in the purchase of that paper, but nothing came of it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you discuss the purchase of the Star-Eagle with Mr. Brisbane?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I tried to interest him in buying it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever try to interest anyone else in it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you talk with Mr. Hearst about it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I do not know Mr. Hearst.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Paul Block?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know what business Paul Block is in?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Have you not ever come in contact with Paul Block in your advertising campaigns, as an advertising man?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. And a press agent?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall him. With whom is he connected?

Maj. HUMES. With himself.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall him.

Maj. HUMES. I think under the name of Paul Block (Inc.).

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall him.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not remember the discussion in the Brewers Association of a million-dollar advertising campaign?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. You do not remember that at all?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I know that we have discussed advertising campaigns, but I do not recall that particular one.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know how much you have expended in one year in advertising campaigns?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Not off-hand; no, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. About how much?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The only one that I might guess at would be this last one, and I think we have expended in this last campaign something in the neighborhood of $300,000.

Senator OVERMAN. What last campaign do you mean?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The campaign that has been running during the last year, but I am guessing at those figures because I have not them intimately in mind.

Maj. HUMES. The appropriation for 1915 was $100,000 for advertising, was it not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not remember, I do not recall the amount.

Maj. HUMES. And in all this advertising that you have done, you have never come in contact with Mr. Block?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall him. I may have met him, but do not remember him.

Maj. HUMES. Subsequent to your interview with Mr. Brisbane Mr. Block acquired control of the Star-Eagle, did he not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know. I do not know whether there is a Mr. Block there.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Block is not there personally. Do not misunderstand me. Do you not know that he has acquired control of that paper, he and his associates?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I thought Mr. Thalheimer was the man who was practically in control of that paper. I am connected with a little company that is in the hands of a receiver, that is, I am merely there acting in behalf of the Federal Trust Co., and all of our negotiations for the lease of the building in which they are were made by a man named Thalheimer.

Maj. HUMES. Thalheimer or Talmage?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think he has changed his name, now that you have mentioned it. It used to be Thalheimer, and he has changed it to Talmage.

Maj. HUMES. Can you not refresh your recollection as to the negotiations undertaken to organize a million dollar advertising campaign?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not recall the particular campaign. There were some campaigns discussed, which would have involved a considerable sum of money, but any particular one involving a million dollars I do not recall.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know how the $300,000 in the last campaign was expended?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe the secretary has the figures here, which would show just how it was expended.

Maj. HUMES. What are the present dues or assessments of the members of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The dues are a half cent a barrel and the assessments are simply levied from time to time as necessity demands, or as we need funds. If we need any money for any purpose, we levy an assessment.

Maj. HUMES. In 1913 at a meeting in Chicago there were contracts made covering additional assessments of three cents a barrel for a period of five years, were there not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that is correct.

Maj. HUMES. Have those contracts been kept in force during the full period of five years?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know. Generally speaking, I think not. That was in connection with the Andreae program.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know how much money that would raise?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. It would raise a very big amount.

Maj. HUMES. The estimate was that it would become operative when brewers representing 25,000,000 barrels had subscribed. The minimum amount, therefore, would have been $750,000. As a matter of fact, the contracts that were signed at that time exceeded the minimum estimate?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think that is correct, although I do not recall that.

Senator WOLCOTT. What do you mean by contracts signed at that time?

Maj. HUMES. They signed a regular contract agreeing to contribute this much every year, 3 cents a barrel.

Senator NELSON. The brewers did?

Senator OVERMAN. And the minimum would be $750,000?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. It was to become operative as soon as 25,000,000 barrels had subscribed, and the 25,000,000 barrels would make $750,000. Unless they equaled or exceeded that amount, none of the contracts became operative.

Senator OVERMAN. Have you any proof to show the maximum amount collected?

Maj. HUMES. I think so; yes. In New Jersey, what is the assessment of the New Jersey State Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not think our assessment has ever been over 2 cents a barrel. It is generally 1 cent a barrel.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you mean to say that they would assess for a national campaign and then for a State campaign separtely?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The United States Brewers' Association is an organization which makes assessments according to their requirements.

Senator OVERMAN. And in addition to that, if a New Jersey corporation was a member of that association——

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. It would pay twice. It would pay to the national association and to the local or State association.

Senator OVERMAN. Was that so generally in all of the States?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe so; yes.

Senator OVERMAN. So they must have raised an enormous sum of money in that way, if the national raised $750,000 and then the State raised an additional amount?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. The actual collections of these amounts are not as large as they might seem to be. While the brewers, I believe, did contribute for a year, yet after a while they got tired of paying 3 cents a barrel, and it not so easy to collect it.

Maj. HUMES. What I wanted to get at was the way the State associations are related to the national association, and I speak of New Jersey now because of the fact that you come from that State. You have a New Jersey State Brewers' Association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you local brewery associations in small geographical divisions of the State?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No. There is only one association in New Jersey, and that is the New Jersey Brewers' Association.

Maj. HUMES. Are you connected officially with that organization?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I am a member of it.

Maj. HUMES. Are you an officer?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Maj. HUMES. Have you ever been an officer of it?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Maj. HUMES. Are you a director?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I am one of the trustees.

Maj. HUMES. If you are a trustee, then you are an officer, are you not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know. I presume I am in that sense.

Maj. HUMES. You say that the assessment in New Jersey is 2 cents a barrel?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No. I do not recall what our assessments were in a particular year. I think this last year it was 2 cents.

Maj. HUMES. The practice of these State associations is not to have regular dues, but when money is needed to make assessments?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; we have dues.

Maj. HUMES. But they make a special assessment if there is an emergency?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. And we have assessments for various matters.

Maj. HUMES. The 2 cents you speak of are the dues, are they not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; the dues of the New Jersey Association, I believe, are a half cent a barrel.

Maj. HUMES. Each State association has its own method of collecting funds?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Each State fixes its own dues and assessments.

Maj. HUMES. And you think your dues and assessment this year are 2 cents, but the assessment varies from year to year according to the necessity of the association, and each year they fix the assessment that is going to be collected, do they not?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. That is as I understand it; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is there a State wholesale liquor dealers' association in New Jersey?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Before you go into that, do I understand that your brewery, for instance, in Newark, N. J., would pay to the

national association a half cent a barrel regular dues, and 3 cents a barrel assessment?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. In the years where the assessments were 3 cents.

Senator WOLCOTT. That would be 3½ cents to the national association and in the same year you would pay to the State association a half cent a barrel regular dues, and if the assessment that year was 2 cents, that would make 2½ cents, total; so that if you found a year where the assessment, national, was 3 cents, and local 2 cents, the total of your contributions to that fund would be 6 cents a barrel in that year?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes; that is correct.

Maj. HUMES. With reference to the State Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, who are the officers of it in New Jersey?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Is there a working agreement similar to the working agreement that formerly existed between the national associations in New Jersey?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. To my knowledge there never has been a working agreement between the liquor dealers and the brewers in New Jersey.

Maj. HUMES. In campaigns did you not have your joint committees and cooperate?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know what the dues of the State Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association are in New Jersey?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Maj. HUMES. Did they have a local association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. What is the relation between your State brewers' association in New Jersey and the retail liquor dealers' association?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. None.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not have a working agreement, a joint committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that a few years ago a joint harmony committee was organized between the National Brewers' Association and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association and the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, in order to coordinate the activities of the three associations and to get greater efficiency?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I believe there was some attempt at some such thing.

Maj. HUMES. Were you a member of that committee?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I was not. I do not believe I was.

Senator OVERMAN. How many barrels of beer are manufactured in New Jersey that had to pay this tax?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. At the present time?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; or when it was being paid last year.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I should say about 2,500,000. Between that and 3,000,000.

Senator KING. I suggest that we take a recess at this point.

Senator OVERMAN. How long will it take you with this witness?

Maj. HUMES. I think I am practically through so far as this witness is concerned. There are just one or two more questions. Can you give this committee from your records at home exactly what

dues and assessments have been collected by the New Jersey State Brewers' Association during the last period of five years, by years?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think I can get that from the treasurer.

Maj. HUMES. The reason I am asking is this—to save the necessity of subpœnaing the treasurer. I think what the committee desires to know is the extent of these activities, and if you will furnish a schedule of the rates during a period of five years by the State association and the total amounts collected during that period——

Senator OVERMAN. National and State.

Maj. HUMES. The national records I assume we can get from another source.

Senator OVERMAN. That is true, but I assume that he would have some knowledge of it.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. You want the New Jersey State Association?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; the rates for a period of five years and the amount collected during that period of five years.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And if you will mail that to Senator Overman it will probably not be necessary to examine you on that subject any further.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I shall see that that is done.

Senator OVERMAN. You may send it to me as soon as you can.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I shall send it to you just as soon as I get back.

(A letter from the witness in response to the above request is here printed in the record, as follows:)

FEIGENSPAN EXHIBIT No. 2.

[Office of the president, C. W. Feigenspan, Christian Feigenspan, a corporation, brewers and bottlers of lager beer, ales, and porter.]

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, *Nov. 20, 1918.*

Hon. LEE S. OVERMAN,
Chairman, Sub-Committee on Judiciary,
U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with your request, I submit herewith the information you desire as to the amount of dues and assessments paid into the treasury of the New Jersey State Brewers' Association by its members:

1915 Receipts

On Basis of 3,287,297 barrels.	
Dues @ ½c per bbl	$16,436.48
Asses ment @ 1c bbl	32,872.97
Assessment @ 1c bbl	32,872.97
	82,182.42

1916 Receipts

On Basis of 3,093,480 barrels.	
Dues @ ½c per bbl	$15,467.40
Assessment @ 1c bbl	30,934.80
(Ex.) Assessment @ 1c per bbl. on 2,000,000 bbls	2,000.00
	48,402.20

1917 Receipts

On Basis of 3,234,31 barrels.	
Dues @ ½c per bbl	$16,171.55
Assessment @ 1c bbl	32,343.10
Assessment @ ½c per bbl	16,171.55
	64,686.20

1918 Receipts

On Basis of 2,910,311 barrels.
Assessment @ 2c per bbl $58,206.22
(No dues collected)

You asked for the five preceding years, but I am unable to give you the figures for the year 1914 because the former treasurer, who was in office during 1914, has since died and his records are not available.

Very truly yours,

C. W. FEIGENSPAN,
President.

Senator KING. Is there anything that you desire to interrogate this witness about relative to the papers he handed to you?

Maj. HUMES. I wanted a chance during the recess to look at those papers and see if there is anything that is not already in the record. I have not had a chance to look at them, they have been identified, and we will see that they are returned to you, or perhaps we can give them to Mr. Crain, who will return them to you.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I would like very much to take them back with me.

Senator WOLCOTT. When the payment on account of the Montgomery Advertiser notes was made, who made the payment?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I did. You mean——

Senator WOLCOTT. The original Montgomery Advertiser notes were for $50,000 each, and they have been reduced until they now stand at $45,000.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And some payments have been made on account of those two notes?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who made those two payments?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I think I received a check from Mr. Schmidt, but I would have to look that up to be sure. Do you mean who sent me the money?

Senator WOLCOTT. No; who paid the bank—the Northwestern Bank?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know. That is between Mr. Schmidt and the Montgomery Advertiser.

Maj. HUMES. Do you say that Mr. Schmidt sent you the money?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. I do not know whether he did or not. I understood the question to be who paid me. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Do I understand that your share of the financing of the Montgomery Advertiser was a direct outlay of money by you?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. A loan by you through the bank?

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. No; I indorsed the note.

Maj. HUMES. I thought so; and I wondered why the money would be paid to you.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Oh, no; that is a misstatement. I got my dates mixed a little on that trip.

Senator OVERMAN. We will take a recess at this point until 2.30 o'clock p. m.

(Accordingly, at 1 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee stood in recess until 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee met, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 2.30 o'clock p. m., Senator Lee S. Overman (chairman) presiding.

In response to an inquiry as to the whereabouts of Mr. Feigenspan, the witness on the stand at the time the recess was taken, it was stated that he had left the city, under the impression that the committee no longer desired his presence. Mr. Crain stated that Mr. Feigenspan had requested that the papers left by him with the committee might be turned over to Mr. Crain, and this was accordingly done.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HUGH F. FOX.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman).

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, you are the secretary of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period of time have you occupied that position?

Mr. Fox. Nearly 11 years.

Maj. HUMES. Where is the principal office of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. 50 Union Square, New York.

Maj. HUMES. Will you tell us briefly what the United States Brewers' Association was organized for, and in what practical purposes, either within or beyond the scope of the original purpose of the association, it is engaged—just a brief statement?

Mr. Fox. I will make it as brief as I can, sir.

The association was organized previous to the Civil War, about 56 or 57 years ago. I believe its inception arose in this way: At that time, of course, the brewing business was somewhat small; but, at a meeting of the National Democratic Convention, which was held in 1860, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania was a certain Frederick Lauer, of Reading, Pa. Mr. Lauer was a brewer. Mr. Lauer went to the convention, opposed secession, returned home, organized an infantry company, and interested a number of his colleagues on the Union side; and out of that, apparently, grew——

Senator WOLCOTT. What do you mean by "colleagues"?

Mr. Fox. Brewing colleagues. I understand that a good many such companies were organized by brewers. Most of the brewers at that time were of German origin or antecedents. Out of that grew the United States Brewers' Association, the original purpose of which was, I believe, to cooperate with the Government in establishing a fair and workable tax system. Either at the instance of the Government or in cooperation with the revenue officials, the brewers sent a commission abroad to study the revenue laws of other countries, and returned, making a suggestion which was highly commended, and was finally incorporated into the present internal-revenue-tax system—what is known as the barrel-tax system as applied to brewers.

Then, for a good many years, the association was developed along the technical side; and, then, came a movement to improve crop conditions; and, following that, a movement to establish fair labor conditions in the industry. The brewer was always very jealous of his

reputation as a manufacturer, but he was a poor merchant. His merchandising methods were extremely careless and unfortunate.

Then, along, perhaps, 30 years ago—I think it was about that time—suddenly came the invention of artificial refrigeration, followed by an enormous increase in our immigration. The invention of artificial refrigeration practically doubled, or more, the capacity of the breweries, and the result was an enormous overcompetition, and a tremendous increase in the number of saloons. The result of that overcompetition was, as you gentlemen, of course, have observed, in all our large cities, a very much greater number of saloons than were needed for the reasonable convenience of the people.

Senator NELSON. And many of those saloons were financed by the brewers?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir; exactly.

Seantor NELSON. They were really agencies of the brewers.

Mr. Fox. Yes—well, I was just going to come to that, Senator. As the result of that overcompetition, the brewers very foolishly—and that is what I referred to in their merchandising methods—were induced to finance these saloons, to the extent at least of their licensing and their equipment. They financed them, however, without really controlling them, which was a foolish business proposition. At any rate, out of that overcompetition and out of the lax municipal methods in some States, and the combination of circumstances, the saloon evil, as we know it, arose, and saloon conditions, in a good many parts of the country, became notoriously bad.

What I am leading up to is this: That along about the beginning of the present century, or perhaps a few years later, the brewers realized that the prohibition wave was growing, that there was something brewing besides beer, and they realized that the point of attack was mainly the saloon; and for some years they bent their efforts in rather a futile way to the improvement of saloon conditions, in some States cooperating with civic organizations, and in others with lawmaking bodies, to try and establish licensing conditions that would amend the situation. They did not go deep enough, however. The situation did not amend itself except in a few States. Then, along about the time that I became associated with the United States Brewers' Association they had finally come to realize, I think, that what they really had to deal with was a great public sentiment which had been gradually growing by various ways, and at last had become organized.

They then had two problems before them. One was the conversion of their own members to the conditions for which they were more or less responsible, and to the necessity for the betterment of conditions; and incidentally the leaders of the industry felt very strongly that there must be a separation from the liquor interests, and that the real temperance method was what is popularly known as the preference to beer and light wines. Now, that was a work which lasted considerable time. In fact, I do not think up to quite recently we could say that we had put it over with the large bulk of the industry. There was always opposition to it. Then, coincident with that, began this effort to—what shall I say?—to stem the growing sentiment against them and to try and get leaders of thought interested in putting forward some kind of a program, no matter how drastic it might

be, which, while developing a temperance method, might at the same time save the brewing industry.

Maj. HUMES. May I interrupt you there? I think there is one thing that you have overlooked in this analysis which you have made, and that is the noninterference program which existed with reference to labor disputes. That is really part of the history of the development of the industry, and one of the purposes of the organization, one of the things in which they interested themselves. Will you just explain what that is, and when it was inaugurated, and to what extent it continues to be in operation?

Mr. Fox. I am not quite sure that I get your thought, Major. Do you mean in regard to labor conditions?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; the noninterference resolutions.

Mr. Fox. Oh, yes. The brewers were, I think, perhaps the first great industry to become, and perhaps they are to-day the only industry to be, 100 per cent unionized; and an agreement was made among the brewers that if a strike occurred in any one city competing brewers who were shipping beer in from other cities would agree not to ship their beer during the settlement of the difficulty. It was a gentleman's agreement, and it was, I suppose, a rough and ready way of providing that the parties to the conflict should fight it out among themselves. Out of that grew the establishment of working relations of a cordial character between the brewery workers and the United States Brewers' Association and the appointment of a national adjuster on our part.

Maj. HUMES. Go ahead. That is your general statement of it. I do not want to interrupt your statement of the activities and purposes of the association. Please go on where you left off.

Senator OVERMAN. You were talking about the effort to counteract this prohibition sentiment.

Mr. Fox. Then came up the question of a publicity department, a publicity system. The association had always published rather scholarly volumes and pamphlets, etc., which had reached a very small number of the people, and they floundered around for a long time trying to find what was the best way of reaching two classes of people: First, the class of people who lead public sentiment, and then the mass of the people. I think we made as many mistakes as anybody in such a predicament could make in trying to solve that problem, and I think we finally concluded that it was an utterly impossible task to reach the mass of the people directly, and therefore that the problem before us was to try to put the facts before the people of the country whom we believed to be the leaders of public sentiment.

I think that general statement covers the matter.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, have you responded fully to the subpœna duces tecum that was served?

Mr. Fox. I have everything that we have here, sir, in our possession.

Maj. HUMES. In order to save time, while we are going on with other matters, if I may take this and let Capt. Lester look it over it will save your time and the time of the committee.

Mr. Fox. I have made a very diligent search, and had my clerks make it, and I think we have everything here.

Maj. HUMES. While you are unwrapping that package I will ask you a question or two. Have you in with these papers the canceled checks and check books of the association or any of the financial records of the association?

Mr. FOX. I have the records of our receipts from dues, of the receipts from the advertising fund, of the expenditures for advertising, and the current month's expenditures, perhaps, and I have the pass books of the banks with which we deal, which the treasurer furnished me.

Maj. HUMES. Has the practice of the association during the last two years in handling the financial records of the association changed, or is the practice that seemed to be adhered to prior to February, 1916, still in vogue, namely, the destruction of check stubs and the destruction of canceled checks with each bank balance?

Mr. FOX. I believe that practice is still in vogue, but that is a matter about which the treasurer can tell you.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Fox, there has been some mention of the noninterference resolutions. You say that the brewers were 100 per cent union. Is it not a fact that the attitude of the brewing industry toward organized labor was a subject of much agitation and much discussion, and that it was finally decided for political reasons that in order to secure or endeavor to secure the help and cooperation of organized labor in political contests it was expedient to unionize the industry? Is not that a fact?

Mr. FOX. I do not think it is, sir. I do not recall any such discussion in my time. I think it is probable—this is somewhat conjecture—that the determining consideration was the fact that probably 90 per cent of the product is consumed by workingmen.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the United States Brewers' Association utilized or created a labor department in its political activities for the purpose of trying to dominate as far as possible the labor vote in its political contests?

Mr. FOX. Not to my knowledge. It might have been to some extent the case without my knowing it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Fox, how long has the industry been 100 per cent unionized?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I have been associated with it for 11 years, and I should say before that time.

Senator WOLCOTT. When you say the industry has been 100 per cent unionized, do you mean by that only that portion of the industry that has joined the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FOX. No; I think practically every brewery in the country was a union shop.

Senator NELSON. A closed shop?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that there were on the pay roll of the United States Brewers' Association certain members or officers of labor organizations whose activities in behalf of the association were purely political?

Mr. FOX. Not to my knowledge, sir. To be specific, we had, in general, charge of what we call the labor department of the association a gentleman named Moffett, who was the former president of a labor organization. I presume that his connection with it has only

been nominal since he was with us. We also had in the organization bureau a gentleman named Thompson, who, I believe, was the president of a national labor organization. Those are the only two of whom I have any personal knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. They were on the pay roll of the United States Brewers' Association, were they not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. You did have a labor department?

Mr. FOX. We had a labor department. However, the understanding was that the labor department was for the purpose of adjusting labor difficulties within the industry. That was in the charge of the gentleman named Moffett.

Senator OVERMAN. If you were all unionized, why should there be any trouble?

Mr. FOX. Oh, constant difficulties were arising, and the labor adjuster of our organization and the officers of the International Brewery Workers' Union would be called by the locals to the spot to act as adjusters and conciliators.

Maj. HUMES. I will pass the labor matter for the present, until we find some data here.

Senator WOLCOTT. There were some breweries that manufactured what the union men called "scab" beer, were there not?

Mr. FOX. Oh, yes; occasionally, here and there; but in volume of output I should say that the industry was overwhelmingly union.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, you say that the brewing industry was unionized. Was there ever any national agreement made with the unions directly affected?

Mr. FOX. I do not think that would have been practicable.

Maj. HUMES. I am speaking of the fact, not the practicability of it. Was not that matter up, and did not the association refuse to recognize nationally or enter into any national agreement with organized labor at the executive sessions of the trustees and of the labor committee?

Mr. FOX. Let me say before I answer that question, if I may be allowed, that I am not speaking as much by the card on details of the labor matter as I might on some others, because I only have a general knowledge of it; but my recollection is that the employers were constantly urging the International Brewery Workers' Union to have such a national agreement, and that they said it was not feasible. I think the effort came from our side.

Senator NELSON. Did you have charge of the publicity bureau?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir. That was under my general supervision.

Senator NELSON. Will you go on and tell us the way in which you operated that bureau? What work did you do in the publicity department, whom did you employ, and how did you carry on your work?

Mr. FOX. It is so much of a story that I am a little puzzled how to begin, Senator. If you will let me do it in my own way, I will do the best I can.

Senator NELSON. All right.

Mr. FOX. For instance, Mr. Koren's name was mentioned this morning. When I came to the association I was immediately impressed by the constant mass of utterly misleading data which was being put before the public by the protagonists of the prohibition

movement. It seemed to me that it was highly important for us, acting presumably selfishly on behalf of an industry, to make sure that everything in the nature of a statement of fact or a statistical nature that we sent out should be able to stand the light of he closest scrutiny. I had been associated in public work of other kinds for some time with Mr. John Koren, and was very much impressed not only with his ability as a statistician but with the remarkable work which he did as the secretary of the so-called committee of fifty which had conducted an investigation under Seth Low and a group of public men for a number of years into the various aspects of the liquor business. I was responsible for the retaining of Mr. Koren.

Senator NELSON. You hired him?

Mr. Fox. Yes. It was an annual retainer.

Senator NELSON. How much?

Mr. Fox. I have forgotten what it started at; in a rather modest way, but——

Senator NELSON. What did it culminate in?

Mr. Fox. It finally culminated in $5,000 a year.

Senator NELSON. Is he still employed?

Mr. Fox. No; he was until a few months ago.

Senator NELSON. He quit a few months ago?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator NELSON. How long did you employ him?

Mr. Fox. As my recollection serves me, it ran for 9 or 10 years.

Senator NELSON. He was employed in writing for the magazines, was he not?

Mr. Fox. No, sir. The understanding I had with Mr. Koren, which was of a verbal nature, was that he was not to be called upon to write for us; that he was not to be called upon to submit to us anything that he did write; that he was to have an absolutely free hand to state his own views in any way he saw fit, but he was to furnish statistical advice, to furnish statistical tables where called upon, and to do a considerable amount of translating.

Senator NELSON. You know about his having articles published in the Atlantic Monthly, do you not?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir; but I did not see any of those articles until they were published.

Senator NELSON. Now, go on and tell us what agencies you employed and the methods in which you carried on your work.

Mr. Fox. First of all, we began by the publication of reprints of articles which appeared in the newspapers and magazines and wherever anything appealed to us as being accurate and valuable.

Senator NELSON. Was that in pamphlet form?

Mr. Fox. Yes; generally in pamphlet form.

Senator NELSON. And circulated through the mails?

Mr. Fox. Those were circulated in several ways. For instance, we made mailing lists, individual mailing lists, legislators, publicists; in a general way, the class of people that you would naturally think of as professional classes. Then we also furnished those pamphlets in bulk to the State and local associations for their use in any way they saw fit. The volume of it is indicated by the fact that in 1915 we distributed in these various channels something like 11,000,000 of these pamphlets.

Senator NELSON. What other activities in the publicity line did you engage in?

Mr. FOX. Then we also made an effort to see that any notable publications were put in the hands of libraries and higher institutions of learning, and in some cases——

Senator NELSON. You mean by "notable publications," notable publications in the interest of your business?

Mr. FOX. No; I would like to qualify that, Senator. For instance, the reports of the committee of fifty; the report recently of the British Board of Liquor Control Commission; some reports or volumes published by notable scientists on Scandinavian countries; some of the reports of the British Society for the Study of Inebriety. My own thought in the matter was that it would be an exceedingly unintelligent and futile thing to try to put over anything of that kind as a special plea; that unless there was some kind of a case for the light beverages, no matter under what conditions they were sold, whether under public control or any other way, we had better not send out anything at all.

Senator NELSON. The kind of publications that you have just described you did not attempt to circulate among the masses, but you distributed them among what you call the intellectuals?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator NELSON. To get them right?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Now, what other activities in the publication line did you engage in—what other methods?

Mr. FOX. We tried various experiments with press agencies.

Senator NELSON. Among others, with Louis Hammerling, did you not?

Mr. FOX. I never had any dealings with Louis Hammerling. I know nothing about that.

Senator NELSON. No; but your association. Now, mind here, Mr. Fox, we are not only after what you know individually or what you have done individually, but what your association, that you represent, has done.

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator NELSON. So do not try to distinguish. We are after what your association has done, either through you or through others.

Mr. FOX. Senator, if I may be allowed to say so, I am before you in a spirit of perfect frankness and with a desire to cooperate in every possible way that I can.

Senator NELSON. I have not any doubt about that.

Mr. FOX. Perhaps I may say just what I know about this Hammerling matter, or at least what I believe I know.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. FOX. It involves somewhat the history of this National Association of Commerce and Labor. That association, as I think was stated this morning, was practically an organization of allied industries whose business was largely or entirely dependent upon the brewers; and the feeling was, both on their part and on the part of the brewers, that they ought to be bearing a part of the expense of the educational work which was going on. I think they were just as willing to contribute as we were to have them contribute.

Senator NELSON. But how can you account for the fact that they gave that activity the high-sounding name of National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I think that was a piece of very poor judgment, myself, Senator. However, that association was started by a gentleman of ability, but to my mind somewhat visionary ideas, Mr. Andreae. Mr. Andreae's concept, as I have been able to gather it, was, differentiating his work from mine, that his particular scheme was to educate the voter for the vote. Now, among the various people who succeeded in beguiling Mr. Andreae was this Mr. Hammerling, the president of the Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers. My impression is that that association was orginally started as a sort of an advertising agency.

Senator NELSON. Was it not an association that would offer its services indiscriminately in each political campaign for either party?

Mr. FOX. That is the impression that I got, sir.

Senator NELSON. They were ready to sell out to the world, the flesh, and the devil at any time?

Mr. FOX. Well, I do not want to be responsible for anything of that kind; but, at any rate, I always felt that the Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers had done a very clever piece of business in persuading Mr. Andreae that their services were worth the large amount of money he paid them.

Senator NELSON. How much did he pay them?

Mr. FOX. I do not recollect, but I think Maj. Humes has the record. I think it was something over $200,000.

Senator NELSON. Altogether?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator NELSON. During what period was that paid?

Mr. FOX. I think that runs for about two years.

Senator NELSON. Two years.

Mr. FOX. Possibly two and a half years. They published a magazine of their own, which was called—I have forgotten what it was called.

Maj. HUMES. The "Hearthstone"? You mean the American Leader?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That was the official publication of the Association of American Foreign-Language Newspapers.

Senator NELSON. Will you let me interrupt you there a moment? I want to get my bearings. Now, can you give me a list of the names of the publications that you utilized in publishing what I call, for short, your propaganda, or publishing your side of the case? What papers, what publications, and what magazines did you utilize for that purpose?

Mr. FOX. I do not think I could answer that specifically, Senator. In that respect we were opportunists, and whenever we saw an article, for instance, which we thought would appeal to a certain class of the people or a certain class of readers, we fired it at them. Sometimes it landed and sometimes it did not. Sometimes men would come to us perfectly frankly and say that they had been assigned to write an article or thought that they had the facilities for getting a certain article published, and they would ask for the

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Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator NELSON. So do not try to distinguish. We are after what your association has done, either through you or through others.

Mr. FOX. Senator, if I may be allowed to say so, I am before you in a spirit of perfect frankness and with a desire to cooperate in every possible way that I can.

Senator NELSON. I have not any doubt about that.

Mr. FOX. Perhaps I may say just what I know about this Hammerling matter, or at least what I believe I know.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. FOX. It involves somewhat the history of this National Association of Commerce and Labor. That association, as I think was stated this morning, was practically an organization of allied industries whose business was largely or entirely dependent upon the brewers; and the feeling was, both on their part and on the part of the brewers, that they ought to be bearing a part of the expense of the educational work which was going on. I think they were just as willing to contribute as we were to have them contribute.

Senator NELSON. But how can you account for the fact that they gave that activity the high-sounding name of National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I think that was a piece of very poor judgment, myself, Senator. However, that association was started by a gentleman of ability, but to my mind somewhat visionary ideas, Mr. Andreae. Mr. Andreae's concept, as I have been able to gather it, was, differentiating his work from mine, that his particular scheme was to educate the voter for the vote. Now, among the various people who succeeded in beguiling Mr. Andreae was this Mr. Hammerling, the president of the Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers. My impression is that that association was orginally started as a sort of an advertising agency.

Senator NELSON. Was it not an association that would offer its services indiscriminately in each political campaign for either party?

Mr. FOX. That is the impression that I got, sir.

Senator NELSON. They were ready to sell out to the world, the flesh, and the devil at any time?

Mr. FOX. Well, I do not want to be responsible for anything of that kind; but, at any rate, I always felt that the Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers had done a very clever piece of business in persuading Mr. Andreae that their services were worth the large amount of money he paid them.

Senator NELSON. How much did he pay them?

Mr. FOX. I do not recollect, but I think Maj. Humes has the record. I think it was something over $200,000.

Senator NELSON. Altogether?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator NELSON. During what period was that paid?

Mr. FOX. I think that runs for about two years.

Senator NELSON. Two years.

Mr. FOX. Possibly two and a half years. They published a magazine of their own, which was called—I have forgotten what it was called.

Maj. HUMES. The "Hearthstone"? You mean the American Leader?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That was the official publication of the Association of American Foreign-Language Newspapers.

Senator NELSON. Will you let me interrupt you there a moment? I want to get my bearings. Now, can you give me a list of the names of the publications that you utilized in publishing what I call, for short, your propaganda, or publishing your side of the case? What papers, what publications, and what magazines did you utilize for that purpose?

Mr. FOX. I do not think I could answer that specifically, Senator. In that respect we were opportunists, and whenever we saw an article, for instance, which we thought would appeal to a certain class of the people or a certain class of readers, we fired it at them. Sometimes it landed and sometimes it did not. Sometimes men would come to us perfectly frankly and say that they had been assigned to write an article or thought that they had the facilities for getting a certain article published, and they would ask for the

facilities of our library. Incidentally, I will say that we have, I think, probably the most highly specialized library of its kind in the country.

Senator NELSON. Did you buy space in newspapers?

Mr. FOX. Not to my recollection.

Senator NELSON. Never.

Mr. FOX. Except as advertising.

Senator NELSON. No; I mean space either for advertisements or for literary matter—for editorial matter?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall any arrangement of that kind, but a good many arrangements of this kind were made: It would come to our knowledge that a certain publication, we will say, was going to publish an article. Perhaps they would tell us, perfectly frankly. As a general rule we found that if we waited until an article was published in any newspaper or magazine the number of copies we could get of it was very small; so that, therefore, it was, I think, generally known that in advance we were in the market for as many copies as we thought we could distribute.

Senator NELSON. That was one way of inducing them to publish it, to have you take a large supply of copies, was it not?

Mr. FOX. I think so.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. FOX. Perhaps I can illustrate——

Senator NELSON. Will you allow me to interrupt you a moment?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Did you do anything the reverse of that kind? Did you ever make any efforts to exclude hostile articles when you got wind of them in the papers?

Mr. FOX. Not to my recollection.

Senator NELSON. Nothing of that kind?

Mr. FOX. No, sir. Just while I think of it, Senator, because this illustrates what you have been asking, mention was made this morning, for instance, of a committee on alcohol of—I think it is called—the International or the National Socialist Organization. Now, it was published somewhere or other, I do not remember where, that a committee had been appointed by the Socialist Party to make an investigation of this liquor problem, and it was quite an imposing committee. The impression that I got was that the committee, at least in its leadership, was antagonistic—that is, it had strong prohibition leanings. Now, I think we made a studied attempt to see that all the best-known books, like reports of the Committee of Fifty, and these other books I have referred to, were put in the hands of the members of that committee. I think we had some correspondence with them offering them the facilities of our library, and so forth. At any rate, we made an honest effort to get them to take this question up entirely impartially and with open minds.

Senator NELSON. Will you please tell me why you as brewers—I do not mean you personally, of course, yourself, but why your organization—as a brewers' organization are so interested in the other branch of the liquor business that you are concerned about having friendly matter published in reference to alcohol and whisky, outside of your own industry? That was because you operated in conjunction—were affiliated—in some manner?

Mr. Fox. Senator, there had been an inside difference of opinion, to put it mildly, between the leaders of our industry and the leaders of the liquor interests, and the effort of our leaders, of our publication committee, as I recall it, from the very inception of my regulation of that, was to prepare not only our people but the public for what seemed to us to be perfectly inevitable, and that was for the control—the social control, I mean—of all the ardent spirits, and the differentiation along some such lines as had been adopted in the Scandinavian and other countries, between liquors and beer. Now, the constant complaints that have been made——

Senator NELSON. Did you not have a suspicion that if the public were deprived of spirituous and alcoholic liquors, it might diminish their taste for beer and destroy your market in that way?

Mr. Fox. I think that was a debatable question, Senator.

Senator NELSON. How?

Mr. Fox. I think that was a debatable question, and I do not remember its being debated very seriously.

Senator NELSON. Yes; but was not that a consideration? Did you not have a feeling among you—you brewers—that if the whiskey interests, or if the alcoholic interests, or the distilling interests were wrecked it would be bad for you, would injure you, too?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall that having been expressed, Senator, but there was a very definite feeling on the part of a very large number of brewers that the saloon could not exist without the sale of whisky, and the brewer had put himself in a false position by financing the saloon. He had practically tied himself up with the liquor interests, and that was the position from which some of us were trying to extricate him.

Senator NELSON. Did they not reach a point where the brewers were financing saloons—you know how they did it?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator NELSON. And I know.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator NELSON. That they would get cheap fellows, anyone they could get, and establish a saloon, rent a building and furnish it, and furnish the equipment for him, with the understanding that he was to sell their beer, and then they would furnish him with the whisky, etc. Was not that the fact?

Mr. Fox. I do not think you have got that straight, Senator.

Senator NELSON. Well, pretty near it.

Mr. Fox. The feeling I had was that the brewer had been extremely shortsighted as a business man to let the liquor dealer get——

Senator NELSON. No; but you financed them. You say that was the feeling. I am asking you about the practice.

Mr. Fox. No; the general practice is just the reverse—the general practice is that the saloon keeper buys his whisky where he pleases; he paid cash for it and made what profit he could out of it, and also out of the other things he sold; and all that the brewer got out of his bargain was the furnishing of his particular brand of beer.

Senator NELSON. That may have been in some localities, but it has not been so in the country where I come from.

Mr. Fox. Possibly there may be men in your section of the country who are interested in both liquor and beer.

Senator NELSON. Yes. Did your organization make any effort to stop that financing of saloons by brewers?

Mr. FOX. I think if you were to—well, I have made here, a day or two ago, a memorandum of references to the subject in our yearbooks, the 9 or 10 yearbooks which we have published, and I find a continuous thread all the way through of appeals to the brewers and of resolutions and all sorts of things in the way of moral suasion.

Senator NELSON. Do you not know that that appeal has been noneffective; that it has not diminished the evil?

Mr. FOX. Absolutely.

Senator NELSON. What?

Mr. FOX. It has been absolutely noneffective.

Senator NELSON. I think you are right about that. Now, coming back to the publicity matter, you have described certain methods of publicity. What other methods did you resort to? Did you employ literary men, educated men, to write propaganda articles for you in publications—newspapers?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall. I have no doubt we did from time to time for some particular article, but I do not recall particulars at this moment.

Senator NELSON. I understood the gentleman who was on the stand here this morning admitted that, if I recall it right—I do not want to misrepresent it—you had had as many as five or six employed.

Mr. FOX. We had men on the staff of the association of that character, perfectly frankly.

Senator OVERMAN. How did you get these circulars you sent to the papers? You said you were sending circulars to papers from time to time. How did you get those circulars?

Mr. FOX. You mean these pamphlets?

Senator OVERMAN. Pamphlets and circulars that you sent out.

Mr. FOX. We did not attempt, ourselves, to reach the masses of the people in any direct way. Of course you will see in a second the utter impossibility of that. Your postage bill would almost swamp the National Treasury in six months. Our method—the only practical plan of accomplishing anything in that matter—was that we printed these pamphlets and distributed them by the local associations. They would distribute them. Of course, for years it has been a practice of brewers and distillers to send out a piece of some kind of literature with every bill and every circular that they send out. A great deal of that has been done.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you ever send anything to Members of Congress?

Mr. FOX. We sent Congress our yearbooks and various other things from time to time—anything that seemed to be advisable.

Senator KING. Apropos your yearbooks, did those yearbooks contain your minutes of your national association and a statement of the proceedings of your national association?

Mr. FOX. Part of the time they did, and part of the time they did not. I think we abandoned that practice several years ago. The book was getting too bulky, and it was really for the benefit of the public, and the public was not interested in the convention proceedings.

Senator KING. What were your yearbooks?

Mr. Fox. The yearbooks are a compendium of the notable publications of the year, a sort of a calendar of the year with, usually, a mass of statistical data and a report on the legislation of the year and judicial interpretations of the acts.

Senator KING. Were your meetings, your conventions, usually public; your annual conventions, if you had any?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator KING. And your association meetings?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator KING. Was anything hidden from the public, or were they in large halls, open to the newspaper reporters and to the public?

Mr. Fox. For the most part. The last few years we adopted the plan of having one or more executive sessions. I think the original reason for that policy was to give brewers an opportunity to wash their linen amongst themselves and to make their complaints to each other, etc.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you employ speakers to go out on the public platform and speak in behalf of the brewery side of the argument?

Mr. Fox. Yes. The organization bureau, I believe, employed speakers. That was a part of our organization, but was not under my direction.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Andreae, in charge of his National Association of Commerce and Labor, did use speakers, did he not, in his propaganda work?

Mr. Fox. I believe he did.

Senator WOLCOTT. And it was the money of the United States Brewers' Association that paid for it, through Mr. Andreae?

Mr. Fox. That, and the money that he raised from the allied trades.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes. By the way, were the responsible officers of the board acquainted with the work that Andreae was doing throughout the country?

Mr. Fox. I think there was some dissatisfaction because they were not closely enough in touch with it. It finally culminated in the contract being cancelled by mutual consent.

Senator NELSON. I think the hop raisers and barley raisers felt a little slighted by that organization, because Mr. Andreae did not look after their interests.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Was any effort made on your part by circularizing the newspapers for the purpose of beating or electing somebody in an election contest?

Mr. Fox. Not so far as the national association was concerned, to my knowledge.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was the national association aware of the fact that Mr. Andreae was doing that very sort of thing, and spending the money of this concern that he got up, for that very purpose?

Mr. Fox. I do not think so.

Senator WOLCOTT. To a large extent.

Mr. Fox. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. Was not that a subject matter of discussion in every meeting of the board of trustees, and did not Mr. Andreae personally attend and report to the meetings of the trustees as to his activities?

Mr. Fox. Major, I do not want to seem to be in any way evasive, but my memory does not serve me. Perhaps if you had anything that would refresh it—but I do not recall just that phase of it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not remember that action was taken by the trustees to the effect that Mr. Andreae should keep in close touch with the president of the United States Brewers' Association and keep him fully advised of all of his plans and of all of his activities, and that Mr. Andreae had to submit all of his activities to the president of the association before he finally acted?

Mr. Fox. Now it is beginning to come back to me. I think that was the culmination of the feeling of dissatisfaction that I have referred to that existed, that the officers of the association were not being advised by Mr. Andreae of his activities.

Maj. HUMES. And ultimately was there not an agreement made by which the activities of the National Association of Commerce and Labor should be conducted by a joint committee known as the finance committee?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Three members of which were trustees of the United States Brewers' Association, and three members of which were of the National Association of Commerce and Labor; and were not the affairs of that association conducted by that joint committee?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. Fox. That is the situation to-day.

Senator WALCOTT. You say that is the situation to-day?

Mr. Fox. That they have a joint finance committee of the allied industries and of the members of the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator WOLCOTT. The National Association of Commerce and Labor is still a going concern, then, is it?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. I would like to know why they named that an association of commerce and labor.

Maj. HUMES. I will show you that from the official minutes if you want to see it.

Senator KING. I think Mr. Fox is in error, or else Mr. Andreae's testimony before a former committee was erroneous. His testimony there was, as I recall, that this organization, this incorporation, of commerce and labor was dissolved; that it had ceased to function; and I am not sure whether he stated that an application had been made pursuant to law for the disincorporation of the organization or whether it had lapsed by nonuse, but he certainly gave the impression to my mind that the organization was defunct.

Mr. Fox. I think that is quite possible, but at the same time it is true that whether under charter or not the association is still in existence under other management.

Senator OVERMAN. Why did you name it "Commerce and Labor."

Mr. Fox. I think out of sheer foolishness.

Maj. HUMES. I show you what is marked "Exhibit No. 166–A." These are the minutes of the meeting of the National Association of Commerce and Labor in the Hotel Dennis in Atlantic City, where the National Association of Commerce and Labor was organized, are they not?

Mr. FOX. Yes; I think so.

Maj. HUMES. For the information of the committee, I should like to read from this. I read from page 38.

Senator KING. What year was that?

Maj. HUMES. It was organized October 3, 1913. Mr. Lilienthal had the floor and said:

If anybody has a name to suggest regarding the organization proper I would like to have it.

A VOICE. I think the natural name would be the United States Manufacturers and Dealers' League.

Mr. ANDREAE. The name is very important.

Mr. COOPER LYONS. I suggest the National League of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. The National League of Commerce and Labor—that sounds something like a United States Government department.

A VOICE. That name seems very appropriate to my mind, and I second it.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. It has been moved that the organization be named the National Association of Commerce and Labor, a suggestion made by Mr. Cooper Lyon, of Chicago.

The committee will notice that in stating the question Mr. Lilienthal changed one word. The suggestion was the National League of Commerce and Labor, but when he put the question he put it as the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. SHOONMAKER. It would seem that that would be conflicting names, to some extent, with the Department of Commerce and Labor. It is true that we are all laborers, I am sure of that, but I think it ought to be more clear cut and less meaningless than that would imply.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. What suggestion do you make?

Mr. SHOOMAKER. I have not any suggestion. I would rather hear some other suggestions before it is adopted, that is all. It might be all right.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Well, the only suggestion that has been made is the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. COOPER LYON. I would leave it "Manufacturers." The name "Manufacturers" would not oftentimes be properly accepted by those whose votes we want, and I think we should eliminate that name absolutely.

Mr. ANDREAE. I think Mr. Lloyd is right, for this reason, that there is a possibility of this misconception, as there are employers' associations. We all have them, and one of the objects usually of an employers' association is protection against the organized actions of unions or others among the employees. Now, we do not want to create that impression that this organization is an organization for the purpose of the employers only, and if you have the word "labor" only, or "commerce" only, it would look as though it might be an organization for the purpose of antagonizing the workmen or protecting the employer against the workman. Now, there should be no question of one or the other in an organization of this kind, and to my mind that title is an excellent one.

A VOICE. I move that we close on that title.

Mr. COOPER LYON. May I make this suggestion, as an afterthought—the Merchants' & Dealers' League. Would not that be better?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is the same thing.

Mr. COOPER LYON. It is synonymous in a measure, that is true. They have the same meaning, but at the same time they are euphonious.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. The United States Association of Commerce and Labor—that would confound it with the Government.

Mr. VILTER. "National" is better.

Mr. ANDREAE. Do you think that that is any particular reason. You have not a Secretary and a Department of Commerce and Labor, but this is a National Association of Commerce and Labor. If it has a little taste of Governmental authority, why so much the better.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was a meeting of brewers to organize this association?

Maj. HUMES. This is all very interesting. There is a lot of very interesting material in this which I was going to submit to the com-

mittee. I can briefly say that this was a meeting held by persons connected with the allied trades, and Mr. Fox, I believe, was the secretary of the meeting.

Mr. Fox. No; I was not present. I may have been there at the opening of the meeting, but I do not think that I was there even then.

Senator NELSON. At any rate, this organization was made up by the brewers' association and the members of it.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; it was arranged through them, and this meeting was called of the various allied trades. There was an organization throughout the United States prior to that time, associations known as manufacturers' and dealers' leagues and manufacturers' and dealers' clubs, representing the allied industries in a given local territory.

Senator OVERMAN. Allied with the brewing interests?

Maj. HUMES. This was a bringing together of all and similar allied organizations for the purpose of forming a national organization, and at the time this meeting was called Mr. Andreae was contracted with by the United States Brewers' Association, the contract being in writing—and it will be submitted later—by which he was to receive an annual salary of $40,000 a year for five years from the United States Brewers' Association for taking charge of this organization.

Senator NELSON. How much money has your organization expended for publicity purposes of all kinds while you have been connected with it?

Mr. Fox. I am afraid that I can not answer that.

Senator NELSON. As near as you can. You know that we have been in the habit of going into billions here lately in Congress.

Mr. Fox. Our receipts fluctuated very considerably. When I first was secretary of the association I think that the annual dues were a quarter of a cent a barrel on the output, and our receipts were, I think, perhaps $150,000; maybe less than that.

Senator NELSON. And they kept on growing?

Mr. Fox. Then they kept on increasing.

Senator NELSON. What was the maximum in any one year?

Mr. Fox. The maximum, to my recollection, in any one year was some $700,000 or $800,000.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you remember what year that was?

Mr. Fox. I think that was 1914 or 1915. I think Maj. Humes has that record.

Maj. HUMES. Which one?

Mr. Fox. The record of our receipts for one year when they ran up to some $800,000.

Maj. HUMES. Nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand dollars, I think it was. That is here, and will be presented in due time.

Mr. Fox. All of those records which were turned in at Pittsburgh, I understand, are still in Maj. Humes's possession. Our dues have been a cent a barrel, and for special purposes subscriptions have been raised. The term "assessment" was used, but it is a misnomer, because there never was an assessment in the sense that every subscription for advertising or publicity of any kind was purely voluntary. That is to say, if a man did not choose to subscribe, there was nothing which lapsed his membership thereby. For instance, we raised this last year a special sum of some $500,000 between October 1917, and a few months ago for advertising purposes, a special advertising and educational fund.

Senator NELSON. How much have you raised altogether from all sources during the last year?

Mr. FOX. We raised for dues in round figures $200,000 and advertising a little over $500,000. I turned those papers over.

Senator WOLCOTT. Have you, as an officer of the National Association, had under your observation at any time the statement disclosing what had been raised by the brewers' associations in the various States?

Mr. FOX. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that you do not know, you are not prepared to state, the sum total of all contributions by the brewers in the United States to both national and State organizations?

Mr. FOX. I have not any such knowledge.

Senator WOLCOTT. How could we get at that? Do the State organizations make a report of any kind to any central body?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. We would have to go into each State and find it out?

Mr. FOX. Yes. I could furnish a list, I think, of the State organizations that are still alive. A number of them have died within the last two years.

Senator WOLCOTT. I suppose anyone who has acquaintance with the States that have gone dry could compile that list, could they not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator KING. Maj. Humes, were you intending to examine this witness along any orderly way?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; I have a lot of matters here that I was going to follow up to refresh his recollection, especially upon some of the matters that Senator Nelson has inquired about.

Senator NELSON. I want to ask you a few more questions, and you can make it very short if you will give me full answers. What I want to know is, what has been the activity of your organization or this branch organization of commerce and labor in respect to getting favorable action from public men, members of the State legislatures, candidates for the State legislatures, or candidates for Congress or other public men.

Mr. FOX. I have no knowledge about that, sir.

Senator NELSON. Do you not know that there has been some activity in that direction?

Mr. FOX. I have never had anything to do with the affairs of the association——

Senator NELSON. That does not answer it. You say that you never had, but do you not know there has been some activity in that direction?

Mr. FOX. I have no knowledge of it.

Senator NELSON. Who would be apt to have knowledge in your organization? Now, you may as well tell us, because we all know from the outside that there has been activity along that line.

Mr. FOX. Well, Senator, as far as——

Senator NELSON. Oh, you can not lay that activity to the immaculate conception.

Mr. FOX. As far as the State matters go, I imagine that would have to come from the State and local associations. As far as our

association goes, if anybody has any knowledge of anything of that kind it would be the organization bureau.

Senator NELSON. Who is the head of that?

Mr. FOX. Mr. McDermott. I have not any knowledge of anything of that kind, and I do not know in the least whether the Association of Commerce and Labor has been active along that line.

Senator NELSON. I rather got the impression from some of your statements awhile ago that that organization had been active in that direction.

Senator KING. Mr. Fox, permit me to make an inquiry. I suppose you knew in a general way, if not through your own records, then through the newspapers, that there was a very strong educational campaign being conducted in many States, and in the Nation for that matter, in favor of temperance and in favor of the restriction of the use of intoxicating liquors, wines, and beers and liquors, and in favor of absolutely prohibiting?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator KING. And you knew that those activities took the shape, in some places, of trying to secure members of the legislature who would enact prohibitory laws?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator KING. For the purpose of combating that organization and its activities did not your organization, directly or through the instrumentality of the commerce and labor organization or other organizations or branches of a subsidiary character, attempt to secure the election of members to the legislatures in the various States who would be opposed to prohibition?

Mr. FOX. Senator King, personally I do not know. I can not answer your question either yes or no, but I think it is extremely likely that they have; but I have no personal knowledge of it.

Senator KING. At any rate you believed, and the members of your organization believed, that the manufacture and sale of beer was a legitimate business?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator KING. And you believed that there were organizations that sought the destruction of that business?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator KING. And they sought the destruction of that business by newspaper articles, by legislation, by church activity; and you attempted to combat the work that was being done by those anti-liquor organizations in every way which you deemed to be legitimate and proper?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator KING. And if it was necessary to circularize the people, to send out articles that were favorable to the cause of the brewers and to the preservation of the business, you did so?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator KING. And so far as you know, efforts may have been made to secure the election to State positions, if not to national positions, of men who were not in favor of the destruction of the liquor business?

Mr. FOX. I should think it would have been very foolish and short-sighted if such efforts were not made, but I can not enlighten you as to any details.

Senator KING. Was there anything secret in your efforts to preserve your business?

Mr. FOX. Not to my knowledge.

Senator KING. Was there anything secret in your efforts to combat the activities of those who sought to enforce State- wide and national prohibition?

Mr. FOX. Not to my knowledge.

Senator KING. So that coming down to brass tacks, to use a common expression, you thought your business was being assailed, and that men were trying to destroy it, and you used whatever weapons were available for the purpose of resisting the efforts against you?

Mr. FOX. Exactly.

Senator KING. I think that is a matter of common knowledge. I have understood that for a long time.

Maj. HUMES. A moment ago, Mr. Fox, I asked you about the labor situation. I call your attention to Exhibit 122, which comes from the files of the United States Brewers' Association, "Skeleton of reorganization plan." Where did that come from and who was the author of it?

Mr. FOX. I am afraid that I can not absolutely swear to that, sir. Some part of it, undoubtedly, I think I must have written—the education part of it—but I am not sure.

Senator NELSON. You better tell us what that is.

Maj. HUMES. Skeleton of Reorganization Plan—a typewritten paper that came from the files of the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator NELSON. And the date of it?

Maj. HUMES. It is not dated. Mr. Fox, can you tell about when that was written?

Mr. FOX. It must have been prior to 1915, but I can not identify the date.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the portion which relates to labor, wherein it is stated that the labor bureau should have two objects—namely, the assistance it can give to the members in adjusting contracts and adjusting differences and standardizing of labor, etc, keeping the members informed from week to week of all things in the field of brewery labor, such as new contracts, new conditions, local difficulties, etc., and in addition to this it is stated that the labor bureau might be of very great value—

in our political organization by establishing a permanent working connection with the other labor bodies to make up the American Federation of Labor, and who have any direct or indirect relation with or to the brewing industry.

Does that refresh your recollection as to the reason for making the brewery industry a hundred per cent union?

Mr FOX. Oh, it was a hundred per cent union long before that.

Maj. HUMES. Was this plan of reorganization adopted by your association?

Mr. FOX. I do not think so. I have not a very strong recollection about it. My impression is that that was a suggestion that was made academically and was never adopted in any formal way.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the executive department and the organization bureau were running very largely separate and distinct. In other words, the executive department neither sought nor wanted knowledge as to the activities of the organization bureau?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And it ran absolutely independent of the executive work of the association?

Mr. Fox. I do not quite get that.

Maj. HUMES. It ran independently, except for being financed, and made no detailed reports to the executive officers of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. Substantially, yes.

Maj. HUMES. Why was that?

Mr. Fox. When you say the executive department, do you mean this publicity work?

Maj. HUMES. I mean the organization bureau.

Mr. Fox. Oh, that I do not know anything about.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to this same plan of organization:

Executive department: The executive department should have the general oversight and direction of the work of all the other departments, except the political dpartment.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES [reading]:

This would require a force of about 15 employees in addition to the heads of departments, the field force staff and the men employed in the political department.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. The political department was the organization bureau, was it not?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. It operated with great independence from the executive department of the association?

Mr. Fox. I judge so; yes.

Maj. HUMES. And the political organization included State campaigns, congressional campaigns, the Washington bureau, and the organization of voters under this plan.

Mr. Fox. I do not recall that.

Maj. HUMES. You just read that.

Mr. Fox. That part of it is so unfamiliar to me that I can not swear to the identity of it. I am sure, of course, that it came from our files, but I do not think I was responsible for that, because it is so entirely unfamiliar.

Maj. HUMES. Senator Nelson asked you several questions with reference to the activities of this association along literary lines. Did your association have any relations with a Dr. E. H. Williams? Did it employ him to do any literary work for you?

Mr. Fox. My recollection is that we did not employ him in the sense that you mean; but we agreed to buy a considerable number of copies of a certain book which he got out. My recollection is that Dr. Williams wrote certain articles in medical papers, and those were assembled in the form of a book which he published himself, and we agreed to buy a considerable number. I think it was 20,000 copies of his book.

Maj. HUMES. Let me refresh your recollection there.

Mr. Fox. Let me just finish. I was going to say also that my recollection is also that we did employ him on at least one occasion to make an investigation for us.

Senator NELSON. Maj. Humes, what are you reading from?

Maj. HUMES. The records of the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator NELSON. From minutes?

Maj. HUMES. From various documents that were a part of their files, not from minutes. I call your attention to a report dated January 6, 1915, addressed to the members of the publication committee and I call your attention to the following extract:

Among the important undertakings was the financing of special investigations for the Medical Record and other publications, by Dr. E. H. Williams, such as the drug habit menace in the South, and the conditions of the insane in Kansas and other States, which resulted in the publication of a series of most important articles in the leading medical journals, and also in the Survey, the National Monthly, the New York Tribune, and in a number of important newspapers in California, Washington, and Oregon, and several other States. These articles were assembled in book form and the book sent to all libraries and newspapers.

Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. FOX. Yes; that was the investigation I referred to just now.

Maj. HUMES. I also call your attention to this:

We also financed a first-hand study of the temperance movement in Germany, by George S. Viereck, which resulted in the publication of several articles in the International.

Do you remember that?

Mr. FOX. I do not remember that particular instance. I remember that we were induced by Mr. Viereck to publish some articles in the International. That was undoubtedly one of them.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with George S. Viereck?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How long have you known Mr. Viereck?

Mr. FOX. Oh, I think for about 11 years. I think he had approached the association before that time.

Maj. HUMES. What have Mr. Viereck's activities in a literary line been in, recent years by way of editorship or publishing of periodicals?

Mr. FOX. I have had as little as possible to do with Mr. Viereck for some years, and I am not very familiar except in a general way that when the war broke out Mr. Viereck published a pro-German paper which I think he christened the Fatherland and subsequently rechristened 'Viereck's Weekly,' an exceedingly—well, I shall not undertake to characterize it.

Maj. HUMES. When the war broke out you mean in Europe, not when we entered the war?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That would be in 1914?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you had any connection in any way with him since that time?

Mr. FOX. I believe not.

Senator NELSON. Will you allow me to ask a question right there? Have you or your organization had any advertisements published in that paper or any other literary production of his?

Mr. FOX. Not to my recollection, sir. I believe not.

Senator NELSON. From first to last?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall any case of the kind.

Senator NELSON. That is, your organization has not patronized that paper?

Mr. FOX. Not to my recollection.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Viereck also published a monthly known as the International?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is the same thing true of that?

Mr. FOX. I am not so sure of that.

Maj. HUMES. I show you some receipted bills from the International Monthly to the United States Brewers' Association, and receipted by that organization, and I ask you what contract existed between the United States Brewers' Association and Mr. Viereck or his periodicals?

Mr. FOX. These bills call for 600 copies of the January issue of the International, 1915, and apparently the same number, or approximately the same number for each month thereafter. My recollection is a little vague, but I think that Mr. Viereck induced us to subscribe to the International for a year for all our members, and 600 would about cover our membership. The International was a paper that had some vogue as a literary organ.

Senator NELSON. What is the total of those bills?

Maj. HUMES. Five hundred and seventy dollars to be the total. You knew, did you not, that during this period of time the father of George S. Viereck in Germany was writing the German articles that were being very largely printed in both the Fatherland and the International Monthly?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You saw the International Monthly, did you not?

Mr. FOX. Oh, I saw it as I saw a hundred other publications, but I do not believe I read it.

Maj. HUMES. The same material was being printed in the International Monthly as was being printed in the Fatherland, was it not?

Mr. FOX. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. And is it not a fact and do you not know that the International as well as the Fatherland were two of the periodicals very largely used for German propaganda purposes in this country?

Mr. FOX. I certainly had no knowledge of it at the time, sir. I have had my suspicions, however, since.

Maj. HUMES. Then, without investigating the nature of the periodical, or at least without any investigation on your part, the association entered into a contract by which they contributed to that periodical by way of advertising contracts.

Mr. FOX. I have no general recollection of the matter, but you have refreshed my memory and you have shown me certain bills, altogether for $60 or $80 a month, for a certain number of copies of this paper. That speaks for itself. I never regarded the matter as being important or serious in any way.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever know a man named Michael Monahan?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Was Michael Monahan an employee of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FOX. Michael Monahan was the literary editor of the association when I first became connected with it 11 years ago. He was an employee of the association, I suppose from perhaps 1906 or 1907 or possibly 1905 until, I think, about 3 years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Did he publish a magazine or periodical of his own?

Mr. FOX. He did during part of that time.

Maj. HUMES. He published the Phoenix, did he not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What was the nature, if you know, of that periodical as to its being an instrument for German propaganda?

Mr. FOX. I have not any knowledge of that.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever enter into any contract with Michael Monahan after the commencement of the war?

Mr. FOX. We have been paying him a pension right along.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever employ him for any purpose other than to pay him that pension? To refresh your recollection I show you some account for special educational work, $500, and several other such bills. What was that for?

Mr. FOX. I do not recollect, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Would that refresh your recollection? Can you answer whether or not you paid him money for services rendered to the association?

Mr. FOX. That seems to speak for itself. I do not recall the transaction.

Maj. HUMES. We offer in evidence six receipted bills to the United States Brewers' Association from the International Monthly, with the notice on the face of the bill to make the check payable to Mr. George Sylvester Viereck.

(The papers referred to are marked "Fox Exhibit No. 1," and are herewith printed in the record in full as follows:)

FOX EXHIBIT NO. 1.

Telephone: 1792 Spring. 1225

NEW YORK, *Jan 7th, 1915*

United States Brewers Association, 50 Union Square, New York City, to The International Monthly, Inc. Publishers of The International

American Representative: the English Review.
715 Broadway (New York Commercial Bldg.)

600 copies January issue 15¢ $90.00

Please make check payable to George Sylvester Viereck
1123 Broadway

Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION,
Treas.

Approved Date 1/3 1915.
Chairman. Pub. Com.
H F

Telephone: 1792 Spring.

NEW YORK, *Feb. 1st, 1915*

United States Brewers Assoc. 50 Union Square, New York City. to The International Monthly, Inc. Publishers of The International

American Representative: the English Review.
715 Broadway (New York Commercial Bldg.)

600 copies February issue 15¢ $90.00

Please make check payable to G. S. Viereck 1123 Broadway.
Approved Date 2/20/1915
Chairman Pub. Com.
H. F.
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION,
Treas.

Telephone. 1792 Spring.

NEW YORK, *May 1, 1915*

United States Brewers Association 50 Union Square, New York City to The International Monthly, Inc. Publishers of The International

American Representative: the English Review.
(New York Commercial Bldg.)

600 copies May issue 15¢ 90.00

(Please make check payable to G. S. Viereck)
1123 Broadway New York
Approved Date 4/25/1915
Chairman, Pub. Com.
H & F
OK H S F
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. B.
Treas.

Telephone: 1792 Spring.

NEW YORK, *May 29/15*

United States Brewers Assoc., 50 Union Square, City to The International Monthly, Inc. Publishers of The International

American Representative: the English Review.

1,000 copies June issue *International* 15¢ $150.00

Please make check payable to G. S. Viereck
1123 Broadway New York
Approved Date 6/25/1915
Chairman, Com.
OK A. F.
H. S. Fox
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION,
Treas.

JUNE 17, 1915.

International, New York City.

500 copies of the July issue $75.00
(10¢ a copy)
Approved Date 5/18/1915
Chairman, Pub. Com.
H S F

Telephone: 1792 Spring.

NEW YORK, *June 25/15.*

United States Brewers Assoc. 50 Union Square, City to The International Monthly, Inc. publishers of The International.

American Representative: The English Review.
715 Broadway (New York Commercial Bldg.)

700 copies July issue ¢15 ..... $75 00

1123 Broadway New York.
Approved Date 1/15 1915 Chairman, Pub. Com. H. S. F.
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION *Treas.*

Phone Farragut 9777

NEW YORK *Aug 27, 1915*

United States Brewers Assoc. 50 Union Square, City in account with The International published by The International Monthly Inc.

1123 Broadway

700 copies September issue The International 15¢ $90. 00

Approved Date Aug. 31, 1915.
Secretary.
O. K. H. S. F.
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION *Treas.*

Phone Farragut 9777

NEW YORK *Sept 1915*

United States Brewers Assoc. 50 Union Square, New York City, in account with The International published by The International Monthly Inc.

1123 Broadway

Article in September issue (J. B. Rethy) $50. 00
" in October issue (Aleister Crowley) including 200 copies of that number 100. 00

150. 00

Approved Date 9/29 1915
Chairman, Pub. Com.
(Kindly make check payable to George Sylvester Viereck)
O. K. H. S. F.
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION *Treas.*

Phone Farragut 9777

NEW YORK *Oct. 30/15*

United States Brewers Assoc. 50 Union Square, City in account with The International published by The International Monthly Inc.

1123 Broadway

1 article November issue and 400 copies $100. 00

Approved Date 11/23 1915
Chairman, Pub. Com.
H. S. F.
Please Make check payable to G. S. Viereck
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION *Treas.*

Phone Farragut 9777

NEW YORK *Dec. 1/15*

United States Brewers Assoc. 50 Union Square. City in account with The ***International*** *published by The International Monthly Inc.*

1123 Broadway

1 article December issue		$50.
600 copies " "	15¢	90.
		$140.00

Please make check payable to G S Viereck
Approved Date Dec. 23, 1915
Chairman, Pub. Com.
H. S. F.
Received payment

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY, INC.
Per M. BINION *Treas.*

Maj. HUMES. Do you know anything about the location of Mr Viereck's office at 1123 Broadway?

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know who his neighbors were?

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. Or what his associations were there?

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. We also offer in evidence bills showing payments by the United States Brewers' Association to Michael Monahan.

(The papers referred to were marked "Fox Exhibit No. 2" and are here printed in the record in full as follows):

FOX EXHIBIT No. 2.

MICHAEL MONAHAN

NEW YORK, *February 20, 1915.*

On account of special educational work	$500.00

Approved Date 2/23 1915
Chairman, Pub. Com.
H. S. F.

SOUTH NORWALK, CONN., *April 16th, 1915.*

U. S. B. A. to The Phoenix Dr., Michael Monahan, Publisher.

1,000 April "Phoenix"		$100.00
250 " "	(For Jersey)	25.00
Postage		6.00
		131.00

Approved Date 4/27 1915
O. K. H. S. F.
Chairman, Com.
Received payment.

MICHAEL MONAHAN.

SOUTH NORWALK, CONN., *May 14th, 1915.*

U. S. B. A. to the Phoenix Dr., Michael Monahan, Publisher

1,000 May "Phoenix"	$100.00
250 " " (For Jersey)	25.00
Postage	6.00
	131.00

Approved Date 4/25 1915
Chairman Pub. Com.
H. S. F.
Best thanks.
Received payment

MICHAEL MONAHAN.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 30, 1915.*

Mr. Michael Monahan, South Norwalk, Conn.

1000 copies of May "Phoenix" $100.00
Approved. Date 5/1 1915.
Chairman. Pub. Com.
H. S. F.

SOUTH NORWALK, CONN., *July 19, 1915.*

U. S. B. A. to The Phoenix Dr., Michael Monahan, Publisher

1000 August Phoenix $100.00
O. K. H. S. F.
Thank you 6/30/15.
Paid July 29/15

JULY 21, 1915.

The Phoenix South Norwalk, Conn.

1000 copies August issue $100.00
Approved. Date 7/22 1915.
Chairman. Pub. Com.
H. S. F.

OCT. 7, 1915.

The Phoenix, South Norwalk, Conn.

1000 copies of November issue $100.00
Approved Date 10/8 1915
Chairman, Pub. Com.
H. S. F.
Paid Oct. 29/15

Maj. HUMES. To continue with this same report that has been used to refresh your recollection, I call your attention to the following:

The National Monthly has published a series of articles by J. G. Rice, of Chattanooga, Tenn.; Cyrus W. Davis; Dr. E. H. Williams; I. T. Martin; and others, which have been very widely circulated. The National Monthly is one of the principal organs of the administration and goes to every Democratic Congressman and to every Democratic State legislature, besides having a bona fide list of nearly 100,000 copies.

I ask you this: Dr. Williams, referred to, you have testified about; he is in your employ. Who was I. T. Martin?

Mr. FOX. She was in our employ for some years.

Maj. HUMES. She was an employee of yours and was writing articles for a periodical?

Mr. FOX. Well, at one time I think she succeeded Mr. Monahan in the publishing department.

Maj. HUMES. Cyrus W. Davis was employed by your association?

Mr. FOX. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. Have you been told by other members of the association that he was?

Mr. FOX. It is possible that the organization bureau may have employed him, but not as far as I have any knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. You know that he actively cooperated with the association?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Whether it was for remuneration or not you are unable to state?

Mr. FOX. Yes. I am pretty sure that he spoke on occasions for the bureau.

Maj. HUMES. What about J. G. Rice?

Mr. FOX. J. G. Rice was until recently employed by the association for a period of, I guess, two years. J. G. Rice, I think, was originally employed for publicity for a campaign in Virginia, but we have employed him to conduct investigations and furnish informaton and write articles in some of the Southern States in the last year or two.

Maj. HUMES. I offer in evidence at this point a number of bills to the United States Brewers' Association rendered by the National Monthly Co.

(The papers referred to were marked "Fox Exhibit No. 3" and are printed in full in the record as follows:)

FOX EXHIBIT No. 3.

BUFFALO, N. Y., *March 8, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION
New York, N. Y.

National Monthly Company
Norman E. Mack, Editor

"Hobson Article," in February	$250.00
100 copies of Feb. number at 7½ c. each	7.50
"Alcohol and the War," in March	300.00
	$557.50

Approved 3/10, 191 . Secretary H. S. F.
Rec'd Payment 3/15/15 Nat'l Monthly Co. Per M. J. R.

MARCH 9, 1915.

National Monthly Company

To Hobson Article in February Issue	$250.00
" 100 copies February Issue, National Monthly	7.50
" "Alcohol & War" Article in March issue	200.00
Total	$557.50

Approved 3/10 1915. Chairman, Pub. Com. H. S. F.

BUFFALO, N. Y., *March 29, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSN.
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

National Monthly Company
Norman E. Mack, Editor

1915.		
Mar. 9.	To 600 Copies Mar. National Monthly @ $.7½	$45.00
" 11.	" 150 " " " " @ $.7½	11.25
		56.25

Approved 3/27 1915 Chairman, H. S. F.
Rec'd Payment National Monthly Co. 5/1/15 Per M. J. R.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *March 27, 1915.*

National Monthly, Buffalo, N. Y.

For article in April edition, and extra copies..... $500.00

Approved 3/29 1915 Chairman, Pub. Com. H. F. S.

BUFFALO, N. Y., *June 10, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

National Monthly Magazine
Norman E. Mack, Publisher

1915.

June 1. To Kansas Article In June National Monthly Magazine..... $360.00
To 600 Copies June National Monthly Magazine @ 7½¢..... 45.00

405.00

Approved 6/25, 1915. Chairman, Com. H. S. F.
Rec'd Payment, National Monthly Co. 6/30/15. R.

BUFFALO, N. Y., *July 7, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
New York, N. Y.

National Monthly Company
Norman E. Mack Editor

July One full page (720 agate lines measurement), at 50 cents per agate line, In July number..... 360.00
Runover of 122 lines at 50 cents per line in July number..... 61.00

421.00

Approved, 7/15, 1915. Chairman, Pub. Com. H. S. F.
Received payment, National Monthly Co. 7/29/15. M. J. R.

BUFFALO, N. Y., *Sept. 15, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSO.,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

National Monthly Company
Norman E. Mack Editor

1915.

Sept. 1. To two full pages (720 Agate Lines per Page), in September National Monthly @ $.50 per line..... 77.00
To 154 Line Run-Over @ $.50 per line..... 77.00
To 1,000 Copies of September National Monthly..... 50.00

847.00

Approved, Chairman, Com. H. S. F.
Rec'd Payment, National Monthly Co. Sept. 29, 1915. Thank You.

BUFFALO, N. Y., *Nov. 1, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASSOC.,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

National Monthly Magazine
Norman E. Mack, Publisher

1915.

Nov. 1. To two pages (1440 Agate Lines), "Editorials on the Prohibition Question," in November number of National Monthly at 50 Cents per line..... 720 00
Less Special Discount..... 220 00

500 00

Rec'd Payment—National Monthly Co. 12/2/15 M. J. R. Thank you.
O. K. H. S. F.

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.,
Nov. 8, 1915.

National Monthly Magazine,
Buffalo, N. Y.

Two page article in November issue..... $500.00
Approved 11/9, 1915. Chairman, Pub. Com. H. S. F.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention further to the following:

The National Municipal Review published in July a most important article by John Koren, entitled "Some aspects of the liquor question," which has been widely distributed.

Was that prepared at the instance of your association?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. It was prepared by a man on the pay roll of your association?

Mr. FOX. A man under retainer; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Further:

Mr. A. J. Nock, of the American Magazine, has been helped to study saloon conditions in various States, and his articles will appear shortly.

How was that matter financed, how was he helped?

Mr. FOX. My recollection is that we agreed to pay the expenses of Mr. Nock in conducting these investigations on the chance that he might—I think we had two purposes: One was for our own information and the other was in the expectation that he would get these articles published in certain magazines, and I think we probably paid him a remuneration as well as expenses, but that I do not recall.

Maj. HUMES. His standing as a literary man gave him the entrée to the periodicals of the country and made it possible for him to have his articles accepted by those magazines?

Mr. FOX. Certainly to have his articles receive consideration.

Maj. HUMES. I further read from the report:

We also financed a first-hand study of moonshining in the Appalachian Mountains, but the result of the investigation was not published, because the matter was adequately covered in Kephart's recent book, Our Southern Highlanders.

Who was the man financed in that first-hand study?

Mr. FOX. His name does not come to me for the moment, but it will presently. He was a young college man. I remember that he proposed to us that he should take a walking trip through the mountains, and we agreed to pay for his vacation. After he got through he told us perfectly frankly that his report coincided so closely with this book which had been published in the meantime that there was not really anything to add to it.

Maj. HUMES. I further call your attention to the following:

Under our direction Mr. E. B. Phelps made a study of the relation of alcohol to mortality and morbidity in rejoinder to the essay on this subject which was published by the American Museum of Safety.

Was that article of Mr. Phelps published in any of the periodicals of the country?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I know it was widely circulated. Mr Phelps, who is dead now and can not speak for himself, was an expert on certain phases of insurance statistics, and he was retained by us originally in connection with a very comprehensive scheme which we had for workmen's compensation and old-age pensions, and out of that grew this other thing.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to this:

Mr. Gustave Meyer was retained to make an investigation of the relation of alcohol to industrial accidents and to industrial efficiency, and his report will be published shortly in the Journal of the American Statistical Society.

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Was that financed by your association?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. By the way, as to the Journal of the American Statistical Society, did Mr. Koren have anything to do with that society?

Mr. FOX. He did for some years, as editor. I do not know whether he had at that time. I do not think he has now.

Maj. HUMES. You were also a member of that society, were you not?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I quote further:

The secretary's reply to William Allen White in the Saturday Evening Post was based in large part on the data supplied by Mr. John Koren.

I want to refresh your recollection. There was a good deal of discussion, was there not, as to how your association was going to get a hearing in the Saturday Evening Post, and some question has been raised here about reaching that paper and getting an article published.

Mr. FOX. I think so; yes. I remember some discussion about that.

Maj. HUMES. Was there not an arrangement made by Mr. Andreae with someone else whose standing was of a nature that might entitle him to a hearing in that periodical, by which he was to write an article and offer it to the Saturday Evening Post for publication.

Mr. FOX. For us?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. FOX. I am not positive about it, but I think they published such an article.

Maj. HUMES. I know they published your article. I was not sure about the other.

Mr. FOX. I think they did.

Maj. HUMES. Who was the author of that article which was published?

Mr. FOX. My recollection is that the author of that article was the former commissioner of internal revenue. I have forgotten his name: Capes, or some such name as that.

Maj. HUMES. I quote further:

Through the good offices of Mr. James R. Nicholson, of Boston, and Mr. ——— we have been able to get several good articles in the papers published by the Elks and the Eagles.

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Was that a part of your propaganda system?

Mr. FOX. To the extent that is mentioned; yes.

Maj. HUMES. And further:

Mr. Monahan has published several articles in his paper, the Phoenix, and a series of articles were run in the New England Traveler and Tourist.

That Mr. Monahan is the same Mr. Monahan we have been referring to?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Fox, is it not a fact that this method was adopted: Where the support of a periodical could not be secured if the source of the article was disclosed, in order to get the propaganda into these particular periodicals, when you could not approach them directly you sought a recognized authority to write an article, and made the agreement and contract with him, and he presented it as an original effort on his part?

Mr. Fox. Well, Major, that involves a rather large question of magazine and publicity methods. In the first place, regardless of any interests or not, an individual author would very soon wear himself out either with one publication or with a number of publications. The question of how to get articles in magazines is a very, very difficult one. Every magazine of any standing, of course, would regard any article on its merits, and at the same time undoubtedly there are certain men who have a vogue, either with certain magazines or with all magazines, and if an article was written by a man who had that vogue at least it would be sure to get the attention of the editor.

Maj. HUMES. Who was the author of the article known as the Hobson article?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall the article, sir. You will have to refresh my memory.

Maj. HUMES. Can you refresh it from the Kansas article? Do you know what that is?

Mr. Fox. There have been so many Kansas articles, I am afraid I can not.

Maj. HUMES. To refresh your recollection I show you this [handing witness paper].

Mr. Fox (after examining paper). No; I am afraid I should have to dig to find that.

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Fox, if a matter of $500,000 was collected last year, has that all been paid out for publishing?

Mr. Fox. I believe not, sir. The advertising fund is in the hands of the chairman of the advertising committee, and I believe he still has some of that fund on hand.

Senator OVERMAN. About how much has been spent for publicity work in the last 12 months?

Mr. Fox. I can not answer that. I think we have conducted three big advertising campaigns, and I think probably they have spent—well, I am guessing at it; my guess would be $300,000, $350,000, or perhaps $400,000.

Senator OVERMAN. Has that been spent in the method that has been portrayed here—for magazine articles and——

Mr. Fox. No; that was direct articles.

Senator OVERMAN. Direct?

Mr. Fox. There were three advertising campaigns covering all the industrial papers of the country.

Senator OVERMAN. How did you get it in the papers—through paid advertising?

Mr. Fox. Yes; that was done through an advertising agency through the Seamen Advertising Agency.

Senator OVERMANN. What was the nature of that publicity?

Mr. Fox. One advertisement, as I recall it, was to correct an exceedingly false statement that had been published by our opponents as to the waste of food and feed material by the brewers and the enormous amount of it, and so on. That might have been termed as a rejoinder.

Then there was a series of advertisements dealing with the subject of national prohibition.

Then there was the last; an advertisement was called forth by the infamous attack that was made upon the patriotism and loyalty of the brewers, and the association, through its president, felt that the only way to meet that attack was the very expensive one of buying space in the papers and publishing a plain statement.

Maj. HUMES. Have you ever heard of the German literary defense committee of New York?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a letter signed by yourself and addressed to Mr. Andreae in reference to that organization. Will you kindly explain what connection your association had with that? [Handing witness letter.]

Mr. FOX (after examining letter). I do not recollect anything about it, but apparently we must have had an inquiry from Mr. Andreae as to what this was, and we got what appears to be a commercial report on it, and this is the report. I should not have recalled anything about it if you had not shown me this.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know why Mr. Andreae wanted that report?

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. What other activities did the United States Brewers' Association engage in in an effort to compel adherence to its cause by the business men of the country and by business concerns?

Mr. FOX. I do not think I get you, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Well, I will ask you the question direct: What method was adopted by your association to punish those who did not accept the cause that you were advocating in political campaigns and in the carrying on of your propaganda—in other words, by way of boycotts and unfair lists. Did you or did you not maintain an unfair list of business concerns in the country?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You did not?

Senator OVERMAN. Was there any attempt to boycott anybody because he did not support your association?

Mr. FOX. The only recollection I have which would give any color to that is this. The association of commerce and labor was financed, so far as the allied trades were concerned, by a very ingenious scheme known as the stamp plan. The association, I think, printed certain stamps. Now, every member of an allied industry who agreed to the proposition, affixed stamps in certain denominations, and as agreed upon, by the invoices, and there was so much discount; there was so much a bale on hops, and so much on barley, etc., and my recollection—well, no; perhaps that is too strong a term—my impression is that the Association of Commerce and Labor, and also certain of the manufacturers and dealers' leagues, published from time to time lists of those who contributed; and I do not know, they may have published a list of those who refused to contribute. In

other words, they tried to show the brewers who their friends were among the people with whom they were doing business.

Maj. HUMES. Do I understand you to say that the United States Brewers' Association, or you as secretary of that association, had no connection with the activities of that kind?

Mr. FOX. Oh, I had some correspondence of that kind, but I do not think there was anything you could call a black list ever published.

Maj. HUMES. I did not say "published." I said "maintained."

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Do not misunderstand my inquiry.

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. Was there one maintained?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall it. They may have kept a list of the people who refused to buy the stamps.

Maj. HUMES. But if there was any list maintained, it was only a list of those who refused to join in the stamp plan?

Mr. FOX. I can not say that positively.

Mrj. HUMES. No.

Mr. FOX. I am a little uncertain about it.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Now, what was the purpose of this [handing witness Exhibit No. 196]? I call your attention to Exhibit No. 196, which reads as follows:

EXHIBIT No. 196.

[President and chairman board of trustees, Carl J. Hoster. Vice presidents: First, Jacob Ruppert, jr.; second, William Hamm; third, Edward A. Schmidt. Treasurer, Anton C. G. Hupfel. Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. General counsel, Robert Crain. Manager organization bureau, John A. McDermott. Chairman vigilance committee, Albert Lieber. Chairman advisory committee and labor committee, Louis B. Schram. Chairman publication committee, Rudolph J. Schaefer. Chairman finance committee, Jacob Ruppert, jr. Chairman committee on Federal relations, Julius Liebmann.]

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109 AND 111 EAST FIFTEENTH STREET (TELEPHONE, 1957 STUYVESANT).
New York, March 15, 1910.

DEAR SIR: I am directed by the President of the United States Brewers' Association to request that no letters be sent out criticizing the action of business concerns that are alleged to have opposed our interests, without first communicating with this office.

In several cases that have recently come to our attention, complications have arisen because of such action on the part of organizations that are affiliated with us, and in one or two instances, we have been seriously embarrassed thereby.

Requesting your co-operation, and promising that we will give any matter of this kind the most careful consideration when our attention is called to it, I remain,

Yours faithfully,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

That is a circular letter, I believe, Mr. Fox. What was the purpose of that letter and what occasioned it?

Mr. FOX (after examining letter). I do not recall that, sir. That is eight years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Subsequent to the writing of that letter, was it the custom of the members of your association to submit all of these matters to the association?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. It was not?

Senator OVERMAN. You have here on the black list John Wanamaker. Why was he put on the black list?

Maj. HUMES. Senator, I have the file here.

Senator OVERMAN. You have gone into that?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Very well.

Mr. FOX. May I qualify my last answer to you, Major?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Mr. FOX. My memory works a little slowly.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. We are ready to refresh it in any way we can, Mr. Fox.

Mr. FOX. Yes. I recall now, just for example, a visit that I received from a certain important concern in New York State, who complained that there was unfair prejudice against them, and they asked me if I would do anything I could to allay it.

Senator NELSON. Please talk a little louder.

Mr. FOX. I have had two or three concerns of that kind coming to me and telling me that in some way or other there was unfair prejudice against them and asking me if I would not do anything I could to put them in a favorable light before the trade. Now, whenever anything of that kind has occurred, I have done anything I could.

Senator KING. Did they state the reason of the unfair prejudice?

Mr. FOX. Yes; largely—well, for instance, one particular concern that I have in mind stated that they had opposed most vigorously the licensing of the saloons in their locality and invited me to investigate conditions there, and told me that if I had done so they were quite sure I would agree that they had taken the right position.

Senator KING. They contended that by reason of their opposition to the licensing of saloons the saloons in that particular locality were hostile to them?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir; not only in that particular locality, but others were using that particular thing against them by saying that the brewers did so and so. I looked into that and concluded that they were right; that the saloon conditions in their locality were so bad as to justify them in the action they had taken.

Senator KING. What did you do?

Mr. FOX. I do not know whether I notified the trade as a whole. I think I wrote them a letter and told them they could use it in any way they saw fit.

Maj. HUMES. May I ask you what concern that was?

Mr. FOX. That was the Solvay Process.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you compelled the Solvay Process Co. to write you a letter approving of the brewing business before you would notify the trade that their name was off the black list, and did you not prepare the form of the letter that they had to sign and submit it to them, and after it was returned accept the letter and then notify the trade that they were now fair in business?

Mr. FOX. My recollection is that their representative asked me to dictate that letter, and I think I dictated it in his presence. That is my recollection of it.

Maj. HUMES. I want to get to that in just a minute, if I can get it in an orderly way.

Senator KING. Yes; excuse my interruption.

Maj. HUMES. I want to introduce, for the information of the committee, Exhibit No. 432, and I want to call attention now to a para-

graph, it being headed "Copy—War on merchants aiding prohibition begun by brewers—Head of Everard Co. urges employees to put ban on purchases." I want to read this paragraph from his remarks:

The brewery workers, their families, and their friends will refrain from purchasing any of the products sold, manufactured, or handled in any way by any of the men or concerns that are aiding the prohibitionists.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 432.

COPY—WAR ON MERCHANTS AIDING PROHIBITION BEGUN BY BREWERS—HEAD OF EVERARD COMPANY URGES EMPLOYEES TO PUT BAN ON PURCHASES.

An attack upon the business interests of the men who are contributing in any way toward the prohibitionist movement was made yesterday afternoon by David M. Neuberger, president of the James Everard Breweries, in an address before the International Union of Brewery Employes at Palace Casino, No. 14 East 135th Street.

Mr. Neuberger urged his hearers to refrain from purchasing any article manufactured or sold by the individual or the concern with which the person was connected, and he promised that within three months he would have enlisted in this campaign of "direct attack by lawful means of persuasion" every brewer, trades union and every real estate organization in the country.

On the stage with Mr. Neuberger were representatives of most of the New York breweries, he declared afterward, among them being Henry Vollmer, of Ehret's Brewery, Jacob Loewer, of the Valentine Loewer Brewery, and Norman S. Goldberger, president of the H. K. Koehler Brewing Company.

"The brewery workers, their families and their friends will refrain from purchasing any of the products sold, manufactured or handled in any way by any of the men or concerns that are aiding the prohibitionists," he declared.

"This is an attack; the biggest and most forceful attack ever attempted. It is not defense. We are going out after these men, confident that when their purses are hit they will quit like dogs. We intend to see whether these men who are crucifying one of the greatest industries in the country can live if the persons they are crucifying retaliate. Within a month I will have 100,000 men on my side, and then we will see these chaps begging off."

BAN ON AUTOMOBILE TIRE MAKERS.

As an instance of the effect of "legal persuasion," Mr. Neuberger declared that a rubber company had sent circulars to its employees urging them to vote for prohibition.

"They can't sell a tire to the brewers in this city today," he said, "and I am going to see to it that they sell few to any brewers outside the city, and the brewers use sixty per cent of the solid rubber tires used in the country."

Another mass meeting will be held within a week or so in Brooklyn, Mr. Neuberger said, at which he would urge his hearers to follow the example to be immediately set by the brewery workers in Manhattan. Eventually, he added, he hoped to have a mass meeting in this city at Madison Square Garden, preceded by a parade.

"How would you like to see a parade of 10,000,000 voters in every part of the country on the same day?" he asked. "Well, the prohibitionists is the greatest enemy to organized labor in the world. He is worse than the 'scab' employer, for the scab employer at least produces, while the prohibitionists tears down and does not replace."

The forces contributing to the aid of the Rev. "Billy" Sunday and the Anti-Saloon League, including prominent merchants and manufacturers, were mentioned by Mr. Neuberger.

"We'll see what happens to the sales of these men who are fostering abuses of public interests," he said.

CHALLENGE TO "BILLY" SUNDAY.

"I dare 'Billy' Sunday to meet me on the platform in any debate on prohibition, either from an economic, ethical or religious standpoint. I will rent Madison Square Garden, present him with half the tickets of admission, give the other half to charity and then post $5,000 forfeit for defeat, to be given to any charity, a committee of business men may name," he said. "I will prove he is a fake, a bunk and a hyprocrite, working his own game for his pocket.

"This is no half-way measure. These fellows, trying to disrupt a great economic structure, have never been given battle. When we enlist the cigar makers, grocers, real estate organizations, clothing dealers and organized labor we will be prepared to fight to a finish."

Mr. Neuberger laid stress upon the fact that the movement was begun by him, but that he had received assurances from brewers and many allied labor organizations that they would aid him in the fight against the men who are financing and morally aiding the prohibition movement.

He declared drunkeness was a disease of the liver, to be treated by a physician and not by legislation, and he defied the religious element to show him where the Bible countenances restriction of personal right.

"They fake the Koran," he said. "They cry, 'Oh, true believers, wine is verily an abomination of the Devil,' and say it is Biblical when it comes for the Mohammedan Bible." (New York Herald, April 19, 1915.)

Maj. HUMES. I also want to submit an office copy from the files of the United States Brewers' Association, it being marked "Exhibit No. 293," it being a list dated April 1, 1915, entitled "List of firms who are unfriendly to our interests."

Senator NELSON. Put that into the record too.

Maj. HUMES. I will not take the time to read that. The committee has it before them, and some additional matter.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 293.

LIST OF FIRMS WHO ARE UNFRIENDLY TO OUR INTERESTS.

APRIL 1, 1915.

Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Philadelphia, Pa.
United Natural Gas Company (Standard Oil), Pennsylvania.
Pittsburgh Steel Company, Pennsylvania.
Page Woven Wire Fence Co.
Monessen Foundery & Machine Co.
Whitall-Tatum Co. (Glass Mfrs.), Millville, N. J.
Lukens Iron & Steel Co., Coatesville, Pa.
U. S. Steel Cor., Sharon, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Bessemer & Erie R. R.
Pittsburgh Coal Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
American Steel & Wire Co., Kittany, Pa.
Cambria Steel Co., Johnstown, Pa.
Philadelphia Quartz Co., Chester, Pa.
Carnegie Steel Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pennsylvania Coal Co., Pa.
Hillside Coal & Iron Co., Pa.
American Rolling Mill Co., Middletown, Ohio.
J. L. Hudson (Dept. Store), Detroit, Mich.
Liggett's Drug Stores (said they would sell no liquor), New York.
Isaac Prouty & Co., Spencer, Mass.
Mr. Jas. Smith of Shenango Pottery Co., New Castle, Pa.
M. F. Crass of Grasseli Chemical Co., New Castle, Pa.
John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, Pa.
Individual members of Rogers-Peet Co., New York.
John T. Stone, Pres. Maryland Casualty Co., Baltimore, Md.
Sherwin-Williams Paint Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

Western Union Telegraph Co., New York.
Hershey Chocolate Co., Hershey, Pa.
B. F. Goodrich Co. (claim to be friendly, but 2 officers contributed to Anti-Saloon League), Akron, Ohio.
Goodyear Rubber Co. (ditto), Akron, Ohio.
Firestone Rubber Co. (ditto), Akron, Ohio.
Miller Rubber Co. (are actively working for "drys" in campaign), Ohio.
Nichols Copper Co., Laurel Hill, N. Y.
Mr. Jas. N. Gamble of Proctor & Gamble, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Madison Cooper Co., Calcium, N. Y.
Mr. H. J. Heinz, Pres. of H. J. Heinz Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rand Company, No. Tonawanda, N. Y.
W. R. Fox of Fox Typewriter Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.
F. T. Bowser & Co., Fort Wayne, Ind.
S. S. Marvin of Natl. Biscuit Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
Reo Auto Co., Lansing, Mich.
S. S. Krege Co.. Detroit, Mich.
L. H. Warner of Warner Chemical Co., New York.
Jos. Boyer of Burroughs Adding Mach. Co., Detroit, Mich.
The Lelands of the Cadillac Motor Car Co. (but has been absorbed by General Motors Co.).
Waverly Oil Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Ohio Steel Foundry Co., Perry, Ohio.
Gramm Motor Factory, Perry, Ohio.
James Horton of Horton Ice Cream Co., New York.

Senator KING. You say that was taken from the records of the United States Brewers' Association?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator KING. Do you know by whom it was prepared?

Maj. HUMES. I do not. You can ask Mr. Fox about that.

Senator KING. Mr. Fox, do you know by whom that was prepared?

Mr. FOX. I do not recollect it at all, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Will you just look at it?

Senator KING. Were you the custodian of those records at any time?

Mr. FOX. We have as records, sir, in our library files, several hundred thousand pieces of information. Everything that is of any interest, whether for or against us, goes into the hopper and is indexed in those files. Now, this, I presume, was very likely taken from those files. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. That is your office stamp on it, is it not?

Mr. FOX. That is our office stamp. There is no doubt this came from our files, but I mean I have no personal recollection of it.

Senator KING. Whose duty would it be, under your organization, to prepare that document?

Mr. FOX. I do not think it would be anybody's duty, sir. This may have been prepared in our office, or it may have come to us from some correspondent.

Senator KING. Would some local correspondent take the trouble to furnish you with a list of companies, corporations, and individuals throughout the country that were deemed to be unfair?

Mr. FOX. When I say a correspondent I mean some organization such as the Merchants' and Manufacturers' League, or National Association of Commerce and Labor, etc. I do not recall this document myself, sir.

Senator KING. Do you understand that your organization, directly or indirectly, or any of its subsidiary companies or organiza-

tions, prepared or caused to be prepared at any time and for any purpose a list of companies or individuals or business concerns that were deemed to be antagonistic to the continuance of the sale of intoxicating liquors or beers?

Mr. Fox. I am afraid I can not be specific about that, sir. I think it is extremely likely, but I can not recall any specific act.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know whether there was such a thing as a blacklist or unfair list in your organization?

Mr. Fox. I do not think in any organized way; no, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. In any way?

Mr. Fox. There have been lists prepared or names mentioned from time to time of people who were unfair. Those have undoubtedly been collected. I do not know whether they were collected in our office at any time; I think possibly they were, for our own information.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not your practice to send out a bulletin to all members of your association giving them information from time to time of business concerns that you deemed unfair?

Mr. Fox. I think that some years ago we sent out a bulletin giving any information that we had, one way or the other, about business concerns for the information of our members.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say "some years ago"—how long ago?

Mr. Fox. I do not think anything of that kind has been done for three years.

Senator OVERMAN. I see here "Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, because of the observance of Sunday-closing laws." Was the Blackstone Hotel put on the unfair list because of observing the Sunday-closing laws of Chicago, and closing up on that day?

Mr. Fox. That sounds like a Chicago document, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. It is from your records, though.

Maj. HUMES. I have the exhibits here showing that transaction. Because they accepted the Sunday-closing ruling, this concern took offense.

Senator NELSON. Because the hotel was opposed to the flow of beer on Sunday.

Maj. HUMES. To further refresh your recollection, Mr. Fox, I want to call your attention to the correspondence in the Solvay Process matter; and if the committee will bear with me, I think the easiest way to refresh his recollection is to read these letters into the record, because it is a very interesting file. It will explain the whole transaction better than we can probably do in a more haphazard way.

First, I wish you would look over those letters and see if this is correspondence from the files of the United States Brewers' Association.

Mr. Fox (after examining letters). Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That is from the files of the association, is it?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. What is it?

Maj. HUMES. This is correspondence from the files of the United States Brewers' Association with relation to the Solvay Process Co., regarding which Mr. Fox has testified.

The first letter is dated November 11, 1913, addressed to Mr. Fox and signed by Sam E. Brewer, on the letterhead of the New York State Brewers' Association:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 4.

NEW YORK STATE BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109 AND 111 EAST FIFTEENTH STREET,
New York, November 11, 1913.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
50 Union Square, New York City, New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Your letter of inquiry regarding Mr. McWilliams of Solvay, New York, was received this morning. I did not hear Mr. McWilliams' name mentioned in connection with the fight at Solvay, but the Solvay Process Company, headed by Mr. Hazzard, President, and his son-in-law, Mr. Knapp, financed and led the dry forces. We won out however by a large majority.

This same Mr. Hazzard, some months ago, spent about $40,000 to "clean up" Syracuse. The Syracuse brewers have had several conferences with representatives of the Solvay Company and at the request of the latter the brewers eliminated about eight places in Solvay and in return the Process Company promised not to fight license. This occurred a year ago. This year however the Company came up and with a Committee of 100 citizens demanded that the brewers close about twenty more places, and when the brewers declined to do this Mr. Hazzard began his fight.

Yours very truly,

SAM E. BREWER.

The second letter is dated June 16, 1915. You will notice that was almost two years afterwards. It is addressed to Mr. Hugh F. Fox and signed by the American Bottle Co.

FOX EXHIBIT No. 5.

THE AMERICAN BOTTLE COMPANY,
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING,
Chicago, Ill., June 16, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secy.,*
United States Brewers' Assn., New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: This letter will introduce to you Mr. Martin H. Knapp, representing the Solvay Process Co.

The product of this company we have purchased through Messrs. Wing & Evans, of your city, for what might be called a life time. In all our relations with the Solvay Process Company, as well as the firm of Messrs. Wing & Evans, we have found them to be high class honorable people in the full sense of the word.

Mr. Knapp desires an interview with you in connection with a matter of interest to the Solvay Process Co. We earnestly bespeak for Mr. Knapp your kind consideration and attention.

Would further say that last year when the question of national prohibition was up before Congress. it was our pleasure and privilege to request Messrs. Wing & Evans, among others, to address telegrams and letters to their Congressmen, protesting against the passage of the Prohibition Bill, and am pleased to be able to say that among the first replies we received was one from Messrs. Wing & Evans of New York City, stating that the matter would have their personal attention.

Assuring you that any courtesies extended to Mr. Knapp will be very much appreciated by our company, we are,

Very sincerely yours,

THE AMERICAN BOTTLE COMPANY,
M. W. JACK, *President.*

The next letter is dated June 23, 1915, from M. H. Knapp, of the Solvay Process Co., to Mr. Fox, and is as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 6.

THE SOLVAY PROCESS COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y., June 23, 1915.

HUGH E. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewing Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: On June 18th last I called at your office in the hope of having a short interview with you on a subject which is of considerable importance to me and to this Company. I was informed that you were engaged for the afternoon, and I therefore left with your stenographer a letter of introduction from Mr. M. W. Jack, who, I believe, is well known to you.

Also, your office informed me that you would not be available for some little time, as you were entirely engaged this week and were then to be away until about the second week in July.

I regret that I was not able to see you, but, if agreeable, I will keep in touch with your office, and on your return in July will endeavor to come to New York and call at sometime convenient to you.

Yours very truly,

M. H. KNAPP.

The next letter, from Mr. Fox to Mr. Edwin C. Hall, of the Haberle-Crystal Spring Brewing Co., Syracuse, N. Y., reads as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 7.

[Confidential.]

JULY 1, 1915.

MR. EDWIN C. HALL,
Haberle-Crystal Spring Brewing Co., Syracuse, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. HALL: I have just had a conference with Mr. M. H. Knapp, Secretary of the Solvay Process Company of your city, who has told me very frankly the whole history of his connection with the no-license fight in the town of Solvay, and his efforts to secure the co-operation of the brewers of Syracuse at that time in the betterment of saloon conditions. I judge from what he says that there are more saloons in Solvay than are required to meet the reasonable convenience of the people there, and that as is usual in cases of over-competition, some of the saloons were open to serious question because of the way in which they were conducted.

However, Mr. Knapp and his company evidently realize that they made a mistake in allowing themselves to be drawn into the fight, and now that it is all over, and the town of Solvay is still in the license column, the Solvay people will not re-open the question or do anything to promote no-license. I sincerely trust, however, that the Syracuse brewers will get together in regard to the saloon conditions in Solvay and so adjust matters that there will be no real ground for further criticism.

However, what I am writing to you for especially is to say that we are anxious to win the friendship of all important business interests such as the Solvay Process Company, and from my conversation with Mr. Knapp, I judge that the company would be willing to write us a letter setting forth their attitude on the saloon question generally, and on the proper attitude of employing corporations towards their men in regard to the alcohol question. I think that such a letter would be extremely helpful to us especially in view of the adverse attitude of so many of the large industrial concerns, and also in view of the large and varied interests of importance as the Solvay Process Company.

We had a meeting here a few days ago of what is known as our interstate commerce committee, consisting of a representative from each State. The representatives from the State of Washington and from Michigan tell us that the reason we have lost so heavily in those States lately is because of the pressure exercised by industrial corporations upon their men. We held our own in the rural districts, but were licked in the manufacturing centers.

I am going to write to Mr. Knapp suggesting that he call on you to talk the matter over, and I am enclosing draft of letter that I am going to suggest that his Company write to us.

Requesting your co-operation, I am,

Very truly yours,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

To refresh your recollection now, Mr. Fox, you will notice that in that letter you expressed the belief that they would sign a letter.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. There was no volunteer suggestion on their part, apparently, from that letter, was there?

Mr. Fox. Apparently not. I think I must have confused that with some other case.

Maj. HUMES. Again, here is a letter addressed to Mr. Knapp from Mr. Fox, dated July 1, 1915:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 8.

Mr. M. H. KNAPP,
The Solvay Process Co., Syracuse, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. KNAPP: I have written to Mr. Hall along the line of our conversation, and have told him that you would get in touch with him.

I am enclosing draft of a letter such as I would suggest, and have sent a copy of it to Mr. Hall also.

Very truly yours,

——— ———, *Secy.*

And the copy of the suggested letter is attached, as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 9.

SUGGESTED LETTER TO THE U. S. B. A.

GENTLEMEN: In response to your query as to the attitude of the Solvay Process Company on the license question, we beg to say that we are thoroughly in accord with the suggestions made by the National Committee representing the various branches of the liquor interests as reported in the Associated Press dispatches which were published on July 1st. We believe in well-regulated saloons under responsible and intelligent management, and are in favor of the license system.

We feel that the attempt on the part of employers to dictate to their men as to their private conduct and personal habits during their leisure time is absolutely mischievous and unwarranted. The employer has the right to insist upon the sobriety and efficiency of his men and to make rules for their conduct during the time that they are at work, but this is as far as he should go.

Trusting that this is satisfactory, we are,

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

On July 2 the Solvay Process Co. addressed the following letter to Mr. Fox:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 10.

THE SOLVAY PROCESS COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y., July 2, 1915.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewing Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I beg to acknowledge your favor of July 1st, enclosing form of letter suggested in our conversation yesterday.

Under separate cover, we are writing you today a letter following this form. The President, I note, has made a slight change in the wording of the second paragraph, to conform to his own ideas, but I do not think it changes the meaning conveyed in any way. If you feel that it does change your suggestion, we should be glad to have you take the matter up with us again.

I have already endeavored to see Mr. Hall, of the Haberle Crystal Spring Brewing Co., but I am informed by his office that he is out of town until next Wednesday at which time I will endeavor to see him.

I omitted to say to you yesterday that Mr. Jack suggested that, in addition to seeing you in this matter, I see Mr. Percy Andreae of Chicago, head of the National Association of Commerce and Labor for the Western States. I shall probably see Mr. Andreae in the near future, and wished to call the fact

your attention, as you might hear of it and think I was shopping around in rather an odd fashion. You and Mr. Andreae are the only gentlemen whom Mr. Jack suggested that I see, and I shall of course only follow his suggestion.

If you should care for a statement of the facts which I went over with you yesterday, in regard to our campaign here in the Village, I should be very glad to send you a brief outline of the matter, but unless this will be of some use to you for future reference, I will not cumber your files.

I wish again to thank you for your courtesy, and trust that we have now satisfactorily cleared up this matter.

Yours very truly,

M. H. KNAPP,
Asst. to President.

On July 9, again, Mr. Knapp writes to Mr. Fox:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 11.

THE SOLVAY PROCESS COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y., July 9, 1915.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewers' Ass'n, 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday I saw Mr. Hall, of the Haberle Crystal Springs Brewing Co., as you suggested, and had a very pleasant talk with him.

He says that he has never heard locally any criticism against this Company, and can not believe that the reports which have been circulated about us emanated from Syracuse. He said some very nice things about the fairness and broadmindedness of this Company and our President, Mr. F. R. Hazzard.

In regard to the campaign which I carried on two years ago here, he entirely understood the conditions and agreed with me that they were very bad and that we were within our rights in trying to improve them.

I showed to him the letter which we addressed to you on July 2nd, and he thought that that entirely covered the matter, and said he would submit it to the local Association and ask for their approval.

If there is anything further which we can do in this matter, I should be grateful if you would advise us.

Yours very truly,

M. H. KNAPP.

And Mr. Hall, under date of July 10, writes to the United States Brewers' Association, attention H. F. Fox, secretary, as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 12.

HABERLE BREWING COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y., July 10th, 1915.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York City.

Attention of H. F. Fox, Secretary.

MY DEAR FOX: Relative to yours of July 1st wish to advise that Mr. M. H. Knapp of the Solvay Process Company called at our office and I assure you was pleased with the result of his visit.

I enclose a copy of his letter to me under date of July 9th which coupled with the letter which he sent you on July 2nd, fully explains his Company's attitude toward our business. I consider it a triumph to have a concern of its magnitude favoring the license system.

At a local option campaign of two years ago, they were very bitter against the liquor traffic and if you called at Solvay, you would say that they were justified in taking such a stand. Nearly all of the stores on the principal street of Solvay are occupied as saloons—in reality "dumps". This condition came about through the greed of one of our competitors who controls eighty-five per cent of the places, and refuses to eliminate any of them.

Mr. Knapp seemed a bit nervous when discussing the issue with me. I concluded that someone had gotten after them. I hope their views will cause other large manufacturers, who are wavering, to think likewise.

The officers of the Solvay Process Company are fair, liberal men and all enjoy their beverage.

Congratulating you upon this achievement, I remain,

Yours cordially,

EDWIN C. HALL.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the business of the Solvay Co.?

Maj. HUMES. The chemical business.

Senator KING. Chemicals, soda.

Maj. HUMES. Then there is a letter on July 9 from Mr. Knapp to Mr. Hall. That is a part of the file, but it has been referred to so fully that unless the committee desires it I will not take the time to read it in full.

Mr. Fox, under date of July 16, writes to Mr. Knapp:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 13.

JULY 16TH, 1915.

Mr. M. H. KNAPP,
Solvay Process Co., Syracuse, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. KNAPP: Your letter of the 9th came during my absence from the city.

The letter from your company to us of July 2nd is perfectly satisfactory, and I will have it reproduced and sent to all of the brewers.

Thanking you, I am,
Very truly yours,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

Then the Official Confidential Bulletin of the United States Brewers' Association, dated July 22, 1915, addressed to the members of the United States Brewers' Association, is a reproduction of the letter; and in order to show the difference, the modification that was made, I will read the second paragraph:

We feel that any attempt on the part of the employers to dictate to their men as to the private conduct and personal habits during their leisure time is not warranted, and may become mischievous. The employer, has the right to choose as employees those men who will best perform their work, with safety to themselves and their coemployees. The employer has the right to insist on the sobriety and efficiency of his men and to make rules for their conduct during working hours.

The clause "but he has no right to go further than this" was eliminated from the letter that the president wrote.

Under date of October 23, 1915, Mr. Knapp again wrote to Mr. Fox:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 14.

THE SOLVAY PROCESS COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y., October 23, 1915.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: We are still meeting with some opposition from brewers along the lines suggested at our conference early in July.

Your letter of July 16, saying that ours of the 2nd is satisfactory, is before me. If it is proper, I should like to ask if we might have a copy of the letter which you sent to the brewers saying that the statement of our position was satisfactory to your association. If we had a copy of that letter we could show it to the brewers when the question was raised, and it would go a long way in backing up our statement that our position is satisfactory to the brewer trade.

If there is anything improper in what I ask, or if you have any reason why you do not wish to furnish a copy of your letter, I know you will not hesitate to say so, and we shall quite understand your position. However, if you can deem it proper to furnish us with such a copy, we should be very much obliged.

Yours, very truly,

M. H. KNAPP,
Ass't to the President.

And Mr. Fox, under date of October 25, replied as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 15.

OCTOBER 25, 1915.

SOLVAY PROCESS COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your letter of October 23rd, I beg to say that on July 22nd I sent a confidential communication to our members in which I quoted your letter of July 2nd to me. I may add that we are thoroughly satisfied with your attitude, which seems to me to be exactly the position that an employer ought to take, and I believe that you are entitled to the friendly consideration of all the brewers.

Yours, very truly,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

Under date of November 3, 1915, Mr. Oswald, on a letterhead of the Haberle Brewing Co., addressed Mr. Fox as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 16.

HABERLE BREWING COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y., November 3, 1915.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Referring to your communication of November 1, which was accompanied by a copy of the letter from the Solvay Process Co.'s president, whose sincerity we may not doubt, but information contained in letter—Parsons to Conway (the latter president of the Bartels Brewing Company) a copy of which is sent herein, shows conclusively that influential employees of the Solvay Process Co. were actively opposed to our cause from the very beginning because of their having signed a petition calling for a vote on the license question; nevertheless we are pleased to announce that election results of yesterday, show the issue carried in our favor.

We think it advisable that you again take up the matter with Mr. Knapp, calling his attention to the persons in his employ who openly opposed us, which naturally involves his attitude upon the question.

Yours respectfully,

EDWARD OSWALD.

And the inclosure is as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 17.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
COMMISSIONERS OF HIGHWAYS,
Syracuse, N. Y., Oct. 28, 1915.

Mr. JOHN S. CONWAY,
City.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed you will find a list of the signers on the Dry Proposition arising in the Town of Geddes. You will note that Charles S. Glenn, Supt., Harvey Curtis, Chief of the Solvay Process Police Force, 12 Patrolmen, who I believe are deputy-sheriffs, 12 foremen, 17 carpenters, 2 gardeners for Mr. Hazard have signed the same. This to my mind shows that Solvay Process Company are back of the movement. I might add that an undertaker has also signed it.

Yours respectfully,

EDWIN W. PARSONS.

The next letter, November 4, 1915, addressed to the Solvay Process Co., from Mr. Fox, is as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 18.

NOVEMBER 4, 1915.

SOLVAY PROCESS CO.,
Syracuse, N. Y.

Attention, Mr. Knapp.

GENTLEMEN: I have a letter from one of our people in Syracuse, stating that while they have no doubt whatever as to your sincerity and that of your associ-

ates, they think it proper to call your attention to the fact that the Superintendent and Chief of the Solvay Police Force and a number of the men employed in positions of responsibility, signed the "dry" petition.

Yours very truly,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

And Mr. Knapp's reply of November 5, 1915, to Mr. Fox is as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 19.

THE SOLVAY PROCESS COMPANY,
Syracuse, N. Y., November 5, 1915.

H. F. Fox, *Secretary,*
United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: We beg to acknowledge yours of November 4th, and thank you for the information contained therein. Of course the Chief of our Patrol Department is rather a subordinate position, but we shall try to keep an eye on the matter hereafter and advise our men to keep out of movements of this kind.

The town went for license by a large majority, which we assume adjusts the matter satisfactorily for the present.

Yours very truly,

THE SOLVAY PROCESS COMPANY,
M. H. KNAPP, *Ass't to Presdt.*

Now, Mr. Fox, with your recollection refreshed by that file, is it not a fact that the Solvay Process Co., because of having been boycotted or considered unfair, came to you and sought a correction of their position, and asked you to straighten out the matter for them?

Mr. Fox. Evidently.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Now, is it not a fact that the Solvay Process Co. was boycotted by the members of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. That I do not know, sir. I think, though, that that is capable of two interpretations. It has come to my knowledge from time to time, as I have said before, that competitors would try to create a prejudice against certain people, and the effect would be the same whether we were responsible for it or the competitors were responsible for it.

Maj. HUMES. Is that the only case that you remember where there was correspondence of a similar nature?

Mr. Fox. I recall that I had some other correspondence, but I do not recall the specific concerns. I know I have had some correspondence.

Senator OVERMAN. Had you not better put in the record the names of these people who were boycotted?

Senator KING. There is no proof that they were boycotted, yet Senator.

Maj. HUMES. That is only a summary for the information of the committee. I have the records to show the facts. That is simply a summary for the convenience of the committee.

(Thereupon a discussion was held between members of the subcommittee as to the time of the next meeting.)

Mr. LEVI COOKE. If it please the committee, the committee has summoned by subpœna duces tecum two distillers for examination Mr. Dieterle, of Cincinnati, and Mr. Sunstein, of Pittsburgh. They are present. Apparently this hearing may continue for several days along the line of investigation now being followed. Without further subpœnas those gentlemen will attend on the committee at any time

that Maj. Humes suggests; and I pray the indulgence of having those men simply excused until they are called by word of mouth or telegram from Mr. Humes, if it is agreeable to him and to the committee. I dare say the committee will have to take a recess between now and the conclusion of its investigation, and possibly——

Senator NELSON. Let them leave their files they have brought with them.

Mr. COOKE. Yes; I was going to suggest that we call them for the purpose of having them respond to the subpœna duces tecum, so as to save time when they are called.

Senator NELSON. Call them up and have them submit the documents and leave them.

Mr. COOKE. There is only one of them that brought anything.

Senator KING. If they are represented by counsel, perhaps we had better just take counsel's word for it.

Mr. COOKE. I will hold the papers.

Senator KING. I imagine Maj. Humes would like to see the papers in advance of the next hearing.

Maj. HUMES. It will save a lot of time if they can leave the documents.

Mr. COOKE. I will turn them over to Maj. Humes for his inspection.

Maj. HUMES. Do I understand that the only papers are those of Mr. Dieterle?

Mr. COOKE. Mr. Dieterle was the only one that had papers stated in the subpœna.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Sunstein has not any papers?

Mr. COOKE. So he states to me, and he will so state, I suppose, when he is examined.

Maj. HUMES. I think under the circumstances we ought to have an opportunity to make some little inquiry about that. If he has not got papers that would be properly in his possession, I think before he is excused we ought to get some information as to where they are.

Mr. COOKE. May I make this accommodating suggestion: That Mr. Sunstein will talk with you at length and give you any information he has?

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Sunstein is not in any way responsible to me for a response to that subpœna. He is responsible only to the committee.

Mr. COOKE. I am simply stating that as a matter of accommodation.

Senator OVERMAN. You might bring him up if you want to examine him. He can be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF MR. A. J. SUNSTEIN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. You were subpœnaed to produce certain bank accounts and your bank pass books, canceled checks, and check stubs?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you produced them?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I have not.

Maj. HUMES. Why have you not?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. You subpœnaed me as the chairman of the protective bureau, and as the treasurer of the protective bureau committee,

and I have not been the treasurer of that committee since the early spring of 1916, and the papers that I had some time during the summer of 1916 I consigned to the waste basket because I had no further use for them.

Maj. HUMES. Did you destroy your bank pass books and your canceled checks and check stubs?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes; I always did that from year to year.

Maj. HUMES. At the time you retired as treasurer of the protective bureau of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association was there an audit made of your accounts?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Who made the audit?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. A committee was appointed at the convention of the association before I retired, and that committee went over those accounts, and I do not know if I took those papers with me or not, but it is my impression that I did.

Maj. HUMES. Did that committee make a formal report of the result of the audit?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. That I could not say. I presume they did to the convention.

Maj. HUMES. Is a copy of that auditor's report available?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. That I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. If it is available, who has it?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. If it is available, it must be in the archives of the committee's organization.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean in the archives of the protective bureau or in the archives of the national association?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. The national association.

Maj. HUMES. And Mr. De Bar would have custody of that?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. The national association and protective bureau were two distinct organizations.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not make your report to the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No.

Maj. HUMES. What body did these auditors report to that audited your accounts?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. There is a committee in existence, which is the protective bureau committee, and this protective committee would appoint auditors—two men out of the committee or out of the members of the organization—and they would go over my vouchers and accounts, and then they would go to work and sign a paper that they found them correct; or sometimes I would make a report as treasurer as to the amount received and expended and the balance and where the balance existed, and they would simply O. K. it, and that ended it.

Maj. HUMES. They made no further record than of the activities of the committee.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No.

Maj. HUMES. And they satisfied themselves and that was all. Is that correct?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. They would make a report to a meeting of the committee stating that they found the accounts correct.

Maj. HUMES. Are you an officer of the Pennsylvania Association

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No.

Maj. HUMES. Who is the present treasurer of the Protective Bureau?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I do not think the Protective Bureau is in existence, and it has not been since November, 1917.

Maj. HUMES. I think that is all.

Senator KING. You sought to prove by this witness, Maj. Humes, that the organization with which he was indentified received certain contributions of assessments from year to year and disbursed the same?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Senator KING. And those contributions were made by the liquor men of Ohio?

Maj. HUMES. Oh, no; of the United States.

Senator WOLCOTT. This witness may have some recollection of that.

Maj. HUMES. I have a lot of records. I want more than simply the documents, but I was simply wanting to inquire if the documents were in existence.

Senator KING. Do I understand you that this witness is the only one who was treasurer during the period to which he refers?

Maj. HUMES. He was the treasurer up until 1916.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Senator KING. For how long a period were you the treasurer?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I was the treasurer of the organization from its organization.

Senator KING. When was that?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. If my recollection serves me right, it was some time in 1907 or 1905.

Senator KING. Then would all of the contributions to which reference was made by other witnesses, this half cent a barrel and 3 cents and so——

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Oh, we had nothing to do with that.

Senator WOLCOTT. This is the Liquor Dealers' Association.

Senator KING. Were all of the contributions made by the liquor interests made to you?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No; they were sent to a secretary, and then they were sent to me in a lump sum.

Senator KING. They finally came to you?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Senator KING. Do I understand you that all the contributions made by the liquor interests—

Mr. SUNSTEIN. That is for the protective bureau.

Senator KING. I mean to exclude the brewery interests.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. They came to me and I deposited them.

Senator KING. During all these years?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Senator KING. And you paid them out at the order of the committee?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Senator NELSON. And you have no record of the amount?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No.

Senator NELSON. Can you tell in the aggregate as near as may be how much you handled in those years?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. If my recollection serves me right, when it was first organized and for many years thereafter the amount received was very, very small, not sufficient in many years to pay the actual expense of organization, and for a period of some years thereafter they increased by reason of the fact that instead of allowing each man to give a voluntary sum based upon nothing, they fixed a certain manner of subscription, and they endeavored to get people to volunteer, to give accordingly, and that increased the amount, but that was only for a few years.

Maj. HUMES. From the time that you became treasurer of this association, did you deposit all of the funds of the protective bureau in the Farmers' Deposit National Bank of Pittsburgh?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No. My first account was with the Freehold Bank of Pittsburgh.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period of time did you bank there—a reasonably short period, was it not?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No; for quite a while. I deposited there until such time as it was merged with the Colonial Trust Co.

Maj. HUMES. You commenced doing business with the Farmers' Deposit National Bank before 1912, did you not?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I could not say as to that.

Maj. HUMES. From the time you first opened your account as treasurer of the bureau with the Farmers' Deposit National Bank, did you deposit all of the funds in your possession as treasurer in that account?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. In the Farmers' Deposit?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I believe I had taken out an account with the Guaranty Title & Trust Co. of Pittsburgh.

Maj. HUMES. About when was that?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I deposited there for some years until they merged in the Iron City National, or the Duquesne, I do not remember which, and then I changed to the Farmers' Deposit.

Maj. HUMES. To get back to my question again, from the time you commenced doing business with the Farmers' Deposit, did you do all of your business there?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. The Farmers' Deposit?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I believe I had for a short time an account with the Union Trust Co. of Pittsburgh.

Maj. HUMES. Between 1912 and 1916?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I think so.

Maj. HUMES. About what period?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. That was the last two years I was treasurer.

Maj. HUMES. In what name was that deposit?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. In my name as treasurer of the protective bureau.

Maj. HUMES. You had the whole title, treasurer of the protective bureau?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. From 1912 up until you ceased to be treasurer were all of your funds as treasurer deposited in one of those two banks?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. All that I received.

Maj. HUMES. Did you receive all of the funds of the protective bureau?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. I believe I did, as far as I know.

Maj. HUMES. On the 6th day of May, 1916, you withdrew your account from the Farmers' Deposit National Bank, did you not?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. If I did then I must have closed the account when my treasurership expired.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not close the account simultaneously with a subpœna having been served on Mr. De Bar?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. No. I did not withdraw either of the accounts until my term of office expired, and I turned the money over to another treasurer.

Maj. HUMES. Then we distinctly understand that your bank accounts in the Farmers' Deposit National Bank and in the Union Trust Co. include all of the funds that came into your hands as treasurer?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. During the period covered by those two accounts?

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Sunstein gave me to understand, when I talked with him in Pittsburgh a number of days ago, that all of the funds were in one bank. I have the record of that bank, but he gave me no information as to the other bank record, so that I have not a complete record.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. You asked me where I had my deposit, and I told you at the Farmers' Deposit National Bank, and I did not think of the Union. I had no purpose of hiding anything.

Maj. HUMES. Oh, I am not questioning your motives at all.

Senator OVERMAN. The committee will stand adjourned at this point until to-morrow morning at 10.30 o'clock.

(Accordingly, at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, November 20, 1918, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), Wolcott, and Nelson.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HUGH F. FOX—Resumed.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, with your recollection refreshed from the Solvay Process file, what do you now say as to the common practice of the United States Brewers' Association, through you as the secretary, boycotting and reporting as unfair, for purposes of trade discrimination, business concerns over the country at various times during the last 10 years, or continuously during the last 10 years?

Mr. FOX. Major, the records you have there speak for themselves. My memory is somewhat faulty, but my recollection of the general practice and principle is this: My own position was more that of an intermediary—a mediator—than anything else, as I think the correspondence bears out. Our records may contain memoranda such as that alleged blacklist that you spoke of. I do not recall the matter at all. Of course, you understand that we have a large number of clersk and——

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Fox, could you not tell us whether it was the system to boycott people who did not agree with them?

Mr. FOX. I do not think that——

Senator OVERMAN. Was it not a part of the system of the Brewers' Association?

Mr. FOX. I think that is a question of interpretation, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Well, I want your interpretation of it. Now, you know what has been done; not of your own knowledge, but what was the general system as to boycotting. Now, was not that a part of the system?

Mr. FOX. As far as my recollection goes, and my present attitude, it was to furnish information which came to us, either favorable or unfavorable——

Senator OVERMAN. Well, that was not my question.

Mr. FOX (continuing). And give it to our members.

Senator OVERMAN. I wanted to know as a general thing whether that was not a part of the system. Was it or not? You had some correspondence about it, and while you may not have known of your

own personal knowledge about it, you knew as an officer of that association. Was it not a part of the system to boycott?

Mr. Fox. I think the intention was rather to give preference to those who were our friends. Perhaps I can sum it all up in this way. The thing with a great many of the brewers was this. We were engaged in what was practically a war. They did not feel that it was good business for them to be throwing business to men who were using the profits from their business to fight them.

Senator OVERMAN. I understand that. That might be so. You are arguing now. I wanted to know it is was not the system of the brewers to boycott people who had fought for prohibition?

Mr. Fox. I do not think that we ever had any formal action taken which would bear that out.

Senator OVERMAN. Now, you are a very intelligent man, and are generally frank. I want to know this. I did not ask you whether they had ever passed any resolutions or anything of that kind. I ask you if that was not a part of their system, as shown from these records?

Mr. Fox. I think that is rather a strained interpretation, Senator. Personally, I always felt that it was a very dubious thing.

Senator OVERMAN. The fact is that they did boycott people?

Mr. Fox. I do not know whether it had the effect of a boycott.

Senator OVERMAN. Have not these records offered here shown that this Solvay Co. was boycotted, and has it not shown that they lost trade by reason of the fact that they were boycotted by your association?

Mr. Fox. They were not boycotted by the association, Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. By the brewers, then?

Mr. Fox. We had not uttered a word about the Solvay Process Co. until they came to us.

Senator OVERMAN. Why did you write this letter, then? They came to you complaining that you had boycotted them, and you wrote for them a letter to your people saying that they were now fair.

Mr. Fox. Senator, I think that the correspondence shows this. Pardon me for differing with you. It shows that we had, as a matter of fact, no knowledge whatever of the Solvay Process Co. until their representative came to me and complained. My recollection is that he complained that his competitors were making use of this information, and that it was injuring him in a business way.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. Fox. And I then acted as a sort of intermediary to try to straighten it out.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; after they had changed and gone on the other side, then you wrote this letter. But now I want to ask you this. You had among your files numerous names of firms and business men, among them John Wanamaker and the Cadillac Co. and other automobile concerns, some of the biggest firms in the country?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Showing that they were boycotted because they had differed with you on this question. If that was not the system, why did you have all of these names there in your files?

Mr. Fox. It is perfectly clear that we were being importuned by brewers for information as to certain people and as to their standing, and we were exceedingly guarded in the information we gave

them. Now, so far as Wanamaker is concerned, I personally traded with him up until within the last month. The Cadillac Co., of course, is an extreme case, because the officers of the Cadillac Co. were actually leading the fight against us in their community, as I understand it, and were contributing considerable sums to the fight. That, of course, is an extreme case.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; that is an extreme case.

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. And then they were, because of their action, boycotted?

Mr. FOX. I should think that the effect of that was very likely to boycott.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What about the H. J. Heinz Co.? Did you not boycott them? Did you not cause a boycott to be instituted against them, and did you not send detectives out over the country following up the activities of the H. J. Heinz Co.?

Mr. FOX. I have no knowledge of that, sir—no recollection of it, at least.

May I just say this, Senator, possibly to save time; I will not have the slightest hesitation in identifying any of this material, but we had a large force of clerks; I had a great deal to do; my memory is not particularly good, anyway; and on this matter, that if it is necessary to refresh my memory for the sake of getting it in the record, all right; but if I can save time by identifying a lot of this material I will be very glad to do it.

Maj. HUMES. Did not your boycott of the Heinz Co. grow out of the fact that Heinz was elected president of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association, and the Sabbath School Association passed a temperance resolution? Is not that the fact?

Mr. FOX. I remember, now, something about it, but I do not remember what action, if any, was taken.

Maj. HUMES. I show you this file, leading up to the publication of a confidential circular on October 30, 1914. This circular reads as follows:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 20.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE NEW YORK,
New York, October 30, 1914.

Confidential

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The 52nd Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association met in Scranton, October 5th–9th, with an attendance of 1,500 delegates and 1,000 visitors. The *Philadelphia North American* of October 10th publishes an account by its Special Correspondent, W. C. Sprout, from which the following is taken:

"With true consistency, the fifty-second annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association ended its four days' sessions here to-day as it began, with a blow at the licensed saloon.

"The 1,500 delegates and the 1,000 visitors who attended the sessions will take back home to the State's vast Sunday School population of more than 2,000,000 the message that if Pennsylvania wants to clean up, remove the State from the shadow of rum's blight and let in the sunshine of righteous government, now is the time to do it.

"At the closing session this afternoon, which re-elected H. J. Heinz, of Pittsburgh, president for the ninth consecutive term and picked Erie for the convention city in 1915, resolutions were passed emphatically indorsing local option and national prohibition.

"This indorsement put into concrete form the sentiment which has permeated the convention since Tuesday. In point of deep religious fervor, combined with zeal for active Christian citizenship, the convention made Sunday school history."

REJOICE IN PROGRESS.

"Recognizing the blighting effect of the liquor traffic," the resolutions assert, "we rejoice in the aggressive temperance education of the State Association and to the end that we may have local option for the State or Nation-wide prohibition and to overthrow the saloon and the abolition of the liquor traffic.

"We recognize the legislative petition put forward by our State department as a great epoch in educational, practical, effective temperance work, and recommend that the various schools follow carefully the plan suggested for this most commendable effort."

Mr. Heinz is the President of the H. J. Heinz Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa., which maintains branches in all the large cities.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

Will you look at the rest of that file and see if that is a correct file of the correspondence between you and various other persons connected with the business affairs of the Heinz Pickle Co., or of H. J. Heinz?

Senator OVERMAN. Is this the man with "57 varieties"?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Mr. Fox (after examining file). All right, sir; that is correct.

Maj. HUMES. Is that a correct file?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Fox, Maj. Humes has read the bulletin showing that you sent that out yourself.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you not think that was part of a system of boycotting?

Mr. Fox. Certainly part of a system of information, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; as to a man who had voted for a resolution like that in regard to the Sabbath schools of the country; your men ought not to trade with him for that reason?

Mr. Fox. Of course, the matter was sent out for the information of whom it might concern.

Senator OVERMAN. What was the purpose of the information?

Mr. Fox. I should say that the purpose of the information was to tell them, as far as possible, who their friends and who their enemies were.

Senator OVERMAN. With the idea that they would trade with their friends and not trade with their enemies?

Mr. Fox. That they would give the preference to their friends, I should think, sir.

Senator NELSON. You could hardly expect a Sunday school to deal in beer, could you?

Mr. Fox. No; but I think probably Mr. Heinz was doing a large business with saloons.

Senator OVERMAN. They were buying his pickles; and, inasmuch as he took an interest in the Sunday schools in favor of prohibition,

the brewers ought not to buy his pickles, but buy somebody's else pickles, and not the pickles made by their enemies. Is that the idea?

Mr. Fox. I should think that would be the way in which they would look at it.

Maj. HUMES. I will just offer in evidence that file.

Senator NELSON. Will you put it all in evidence?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir. I assume that the exhibits that are not read into the record will be carried in an appendix of some kind; will they not?

Senator NELSON. Those important letters ought to be read into the record.

Senator OVERMAN. The letter you read there ought to be in the record.

Maj. HUMES. Then if we can treat all the rest of them as though they were read into the record——

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I should be very glad to read them all for the information of the committee, if you want to take the time.

Senator OVERMAN. We do not want to do that. The question is Are those letters important? If so, we want them to go into the record.

Maj. HUMES. It is the chain in the Heinz boycott.

Senator OVERMAN. Let it go in the record.

Maj. HUMES. And from this file I culled out the unimportant, surplus stuff, so as just to show the important steps in the transaction.

(The additional documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE B.

[Hamm Brewing Company asked for this information. Todd. Confidential file. Confidential.]

Nov. 13, 1915.

Mr. HERMAN STRAUB,
Oliver Bldg., Pittsburg, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. STRAUB: On October 30th, 1914 we sent a confidential circular letter to the Members of our Association regarding the meeting of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association at Scranton, Pa. At this meeting Mr. H. J. Heinz, President of the H. J. Heinz Company, Pittsburg, Pa., was reelected President for his ninth consecutive term. The convention went on record against our industry in a resolution beginning with the phrase—"Recognizing the blighting effect of the liquor traffic, etc."

Recently we have had two inquiries as to the Heinz Company in which our correspondents have stated that it was their impression that Mr. Heinz was not unfriendly to our business and that letters to that effect had been written by various members of the Company.

We would greatly appreciate your good offices in obtaining information to substantiate or refute this statement. Anything you may send us will, of course, be treated in confidence.

Very truly yours,

MW. *Secretary.*

[Confidential.]

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK,
New York, October 30, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

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"The 1,500 delegates and the 1,000 visitors who attended the sessions will take back home to the State's vast Sunday School population of more than 2,000,000 the message that if Pennsylvania wants to clean up, remove the State from the shadow of rum's blight and let in the sunshine of righteous government, now is the time to do it.

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"'We recognize the legislative petition put forward by our State department as a great epoch in educational, practical, effective temperance work, and recommend that the various schools follow carefully the plan suggested for this most commendable effort.'"

Mr. Heinz is the President of the H. J. Heinz Company, of Pittsburg, Pa., which maintains branches in all the large cities.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[President, E. L. Jordan, 515 Ninth St. NW., Washington, D. C. First Vice-President, Hon. Hugh Dolan, 516 Eighth Ave., New York, N. Y. Second Vice-President, Thos. F. Lally, 312 First Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. Third Vice-President, Frank Stallo, 411 W. Lombard St., Baltimore, Md. General Secretary, R. J. Halle, 109 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. Financial Secretary, John McEntee, 29 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N. J. Treasurer, Hon. C. Schweickardt, The Cottage, St. Louis, Mo. Organizer, P. H. Nolan, 41 Beaver St., New York, N. Y. Executive Committee: Wm. Clack, San Francisco, Cal.; John G. Hartmann, Wilmington, Del.; Hugh F. Harvey, Washington, D. C.; Jos. Grein, Chicago, Ill.; W. Rennick, Lexington, Ky.; Hy. C. Mackie, Baltimore, Md.; Thos. F. Hart, Minneapolis, Minn.; M. F. Helery, St. Louis, Mo.; Hon. Chas. V. Lynch, Buffalo, N. Y.; James Waylett, Jersey City, N. J.; Chas. Messer, Cleveland, O.; John Lauler, Pittsburg, Pa.; J. W. Morriston, Seattle, Wash. Congressional Committee: W. McGuire, Chairman; W. T. Whelan, Secretary; Hon. Chas. Schweickardt; John G. Hartmann; Col. J. F. Hefferan; Theo. Huckestein; Paul Hoffmann; T. McDonough; Frank Doyle; E. L. Jordan; P. H. Nolan; R. J. Halle. Board of Audit: T. McDonough, Cleveland, O.; Denis Galvin, Chicago, Ill.; Theo. Huckestein, Pittsburg, Pa.; Ben. H. Schrader, Louisville, Ky. Auxiliary Committee: L. J. Alexander, Little Rock, Ark.; F. P. Quinn, New Haven, Conn.; Col. John T. Breen, Huron, S. D.; John G. Gengler, Dubuque, Ia.; G. W. Wattles, Boise, Idaho; Louis Ochs, New Orleans, La.; Lon J. Burch, Detroit, Mich.; W. A. Miller, Boston, Mass.; W. E. Deeney, Butte, Mont.; Henry Keating, Omaha, Neb.; S. A. Arata, Portland, Ore.; F. W. Ortman, Wilmington, N. C.; James Newcomb, San Antonia, Tex.; J. W. Scharr, Memphis, Tenn.; M. Mulvey, Salt Lake City, Utah; E. R. Woodward, Roanoke, Va.; P. F. McDonnell, Clarksburg, W. Va.; J. H. Behrend, Madison, Wis.]

NATIONAL RETAIL LIQUOR DEALERS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES,
SECRETARY'S OFFICE, 109 RANDOLPH STREET,
Chicago, Ill., Mar. 5, 1905.

MR. EDWARD L. JORDAN,
Pres. National Liquor League, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:—You will remember that at our recent Annual Convention held at St. Louis, October 11, 12 and 13, it was rumored that Mr. H. J. Heinz of the H. J. Heinz Company of Pittsburg had contributed $10,000 to the Anti-Saloon League of Pennsylvania and the question being brought to the attention of the Convention, a resolution was adopted instructing me to investigate the truthfulness of the same and report the result to the trade.

In conformity with this resolution I beg to report to you that I wrote to Mr. Heinz regarding the rumored contribution and in reply I received, December 16th, a personal letter from Mr. Heinz, a copy of which I attach to this report. Therein you will note that Mr. Heinz states most emphatically that:

"You have every opportunity to ascertain from people in Pittsburg, liquor men included, who have known me personally or by reputation for many years, how my word is regarded among those who know me best. I am asked a direct question. I answer it and reiterate that neither myself, my firm or any member of it has given or promised to give any amount to the Anti-Saloon League or any similar organization and this answer goes to the substance of the whole matter."

Shortly after the receipt of this letter, I visited Pittsburg and interviewed Mr. Frauenheim of the Pittsburg Brewing Company and Mr. Wertheimer of A. Guckenheimer & Bros., Distillers of Pittsburg. Both declared that they knew Mr. Heinz well and that he is a fair-mined man of broad principles and both express entire disbelief in the rumor.

I also learned that the story originated from an individual connected with the Anti-Saloon League, who in an effort to secure for himself, some political recognition, quoted Mr. Heinz among other prominent men as being friends and supporters to the extent of a large amount of money. Investigation of this person's record proves him to be mendacious unreliable and entirely unworthy of confidence.

This is briefly my report on this question and I leave it to you to decide as to whether Mr. Heinz is deserving of censure. In my humble opinion, he is not. His denial is most positive and his standing as a business man should be a guarantee of its truthfulness.

Respectfully,

ROB'T J. HALLE, *Secretary.*

[President, Timothy L. McDonough, 446 Superior St., Cleveland, O. Vice President, Howard C. Woodbury, 250 Washington St., Boston, Mass. General Secretary, Robt. J. Halle, 109 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. Treasurer, Thomas C. Hayes, 146 Plane St., Newark, N. J. Chairman Literary Bureau, P. H. Nolan, 411 5th Ave., Pittsburg. Chairman Congressional Committee, Hugh F. Harvey, 2006 Penna. Ave., Washington, D. C. Executive Committee: Emil Engel, Wilmington, Del.; Hugh F. Harvey, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Fred Rohde, Chicago, Ill.; Hon. J. J. Brennan, St. Paul, Minn.; H. J. Hinsman, St. Louis, Mo.; Hon. Hugh Dolan, New York, N. Y.; Jas. Weylett, Jersey City, N. J.; Wm. Seckel, Cleveland, Ohio; Theo. Huckstein, Pittsburg, Pa.; Frank Dolan, Lynn, Mass.; E. J. Badinelli, Wayne, Ark. Congressional Committee: Hugh F. Harvey, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Hugh Dolan, New York; Wm. D. Barry, Washington, D. C.; Theo. Huckestein, Pittsburg, Pa.; Saml. J. Stewart, Washington, D. C.; T. J. McDonough, Cleveland, O.; R. J. Halle, Chicago, Ill. Auxiliary Committee: F. P. Quinn, New Haven, Conn.; Col. John T. Breen, Huron, S. D.; M. Ingwersen, Clinton, Ia.; E. W. Mooney, Pocatello, Idaho; Lou. J. Burch, Detroit, Mich.; W. E. Deeney, Butte, Mont.; Hon. C. E. Field, Omaha, Neb.; S. A. Arata, Portland, Ore.; F. W. Ortmann, Wilmington, N. C.; John Ward, Knoxville, Tenn.; Chas. Wernette, Sanantonio, Texas; M. Mulvey, Salt Lake City, Utah; P. F. McDonnell, Clarksburg, W. Va.; W. F. Harrington, Manchester, N. H.; F. M. Brown, Barrie, Vt.; W. O. Oursler, Baltimore, Md.; A. Gerbel, Seattle, Wash.; H. Coynskie, San Francisco, Cal.; Geo. Scheib, New Orleans, La.; C. S. Snyder, La Crosse, Wis.; P. S. Schroder, Louisville, Ky.; J. A. Lessner, Norfolk, Va.]

NATIONAL LIQUOR LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES,
SECRETARY'S OFFICE, 109 RANDOLPH STREET,
Chicago, Ill., Mar. 11, 1908.

H. J. HEINZ COMPANY,
Pittsburg, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: In response to your advice that the old false rumor about a contribution by Mr. Heinz to the Anti-Saloon League is still in circulation, I beg to send you a copy of my report upon the subject, made to our then President, in 1905.

You are at liberty to use this as you deem best, and I hope it will speedily enable you to put an end to a story which does Mr. Heinz and your Company so great an injustice.

Respectfully,

ROB'T J. HALLE, *Secretary.*

[H. J. Heinz Company. Established 1869. Heinz Pickles and Food Products. Home Office, Pittsburgh, Pa. Cable Address "Heinz" Pittsburgh; "Heinzco" New York.]

PITTSBURGH, U. S. A., *March 21, 1908.*

Mr. JOHN A. MCDERMOTT,
Manager, Organization Bureau,
United States Brewers' Association, Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR SIR: We have in our hands a pamphlet purporting to contain a verbatim copy of an address delivered by you at a Meeting of the Manufacturers & Dealers Club in Chicago, on November 26th, 1907, in which it is stated that

among others "Heinz, the Pickle Manufacturers" had made large contributions to the Anti-Saloon League.

Such a statement being entirely without foundation of truth, causes us some surprise, coming from a man prominently and officially identified with a great business association. It would not seem that a man in your position would assume to make an unauthorized statement of this character without any effort to ascertain the truth of it. Neither Mr. Heinz nor our Company, directly or indirectly, have given any sum of money to the Anti-Saloon League or to the Prohibition Party, and we feel that you should contradict this statement in positive terms and in a manner as public as you made it. Furthermore, that you should furnish us with a letter stating in effect the source of your information and the fact that you were misinformed—if you find that you were misinformed—and we may say to you frankly that it would be our purpose to have your letter reproduced and copies of it sent to such of our customers as have been prejudiced by the statement made in your address referred to above.

As a result of your statement and others of similar character made by less responsible persons, our hotel and restaurant trade is being injured. When the story first originated several years ago, an investigation was instituted by the National Liquor Dealers' Association, Mr. Robert J. Halle of Chicago, Secretary, having been delegated by the Convention of this Association at St. Louis, to make the investigation. Mr. Halle found the story to be without foundation and so reported to his Organization, as per enclosed copy of a letter issued by him at that time.

We hope it may not become necessary for us to institute proceedings designed to place definite responsibility upon persons making false statements to the injury of our business.

Yours very truly,

H. J. HEINZ COMPANY,
W. H. ROBINSON, *Treasurer.*

MARCH 23RD, 1908.

H. J. HEINZ CO.,
Pittsburg, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of March 21st at hand and contents carefully noted. In reference to my remarks in the speech before the Manufacturers and Dealers Club of Chicago, would say that I was, as I supposed, reliably informed that you were one of the large contributors to the Anti-Saloon League.

I shall take it up with the parties who informed me, as I supposed reliably, and ask them for proofs in the matter, and if they are not forthcoming will cheerfully write you the letter which you request.

In the meantime will you kindly send me a short letter, stating in substance that you have not and are not contributing to the Anti-Saloon League in any way. Shall give your denial and my reply as wide publicity as they may warrant.

Yours very truly,

MANAGER, ORGANIZATION BUREAU,
U. S. BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

[H. J. Heinz Company, established 1869. Pickles and Food Products. Home Office, Pittsburgh, Pa. Cable Address "Heinz" Pittsburgh; "Heinzco" New York.]

PITTSBURGH, U. S. A. *March 25th, 1908.*

Mr. J. A. MCDERMOTT,
Manager, Organization Bureau, U. S. Brewers' Association,
Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR SIR: We have your letter of the 23rd inst., expressing an intention to investigate the rumor to which you have given public utterance as a fact, and note that if you cannot now prove its truth, you are willing to retract your statement. The propriety of ascertaining the truth of such a story, in advance of its use for presumable stage effect, seems not to have occurred to you.

We have not only already sent you a plain and complete denial of the story, but evidence in support of its falsity—although not feeling especially called upon to do this, because when a man of responsibility makes a statement, deliberately calculated to injure the business of another, the burden of proof rests upon the man making the statement.

We beg, Mr. McDermott, that you will not therefore, inconvenience yourself in the least, to publish a denial for us. If you desire to retract your own statement as publicly as it was originally made, we shall be very glad to have you do that immediately and without equivocation, and to be furnished with evidence to the effect that you have done it. Otherwise, we are forced to proceed at once, with such measures against you as will vindicate our position and incidentally, determine your responsibility.

Anticipating your further advices by return mail, we are,

Yours truly,

H. J. HEINZ COMPANY,
W. H. ROBINSON, *Treasurer.*

MARCH 28TH, 1908.

H. J. HEINZ CO.,
Pittsburg, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: You evidently misunderstood my letter of March 23rd. Am not going to investigate any rumors, but am going to demand proofs of the authorities who stated that you were contributors to the Anti-Saloon League fund. I made this statement on good authority and if they do not substantiate it, shall cheerfully write you the letter, which you can use publicly.

The only thing we wanted was a note from you containing in substance your position in the matter, which we would be glad to publish with our letter, so that all of our friends shall understand your position.

Yours very truly,

MANAGER, ORGANIZATION BUREAU,
U. S. BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

APRIL 13, 1908.

ROBERT CRAIN, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CRAIN: I am enclosing correspondence between the H. J. Heintz Company of Pittsburg and our Mr. McDermott, with reference to a statement which Mr. McDermott made at a public meeting to the effect that Heintz, the pickle manufacturer, was a contributor to the Anti-Saloon League. The Heintz Company, as you will see, absolutely deny the truth of the statement, and while some of our people are skeptical as to Heintz's denial, Mr. McDermott is unable to prove in any way that Heintz ever has contributed to the Anti-Saloon League. Under the circumstances, the only thing to be done is to back down as gracefully as possible; and in view of the implied threat in Heintz's letter of March 25th, Mr. Liebmann has instructed me to refer the matter to you, so that you may draw up for us a letter to the Heintz Company which will settle the business satisfactorily. I have not kept copies of this correspondence, and will ask you, therefore, to be kind enough to return it to me; and I trust that you can find time to give the matter prompt attention.

I revised McDermott's speech in this office and cut out the reference to Heintz and other individuals, as you will see in the enclosed leaflet, but this, of course, was after the Chicago address had been made. I understand that preparations for a suit against McDermott and the members of the Organization Committee have already been started.

Very truly yours,

SECRETARY.

Enclosure.

[European plan. Cable address Newwillard.]

THE NEW WILLARD,
PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, FOURTEENTH & F STREETS,
Washington, D. C., April 15, 1908.

HUGH F. FOX, Esq.,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Ass'n., New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. FOX: I have read carefully the correspondence between the H. J. Heinz Company of Pittsburgh, Pa. and Mr. McDermott, enclosed with your letter of April 13th. I do not deem it advisable for the United States Brewers' Association or Mr. McDermott, professing to act for the Association, to write

any formal letter to the Heinz people until they have agreed not to institute proceedings against the Association, in case Mr. McDermott accedes to their demand to publish a retraction of the statement which he seems to have recklessly made. I would advise that Mr. McDermott make a personal visit to the Heinz Company at Pittsburgh and talk the situation over with them. If they will agree not to institute legal proceedings, he can, while in Pittsburgh, write them an informal letter under his own name, in which he can set forth the fact that he had been misinformed at the time he made the charges against them, and the Heinz people, with Mr. McDermott present, can give

[The remainder of this letter was missing when given to me Sept. 3, 1913. G. L. Todd.]

[Cacapity: 650,000 barrels. Comprising C. F. Schmidt, P. Lieber and C. Maus, breweries. Brewers & Bottlers. Duesseldorfer Beer—Gold Medal—Paris 1900.]

INDIANAPOLIS BREWING CO.,
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE,
Indianapolis, Ind., U. S. A., May 21, 1908.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, U. S. Brewers' Association, New York, N. Y.,

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I am enclosing to you reports from a detective bureau, with whom I made arrangements to investigate the supposed Heinz donations to the Anti-Saloon League. The detective also makes a report on W. W. Price, of which you need make no note. I will explain it to you when I see you in Milwaukee. You may keep the original papers on your files.

Yours, very truly,

PERT LIEBER.

[The Gottlieb-Bauernschmidt-Straus Brewing Co. General Offices 313 S. Hanover St.]

BALTIMORE, MD., *December 18, 1911.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary United States Brewers Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed correspondence which was brought to my attention last night will no doubt be of interest to you, and it seems to me that the information contained therein ought to be communicated to the Brewing industry all over the country, and then in turn referred to Hotel and Inn keepers by the Brewers or their representatives, who may have dealings with the Heinz Company.

Yours very truly,

ALBERT H. WEHR,
President.

Enclosure.

[Copy.]

DECEMBER 9TH, 1914.

Mr. H. J. HEINZ,
President H. J. Heinz Company,
Pittsburg, Pa.

DEAR SIR: A publication in The Philadelphia North American, under date of October 10th, 1914, has recently come to the notice of The Maryland Hotel Men's Association, wherein it is stated that you have been re-elected President of The Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association which in a recent Convention in Philadelphia adopted resolutions emphatically indorsing Local Option and National Prohibition.

On behalf of The Maryland Hotel Men's Association I as President thereof and under their instructions am now writing to inquire whether or not, the publication referred to, correctly states the two matters herein related, viz,—your re-election and the adoption of the resolutions recited.

I shall thank you for a prompt reply to this inquiry so I may report to my Association.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) E. W. DAVIS,
President of Maryland Hotel Men's Asso.

[Copy.]

[H. J. Heinz Company. Treasurer's Office. Pure Food Products.]

PITTSBURGH, U. S. A.,
December 11, 1914.

Mr. E. W. DAVIS,
President the Maryland Hotel Men's Association,
Baltimore, Md.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry of December 9th, we may say that it is a well-known fact that Mr. Heinz is an active church member and greatly interested in Sunday School Work. He is now and for several years has been President of the Pennsylvania State Sunday School Association and actively engaged in the extension and development of its organization. This is purely a personal matter with him and one with which the Company has no connection.

This Company has never made any attempt to control the views of its stockholders, directors or employees upon the subject of religion or politics. Every one is free to exercise his own volition in these matters, and the Company does not feel that it has either the right or power to control Mr. Heinz' action in this direction.

We appreciate your bringing this matter to our attention, which has given us an opportunity of stating the position of our Company in this connection.

Yours very truly,

H. J. HEINZ COMPANY,
(Signed) W. T. O. ROBINSON,
Treasurer.

JAN. 8, 1915.

(*Confidential.*)

Mr. ALBERT H. WEHR,
The G. B. S. Brewing Co., Baltimore, Md.

MY DEAR MR. WEHR: I am not sure whether your letter of December 18th regarding Heinz, was acknowledged.

The item to which you refer was sent out from this office to our members, and also to the National Hotel Association, and I judge that the latter have followed it up as I have seen several references to it in hotel journals. Of course the reply made by the President of the Heinz Company to the President of the Hotel Men's Association is completely evasive and unsatisfactory.

Thanking you for your interest in the matter, I am,

Very truly, yours,

Secretary.

Hamm, St. Paul. Theo. Hamm Brewing Co. Cor. Minnehaha & Greenbrier Avenues. Confidential file.]

ST. PAUL, MINN., *Nov. 5, 1915.*

(Confidential.)

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
59 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: An inquiry has been made of us with reference to the H. J. Heinze Pickling Company, as to their attitude on our question. A representative of the Heinze people claims that Mr. Heinze has not been unfriendly to our business, and had letters signed by prominent people in the business to that effect. We have not heard anything with reference to the attitude of this concern lately, and would be pleased to have you give us, confidentially, such information as you can relative to the attitude of this concern, not only in the past, but so far as possible what their attitude has been towards our business recently.

Thanking you in advance, we are,

Yours, truly,

THEO. HAMM BREWING CO.,
Per ED C. NIPPOLD, *Vice-President.*

"Agents of this Corporation must act within the scope of their authority, which is limited to the sale of our product and the collection of debts. All written contracts and other transactions require official ratification."

Nov. 9, 1915.

THEO. HAMM BREWING CO.,
St. Paul, Minn.

GENTLEMEN: I am sending you a copy of a circular letter issued by the Association on October 30, 1914, regarding the Heinze Pickling Company and as far as we know there has been no change in the attitude of this company, but I am writing to one of our correspondents to get more definite information on this point. As soon as we hear from them I shall let you know.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember any activity against the Packard Motor Car Co. on the part of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FOX. I remember there was some correspondence about it. I do not remember exactly what the result of it was.

Maj. HUMES. It was due to the fact that one of their sales managers or advertising men made a speech was it not—Mr. Estep.

Mr. FOX. I do not recall that, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And one of the things considered was whether you would force the Packard Motor Car Co. to discharge this man or whether you would accept their promise of future noninterference as sufficient and restore them to favor with the brewing industry. Is not that a fact?

Mr. FOX. If you will refresh my memory, I shall be glad.

Maj. HUMES. I read a circular letter upon the letterhead of the United States Brewers' Association, dated December 8, 1909:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 21.

To the members of the United States Brewers Association.

GENTLEMEN: By direction of President Hoster, I beg to call your attention to the following facts:

On October 23rd ult., at a meeting of advertising men in Cleveland, Ohio, some remarks derogatory to our industry and highly offensive in character were made by Ralph E. Estep, advertising manager for the Packard Motor Car Company of Detroit, Mich. Said remarks found their way into a section of the daily press and were extensively copied and commented upon by our trade papers.

In view of the natural resentment of our members and friends at an attack so wanton and uncalled for, President Hoster deems it advisable that you should be informed that the Packard Company have made ample apology for the act of their representative, and are taking every means to prevent the further circulation of the injurious statements above referred to. President Joy of the Packard Company has written us unreservedly to this effect, and the offending party, Mr. Estep, has placed in the hands of our President a letter in which he acknowledges his error and asks that it be not laid up to his employers (the Packard Motor Car Company).

It would, therefore, seem best on all sides to let the matter drop, as our President suggests, and this notice is sent out to our members in order that any prejudice affecting the Packard Company may be removed.

Respectfully yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Did you send out that letter?

Mr. FOX. I have no doubt of it, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And is that a file of correspondence from the Brewers' Association files?

Mr. FOX. It is.

(The additional documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the records as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE C.

[Copy.]

1002-2-3-4 FORD BUILDING,
Detroit, Michigan, November 15, 1909.

Mr. HENRY B. JOY,
Pres. Packard Motor Car Co., Detroit, Mich.

DEAR SIR: An article which has been quite widely published and quoted as a portion of an address given by Mr. Ralph E. Estep, Advertising Manager Packard Motor Car Company of Detroit, delivered at the Advertising Affiliation First Ad-Fest, Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, October 23, 1909, has been called to my attention. The words attributed to Mr. Estep are as follows:

"We write articles for Printer's Ink about ethics in business. Then we go out and become the hired megaphones of brewing interests, which run all the dives in this country and successfully conduct the business of drunken darkies' orgies and white slavery."

This statement is a lie, and one which I as general counsel for the Michigan State Brewers' Association not only personally resent, but also on behalf of my clients. I know that the brewers of the State of Michigan and other States are not responsible for and have been making an effort to eliminate the very things that Mr. Estep charges to them. I call this matter to your attention not only from a personal standpoint and as a representative of the Brewers' Association, realizing that such statements do them an injustice, but also for the reason that this statement does your firm an injustice. At the present time your vehicles are being used by some of my clients and others are contemplating purchases of your machines. This being true, it is only fair that this matter be brought to your attention. There is no more truth in this statement than there is in the one which I have often heard repeated to the effect that the automobile industry is one of the most corrupting influences of modern life and that the automobile is one of the chief sources through which the white slave traffic is augmented.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM C. MANCHESTER,
General Counsel Michl State Brewers' Ass'n.

WCM/LMW

HBJ-B-2640 NOVEMBER 16, 1909.

Mr. WILLIAM C. MANCHESTER,
1004 Ford Building, Detroit, Michigan.

DEAR SIR:—Your esteemed favor of November 15, at hand.

I appreciate very much the work that the Brewers' Association and the Liquor Dealers' Association is doing in this State to meet the views of the public and control the liquor traffic in a more decent and proper manner. I feel that to a large extent the prejudice to the liquor interests could be and will be removed by the good judgment of the brewing and liquor interests themselves by the proper conduct of proper establishments.

The competitive campaign between the brewing and liquor interests, which creates a pressure to sell through the various kinds of establishments, objectionable and unobjectionable, is a thing which ought to be eliminated, and the brewing interests would conserve their business by seeking to do an amount of trade for which there was a natural demand instead of pressing the goods through methods which lead to the establishment of objectionable retail methods.

I think the campaign of the brewers to improve the conditions has done a great deal of good.

As to the words attributed to Mr. E. R. Estep, to which you refer, your letter calls them to my attention for the first time. I know nothing about the facts. Of course, as you well know, the brewing companies have in the past "staked" very unscrupulous men in the saloon business and it is probably in this way that the condemnation gets back to the brewing interests which is of course

unfortunate, as among the brewers of Detroit I personally have a number of friends whose interest in the welfare of the community is second to none.

Your parallel that the automobile industry is regarded as a corrupting influence is not quite a legitimate line of thought, however, because we do not "stake" people in the business of operating automobiles for "joy-riding" purposes.

I am not a bigot on the liquor traffic, as you may be aware, but I think if any brewing company "stakes" an unscrupulous and irresponsible retail saloon keeper, whose business is run in such a way that it acquires the name of a dive where questionable business may be conducted, that that brewer is committing a crime against his fellow manufacturers of a perfectly legitimate article of commerce; but there is no way for the brewing interests to escape the responsibility for the practice of one of their number. They all have to suffer for the bad judgment of any one of them.

If any breweries use Packard vehicles they will use them because they believe they are the best vehicles on the market for the purpose, and we intend to try to make them the best on the market. I should not be influenced in my line of thought by whether or not a brewing company would or would not use Packard vehicles, and if I could be so influenced it would not make any difference in the general situation.

If the words attributable to Mr. Estep, as quoted in your letter, are correct, he might possibly justly set up the fact that some of the brewing interests run some of the dives, etc, etc, and it is unquestionably true that in the minds of the public the brewing interests as a whole are regarded as standing for what is done by one. It is the old doctrine that "all must suffer for the evil acts of a few." How that can be avoided is more than I can tell you, except by the few being controlled by the many, and I believe the brewing interests can do and will do that and will overcome the existing prejudices by doing the great good which it is completely within their power to do as I believe.

Yours, very truly,

HENRY B. JOY, *President.*

LET US BE LOYAL TO OUR MICHIGAN INDUSTRIES.

[A. E. Gordon, 26 Equity Bldg., Detroit. For business men: Real publicity. For newspapers: Features and pictures.]

NOVEMBER 16, 1909.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: You will be interested in the inclosed attack upon brewing, theatrical, distilling, revolver making, medicine and similar industries, made by Ralph E. Estep, advertising manager of the Packard Motor Car Co., in an address before the advertising clubs of Cleveland, Detroit and Buffalo, in Cleveland on October 23rd, 1909. You will at once see the vital interest to various firms in the suggestion made by Mr. Estep to eliminate liquor, medicine brewery, revolver, theatrical and other advertisements from the newspapers magazines, etc., of the country by a system of boycotting to be carried on by, presumably, Mr. Estep's employers and such other automobile advertisers as he can convert to his theory of reforming the business men of this country.

Do you not think that any of the members of the U. S. B. A., who have been solicited and purchased a Packard Touring Car, Runabout or Truck, ought to at once vigorously protest in writing to Henry B. Joy, president of the Packard Motor Car Co., Detroit, against such an attack by their advertising manager? Such an attack comes with particularly bad grace from an industry to which is charged up, whether rightfully or not, the financial ruin of many persons who have mortgaged their homes to purchase automobiles, and which is charged with being one of the chief sources by which the white slave traffic is augmented.

If you see any danger in this suggestion of Mr. Estep's will you not take the matter up at once with the members of the Association, suggesting such a letter of protest to Mr. Joy?

It would be a good idea to have the local agents for the Packard people, in every town, seen and urged to protest to their head office.

Very truly yours,

A. E. GORDON.

Answered Nov. 18, 1909. H. F. F.

LET US BE LOYAL TO OUR MICHIGAN INDUSTRIES.

[A. E. Gordon, 26 Equity Bldg., Detroit. For business men: Real publicity. For newspapers: Features and pictures.]

NOVEMBER 17, 1909.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX,—Probably you will have received my letter of November 16th, with refence to the Packard Motor Car Company's advertising agent and his attack on the brewing industry, as soon as you receive this letter. I write this to advise you that Mr. Manchester will appear before the Adcraft Club, in Detroit, on Friday evening to answer Mr. Estep's attack and I think that if you sent a letter to Mr. Henry B. Joy along the lines indicated and sent it by special delivery so that Mr. Joy will get it early Friday morning, perhaps Mr. Estep may hear something drop which will incline him to repent his ill-advised and utterly unjustifiable criticism. I hope also that you will be able to get the matter before patent medicine manufacturers, the whiskey people, makers of fire arms, and the theatrical interests in New York City in order that as many influences as possible be brought to bear upon the Packard Motor Car Company.

It seems to me that this proposition of Mr. Estep's is so dangerous to our interests that we should leave no stone unturned in the effort to find means with which to put a quick and complete stopper upon his apparently upbridled mouth.

Your letter to Joy should be addressed to Mr. Henry B. Joy, President of the Packard Motor Car Co., Detroit.

I am enclosing you a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Joy by Mr. Manchester.

By the way, I find that considerable of my mail goes to Mr. Manchester's office, as it is addressed care of the Michigan State Brewers Association. It would be very much better if the clerks in your various departments could be instructed to address all of my mail as follows: A. E. GORDON, *26 Equity Building, Detroit, Mich.*

Very truly yours,

A. E. GORDON.

Answered Nov. 18, 1909. H. F. F.

HBJ-B-2678 NOVEMBER 18, 1909.

THE CHRIST. DIEHL BREWING COMPANY,
Cor. Water & N. Clinton Streets, Defiance, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of November 17, at hand and noted.

Unfortunate remarks are sometimes made and the remarks to which you refer are in that class. We are very sorry any such thing has occurred. Of course we are very sorry the remarks have been made. They do not reflect the sentiment of this Company.

We have many friends in the brewing business whom we know are just as thoroughly interested in the welfare of the community as anyone else can possible be.

Our Mr. Estep fully appreciates the mistake he has made. We are very sorry for it. Most everyone makes mistakes that they wish they could correct, and this is one of them.

Yours very truly,

HENRY B. JOY, *President.*

HBJ-B-2667 NOVEMBER 18th, 1909.

Mr. A. GOEBEL, Jr.,
Gen'l. Mgr., The Goebel Brewing Company, Ltd., Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Sir:—

I thank you for your esteemed favor of November 16, calling the address of Mr. E. R. Estep to my attention.

Mr. Estep realizes that he made a mistake and the phraseology of his assertion of course cannot be substantiated and is not true. I appreciate and so do all your fellow citizens the efforts that all brewers are making and have made to correct many of the evils of the liquor traffic and I have many friends in the brewery industry who are so much interested in the welfare of our city and

state, as I am myself, and I am not at all surprised that you write me as you have on the subject of Mr. Estep's address.

I think you will appreciate that in a measure the competitive methods of the marketing of alcoholic beverages have induced some producers their goods in retail establishments of very questionable character, or even about whose character there was no question, and the reaction from those retail establishments of this objectionable nature has reflected upon the entire brewing industry because the public mind does not differentiate. It simply regards a retail saloon which is backed by some brewing company as having the sanction of all the brewers and this is to blame no doubt to a large extent for the prejudice in the minds of some against the brewing industry.

I appreciate to the fullest extent the co-operative efforts the brewers have made to elmiinate objectionable retail saloons and to bring the saloon into a sphere of respectability instead of allowing them to run at hap-hazard and become disgraces to the neighborhood and entire community. In this work the brewers have accomplished and are accomplished untold good.

Of course it goes without saying that I am sorry an official of this Company should have made the remarks to which you very justly take exception, and Mr. Estep fully appreciates the error he made in his sweeping denunciation of the brewing interests. It is quite probable, as you will doubtless recognize, that he could have hunted up a specific saloon, probably even a number of individual saloons backed by same brewing interests to which you would take exception as well as he himself, but of course his sweeping assertions are exceedingly unjust to the brewing interests who are diligently endeavoring to market in proper and respectable methods a perfectly legitimate article of commerce.

The incident is exceedingly unfortunate and our Company regrets it very much, as I do personally, and as does Mr. Estep.

Yours very truly,

HENRY B. JOY, *President.*

[Packard Motor Car Company, Detroit, Mich., U. S. A. Address: Administration Department.]

HBJ–B–2693 NOVEMBER 20, 1909.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109 East 15th Street, New York City.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of November 18, at hand and noted.

The remarks of Mr. E. R. Estep, who is employed by this Company in our Advertising Department, had already been called to my attention by some of my friends in the brewing industry in Detroit.

The remarks by Mr. Estep would never have been made if we had known of his intent to make them, if we could have prevented it. His sweeping statements cannot be substantiated by facts. I enclose to you herewith a copy of a letter which I have written to Mr. A. Goebel, Jr., General Manager of the Goebel Brewing Company, in reply to his letter to me on this subject.

I have a large number of friends in the brewing business in Detroit, and I know of their personal efforts to aid in the stamping out of objectionable places and I know of the diligent campaign made by the brewers throughout the country in that direction, as set forth in your letter.

It of course goes without saying that generally the brewers as a whole, in this country, are as much interested in the welfare of the people as you or I.

The prominence given to the remarks of Mr. Estep is exceedingly unfortunate. The fact that his name is coupled with that of the Packard Motor Car Company is to a large extent responsible for the extensive publicity and this is a matter of sincere regret to me. I enclose you copies of letters which I have written in reply to brewers who have written to me on the subject.

It is exceedingly unfortunate I think that the Brewers' Bulletin in Chicago is engaged in giving wide publicity to Mr. Estep's remarks. If the subject had been let drop, it probably would have passed unnoticed, as the wider the publicity the greater the harm, not only to the brewing interests but to this company.

We are very sorry the address was made. There are no persons connected with this company but what will feel the same way. We are all well-known in Detroit, as you can find upon inquiry and we certainly are not bigoted on the liquor question.

Most of the brewers' letters include in their correspondence the statement that those remarks of Mr. Estep cut out the possibility of their buying Packard vehicles. If the address of Mr. Estep was one which we could stand behind, and was based on facts and was true, and could be substantiated by facts, we would stand behind our guns, even if we lost the business of some of the brewers, but I do not think it is the intention of the brewers to seek to secure from this company a denial of the responsibility for Mr. Estep's remarks, by threats. Whether this company gets all of the brewers' business or none of it, makes no difference in our desire to repudiate all responsibility for the remarks of Mr. Estep and to express our sincere regret that such remarks were made which reflect upon the diligent efforts and good intent of many of my friends in the brewing business to correct the evils and stamp out the disreputable places which they are making such a diligent effort to do and at great expense.

Yours very truly,

HENRY B. JOY, *President.*

LET US BE LOYAL TO OUR MICHIGAN INDUSTRIES.

[A. E. Gordon, 26 Equity Bldg., Detroit. For business men: Real publicity. For newspapers: Features and pictures.]

NOVEMBER 20, 1909.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX.
New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX,—I have your letter of November 18th, enclosing the copy of your letter to Mr. Joy. It gives me great pleasure to tell you that a very brilliant illumination has burst upon Mr. Joy. Mr. Goebel has received a letter from him in which he apologizes not fewer than three times for his Mr. Estep's silly attack. In view of this Mr. Goebel thinks, and I heartily agree with him, that it would be just as well not to send out those circulars at once. Perhaps we can do better by sending out the circular letter with a reproduction of Mr. Joy's letter. I will write you again, within a day or so, in this connection.

Very truly yours,

A. E. GORDON.

Answered Nov 22 1909 H. F. F.

[Packard Motor Car Company, Detroit, Mich., U. S. A. Address Administration Department.]

HBJ-B-2772 NOVEMBER 26, 1909.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Ass'n., New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your very kind letter of November 23. We are doing our very best to stamp out the continued circulation of the Estep remarks. I sincerely hope that you can aid us in preventing the continued republication of them in brewery trade papers. The whole matter is most unfortunate.

Mr. August Goebel, Jr., I have had a talk with, and he assures me that he appreciates the unfortunate position in which our company has been placed, and will give our support in every way possible towards stamping out the continued circulation of the unfortunate remarks.

Appreciating very much your courtesy in the matter and most earnestly soliciting your co-operation in stamping out these things, I remain,

Yours very truly,

HENRY B. JOY, *President.*

P. S.—I enclose you a copy of the letter which I am writing this morning to an accumulated correspondence.

[Packard Motor Car Company, Detroit, Mich., U. S. A. Address Administration Department.]

HBJ-B-2773 NOVEMBER 26, 1909.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Association, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIRS:—A number of the brewers write rather undiplomatic letters, for which I do not know as I can criticise them, to the effect that they cannot buy any more Packard cars if those are the views held by this Company.

We are repudiating this matter, not because of threats on the part of various people, but because of the fact that it's a rank injustice, no only to the brewers and others, but to this company and we shall still repudiate it and stamp it out to the best of our ability if no brewer ever buys another Packard car, because it is an injustice and a wrong.

Yours very truly,

JOHN B. JOY, *President.*

[Packard Motor Car Company, Detroit, Mich., U. S. A. Address Administration Department.]

ERE-F-619 NOVEMBER 30, 1909.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec., U. S. Brewers' Ass'n, New York City.

DEAR SIR—I am glad to write you to the effect that my remarks made recently in Cleveland can in no way be laid up to the Packard Motor Car Company.

I have done a great injustice to the Packard Company, as well as to others. It was most unfortunate error of judgment on my part.

Very truly yours,

PACKARD MOTOR CAR COMPANY,
EDWIN RALPH ESTEP,
Advertising Manager.

[Michigan State Brewers Association, Detroit.]

1002-3-4 FORD BUILDING,
Detroit, Michigan, December 1, 1909.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec. U. S. Brewers' Ass'n, 109-111 E. 15th St., New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: After discussing the speech of Mr. Estep, Advertising Manager of the Packard Motor Car Company, with others locally interested, it seems to me that the unanimous opinion is that the matter has been carried about as far as it should be. Mr. Goebel said you suggested having a retraction in the local papers. I do not deem this advisable, inasmuch as the only paper that published Mr. Estep's remarks was the Detroit Saturday Night, which is a weekly paper of minor importance. Both Mr. Joy and Mr. Estep have acted the part of gentlemen, apologized, retracted, and acknowledged the mistake.

In my opinion the U. S. B. A. and the different state associations should now do everything possible to overcome the effect of the publicity given Mr. Estep's speech.

Very truly yours, WILIAM C. MANCHESTER,
General Counsel.

WCM/LMW
Answered Dec. 3, 1909. H. F. F.

[The Goebel Brewing Co. L't'd., Brewers & Bottlers. Fred W. Brede, President; August Goebel, jr., Sec'y-Treas. & Gen. Mgr. Annual capacity 350,000 barrels. Phone Main 669.]

DETROIT, MICH., *Dec. 2, 1909.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Ass'n.,
109-111 East 15th Street, New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 29th ultimo, enclosing copy of your letter addressed to Mr. Hoster regarding The Packard Motor Car Company controversy. I am thoroughly satisfied in my own mind that Mr. Joy, Mr. Walden the General Manager and all of the Directors of The Packard Motor Car Company have done everything that anyone could do to correct the unfortunate error made by their employee. Their letter to the trade and the retraction of Mr. Estep personally, I believe, is all that we have any right to ask of them. I have in my possession enough correspondence to hold them for all time to come and believe that we have made sincere friends and that through their influence many muzzles will be clasped on tight. I placed an order yesterday for another Packard truck, and believe the proper thing for us to do now would be to send a circular to the trade that would con-

vince all concerned of the true position of the Packard people. Mr. Estep's resignation was demanded by the company, but upon my advice was not accepted, as I thought best to hold a person with such a tongue where he could be controlled rather than be turned loose and given an opportunity to continue his talk and attempt to justify the same, as well as damage the company who discharged him.

Very truly yours

A. GOEBEL, Jr., *General Manager.*
THE GOEBEL BREWING COMPANY, LTD.

WWF–AGJr.
Answered Dec. 4, 1909. H. F. F.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

DECEMBER 8, 1909.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: By direction of President Hoster, I beg to call your attention to the following facts:

On October 23rd ult., at a meeting of advertising men in Cleveland, Ohio, some remarks derogatory to our industry and highly offensive in character were made by Ralph E. Estep, advertising manager for the Packard Motor Car Company of Detroit, Mich. Said remarks found their way into a section of the daily press and were extensively copied and commented upon by our trade papers.

In view of the natural resentment of our members and friends at an attack so wanton and uncalled for, President Hoster deems it advisable that you should be informed that the Packard Company have made ample apology for the act of their representative, and are taking every means to prevent the further circulation of the injurious statements above referred to. President Joy of the Packard Company has written us unreservedly to this effect, and the offending party, Mr. Estep, has placed in the hands of our President a letter in which he acknowledges his error and asks that it be not laid up to his employers (the Packard Motor Car Company).

It would therefore, seem best on all sides to let the matter drop, as our President suggests, and this notice is sent out to our members in order that any prejudice affecting the Packard Company may be removed.

Respectfully yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. You also put on your unfair or boycott list the Reo Motor Car Co., did you not?

Mr. FOX. You would have to refresh my memory on that, too, sir. These things are long ago. I have not any doubt about them, but——

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, under date of November 28, 1911, send out a confidential circular to the members of the United States Brewers' Association, in which, after referring first to the Fox Typewriter Co. you then made the following statement:

Mr. R. H. Scott, Manager of the Reo Automobile Factory, of Lansing, Michigan, is also a strong opponent, which is constantly quoted by the Anti-Saloon League.

The letter then refers to two other men who were on the boycott list, and the letter is signed by yourself. [Exhibiting letter to witness.]

Mr. FOX. Correct, sir.

Senator NELSON. Have the letter go in the record.

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir; I am going to put the whole file into the record, only to save the time of the committee I will not read all of it.

Then, after some further correspondence, on December 5, 1913, you sent another confidential letter to the members of the association with reference to Mr. Scott's activities, did you not?

Mr. Fox (after examination). It speaks for itself. It says that he is now president of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. The exhibits in that matter are submitted as part of the record.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE D.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109–111 East 15th Street, New York City, November 28, 1911.

(Confidential.)

To the members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: Mr. R. H. Scott, manager of the Reo Automobile Factory, of Lansing, Mich., is also a strong opponent, who is constantly quoted by the Anti-Saloon League.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

MICHIGAN STATE BREWERS ASSOCIATION,
1002–3–4 Ford Building, Detroit, December 1, 1913.

(Confidential.)

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary U. S. Brewers' Association, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: The Reo Motor Truck Company of Lansing, Michigan, is again circularizing the brewers. Would it not be wise if the brewers of the United States were warned that this company, which is seeking their business, is headed by R. E. Olds, who has been a very large contributor to the Anti-Saloon League, and by R. H. Scott, who is now the president of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League and who is at the head of the committee which is even now seeking to make Lansing, Michigan, in Ingham County, prohibition territory?

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR E. GORDON, *Secretary.*

Send out notice.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y., December 5, 1913.

(Confidential.)

To the members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: This is to advise you that Mr. R. H. Scott, Manager of the Reo Motor Car Company of Lansing, Michigan, is now the President of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League. The President of the Reo Motor Car Company is Mr. R. E. Olds, who is a large contributor to the Anti-Saloon League.

The American Issue of September 6, 1912, published a letter from Mr. Scott, in which he said:

"Two years ago on the first of April last, we voted the saloons out of Ingham county. The work was done under the direction of the Anti-Saloon League of Michigan and through a local committee of which I was chairman. This brought me prominently before the liquor element who did everything possible to get Mr. Olds, who is president of our company, and myself to discontinue backing the temperance movement. This we flatly refused to do and openly defied them through public meetings and through letters in answer to theirs when they threatened to boycott us. While they attempted to carry out their threats it had no effect on our business and the past year we were not able to fill one-half the orders and at the present time agents and customers are clamoring for Reo cars.

"We believe that the attitude of the liquor element towards our car only stimulated the other class of people to buy and instead of its being a detriment we believe it has been a benefit to our business and as Mr. Olds states, as long as they wish to continue free advertising for us, we do not object."

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

BATTLE CREEK, *May 2nd, 1914.*

PABST BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

GENTLEMEN: The breweries should all get together and boycott the Reo Automobile Co. of Lansing, Mich. Mr. Olds, the president of this company, would hire any man who talked wet in his factory. The head man for the drys works for the Reo Auto. Co. Mr. Olds also spent lots of his own money to help the drys.

Lansing going dry is liable to put Kalamazoo, Jackson, and Calhoun in the dry column next April. I should think it would be a good plan to notify the Nat. Wholesale Liquor Dealers, United Brewers., The Nat. Model License League and Nat. Retail Liquor Dealers Assn.

Very truly,

LOUIS F. WERSTEIN.

The Reo Co. makes trucks also.

BATTLE CREEK, MICH., *May 22, 1914.*

ANHEUSER-BUSCH BREWING ASSOCIATION,
St. Louis, Mo.

GENTLEMEN: I wish to call your attention to the results of the local option election in Ingram County wherein is located the City of Lansing. This city gave a majority of 1740 wet two years ago, last April it gave a majority of 236 dry. The cause of this was the Reo Auto Company, employing 4500 men who were told that they must vote dry or lose their jobs, and before election their employer Mr. Scott, personally asked how they would vote and those stating that they would vote wet were discharged and the following Saturday night, the company also had detectives working among their men prior to the election in the shops and at the polls and the results were that men of families voted dry to save their jobs and the change of the wet majority is directed to this concern. Also this company gave $5,000 toward the dry fund of the county.

I have written to the Michigan State Brewing Association this morning the same as I write you. Four liquor men in the City of Kalamazoo bought the Reo autos since this election; they perhaps did not know of this at all. The liquor business throughout the country should be put on to this and if this was done they would feel their actions toward us.

As a rule liquor men usually patronize their enemies and its time that they should be lectured to and brought into line and told something.

Very truly yours,

F. H. BOOS.

HARRISON, N. J., *July 2nd, 1914.*

MR. HUGH FOX,
11 East 15th Street, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: A short time ago Mr. G. A. Rist, who has a contract with me for wet grains, drove up to the office in a "Reo Car." Your circular at once came to my mind, and I used my influence with Mr. Rist with the result that Mr. Rist received the enclosed letter. You may make any use desired of this letter, but I would like to hand it back to Mr. Rist shortly with any comment you think advisable to make.

Yours truly,

PETER HAUCK, JR.

[Answered July 6, 1914. H. F. F.]

REO MOTOR CAR COMPANY,
273 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J., June 30, 1914.

MR. G. A. RIST,
% Essex Brewery Co., Newark, N. J.

DEAR SIR: In reference to the circular received by you from the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, which I am told recommends action on your part resulting in a practical boycott of the Reo Motor Car Company, I write to advise that after taking it up with our factory I am in receipt of the following letter, which is self-explanatory:

"REO MOTOR CAR CO.,
"*Newark, N. J.*

"Attention of Mr. W. E. DUSENBURY.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your letter of June 22nd is received.

"I note that you claim to have lost the sale of quite a number of Reo cars in your city because of the fact that the Board of Control of the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Ass'n are under the impression that this Company is taking an active part on the prohibition side of the liquor question. I am in a position to assure you that this positively is not the case. This Company has not aided financially or otherwise, any movement either for or against the liquor question, feeling that this is not a proper matter for a commercial organization to take up. But one of our five Directors has taken an active interest in the local option question. He has done this in a purely personal manner, and we must of course concede to him the right to follow the dictates of his conscience as far as his personal actions are concerned.

"We believe the Liquor Dealers' Ass'n are so broad minded and just that they will be willing to concede that this is fair and just, and trust that after you have laid the matter before them exactly as it is, you will have no further trouble of the kind mentioned in your letter of the 22nd.

"Yours very truly,

"REO MOTOR CAR COMPANY.
"R. C. RUESCHAW,
"Sales Manager."

Kindly inform us where the headquarters of the association that sent the circular are so that we may go further into the matter with them and so that, in fairness to all concerned, they may go more deeply into the question.

You can understand our sole interest in the matter is first, to find out if the matter is true and second, to use the influence of this office with the main office so that the reason for the boycotting is done away with—if there is any reason.

Yours very truly,

REO MOTOR CAR COMPANY.
(Signed) W. E. DUSENBURY,
Manager Newark Branch.

JULY 7TH, 1914.

Mr. PETER HAUCK, Jr.,
Harrison, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. HAUCK: I have your favor of the 2nd inst., with the enclosed letter from the Newark Manager of the Reo Motor Car Company, which I am referring to the Michigan State Brewers' Association.

It is, I believe, perfectly true that the employees of the Reo Company in Ingram County, Michigan, were intimidated into voting "dry" at the recent local option election, and it does not make any particular difference, therefore, whether they did so under pressure from the corporation itself, or from one of its directors.

Thanking you for your attention in the matter, I am,
Yours very truly,

Secretary.

[The Manufacturers and Dealers Club of Milwaukee. President, H. Buchenberger; 1st Vice President, Paul Ladwig; 2d Vice President, Fred. W. Mason; Secretary and Treasurer, Hans A. Koenig; Directors—Herman T. Koss, Irwin Toepfer, Geo. J. Meyer, Otto Fick.]

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
305 Watkins Bldg., Milwaukee, July 27, 1914.

Manufacturers and Dealers Association, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: In your July 18th issue of "Current Thought" you state that it is said that the Reo Company, through their Mr. Scott, intimidated their employees and threatened to discharge them in case they were found to vote in favor of the saloon. This information has reached this office many times before and each time it was denied by Mr. Olds with the statement that he was absolutely opposed to Prohibition, but that Mr. Scott was a Prohibitionist.

However, he would not allow Scott to exercise any of his Prohibition ideas in the business. There are several people in Milwaukee who are connected either directly or indirectly with the brewing and liquor business who are owners of Reo cars and who have come to me for definite information. Should matters be as you state in your issue of July 18th, they would all be willing to sell their cars at a sacrifice in order to show them up. If you have any definite information based upon facts, you would oblige me by sending the same at your earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

H. A. KOENIG, *Secretary.*

[Answered Aug. 14, 1914. H. F. F.]

AUGUST 14, 1914.

(Confidential.)

Mr. HANS A. KOENIG, *Secretary,*
The Manufacturers & Dealers Club, 305 Watkins Bldg.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

DEAR SIR: The Manufacturers & Dealers Association of Chicago has referred to me your letter of the 27th ult., with reference to the Reo Company.

The Sales Manager of the Reo Motor Car Company wrote last June to their Newark office stating:

I note that you claim to have lost the sale of quite a number of REO cars in your city because of the fact that the Board of Control of the Wholesale Car Dealers' Ass'n., are under the impression that this company is taking an active part on the prohibition side of the liquor question. I am in a position to assure you that this positively is not the case. This company has not contributed financially or otherwise any movement either for or against the liquor question, feeling that this is not a proper matter for a commercial organization to take up. But one of our five Directors has taken an active interest in the local option question. He has done this in a purely personal manner, and we must of course concede to him the right to follow the dictates of his conscience as far as his personal actions are concerned."

I referred this to the Secretary of the Michigan Brewers' Association, who replied under date of July 8th as per copy herewith.

It is, I believe, true that the employees of the Reo Company in Lansing, Michigan were urged, if not intimidated, into voting "dry" at the recent local option election. It seems to me that it does not make any particular difference whether they did so under pressure of the corporation itself, or through one or more of its directors or managers. The County went dry, and it is generally credited to the influence of the Reo Company.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not boycott Proctor & Gamble?

Senator OVERMAN. Who are Proctor & Gamble?

Maj. HUMES. The Ivory soap people.

Senator OVERMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. FOX. I remember that there was some correspondence about it, but I do not remember the details.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not in a confidential circular, under date of February 27, 1915, over your signature in this bulletin, advise the trade with reference to the activities of Proctor & Gamble? [Exhibiting letter to witness.]

Mr. FOX (after examining letter). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in each one of these instances, when these matters were called to your attention, you personally took up the matter with friends and acquaintances and officials of the brewers' association in the various communities to check the information and verify it in every particular, in order that you might have that to reinforce you in placing these individuals or these concerns on your boycott list?

Mr. Fox. I should think it was extremely probable that I took such a course. That would be a matter of common precaution. I recall some cases, but I can not swear that I did so in every case.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE E.

[Office Copy. Please Return This Copy to the File. Executive Board—Adam Schantz, President, Dayton, O.; G. J. Pilliod, Vice President, Toledo, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; S. Fishel, Cleveland, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.; Chas. G. Steinle, Delphos, O.; John Unverzagt, Columbus, O.; Wm. F. Hess, Secretary and Treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Long Distance Telephone, Canal 3182.]

THE OHIO BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
22 GARFIELD PLACE.
Cincinnati. O., February 22, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Replying to your recent inquiry as to the attitude of the Proctor & Gamble Company on the liquor question.

Mr. James N. Gamble, the Vice President of the Proctor & Gamble Company, has been reported from time to time in the daily press as a heavy contributor to the Anti-Saloon League, and was very active in the recent campaign for State-wide prohibition. I have no knowledge of any contribution having been made by the Proctor & Gamble Company.

Very truly, yours,

WM. F. HESS, *Sec'y-Treas.*

FEB. 24, 1915.

Mr. WM. F. HESS, SECY.,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: I beg to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your favor of the 22nd with the information about the Proctor & Gamble Company.

Appreciating your cooperation, I am,

Yours, very truly,

_____,
Secretary.

HFF/ED

THE PROCTOR & GAMBLE CO.,
SOAP MANUFACTURERS,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Vice-President of this Company, Mr. James N. Gamble, took an active part in the recent campaign for State-wide prohibition, and we are informed that he is a liberal contributor to the Anti-Saloon League, but we have no knowledge of any contribution having been made by the Proctor & Gamble Company.

Senator OVERMAN. What was your purpose in sending out these confidential letters? Since your memory has been refreshed, I will repeat the question. Was it not part of your system to have the brewing trade not trade with people who were fighting in behalf of the cause of prohibition?

Mr. Fox. I do not think the purpose was ever clearly defined Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. What was your purpose in sending out these confidential letters?

Mr. Fox. There was a constant stream of inquiries on this line as the correspondence shows. Some of these men quoted were contributing large sums and were leading the fight against us. It was perfectly natural that we should be asked for this information and that we should supply it. I think any brewer would have been

foolish to have given business to a man who was fighting him, if he could have avoided it.

Senator OVERMAN. If it would have been foolish, then it was your purpose to see that they did not trade with them?

Mr. FOX. Well, we gave him the information, for his own judgment, upon which he could use his own intelligence. That was as far as we could go.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not a common experience to have members of your association, or the officers of the State brewers' association, request that a certain concern be blacklisted or boycotted from time to time, and to use those expressions "boycott" or "blacklist"; and did you not reply to them in each instance that "we do not boycott, we can not boycott, but give me the definite information, and I will notify the trade"; and were you not very careful to avoid the use of the word "boycott" in this correspondence, although your members, who were not as familiar with the law as you were, frequently used it?

Mr. FOX. I think very probably, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I show you the file of the Osborn Manufacturing Co., and ask you if that is not a file from the United States Brewers' Association records, and if the trade was not notified with reference to this concern?

Mr. FOX. I identify that, sir.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE F.

[Copy.]

JULY 10, 1915.

FEUCHTWANGER GRAIN CO.,
Pittsburg, Penna.

(Attention: Mr. A. Feuchtwanger.)

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 1st involves a matter of policy, and has merited the writer's personal attention.

We appreciate the situation in Lawrence County, to which you refer, and beg to assure you that because of our personal esteem for your company, and the thoroughly satisfactory relations we have had with you during a considerable term of years, we would like very much to comply.

Your request brings us face to face with a question of principle, and compels us to say to you frankly that while we are glad to do business with such good concerns as yours, and furnish such brushes and brooms as will contribute to cleanliness and general good conditions, we cannot support the liquor traffic,—because we feel that the American saloon is detrimental to the best interests of the American people, and the American home.

We believe you will appreciate the sincerety of our position, and our inability to comply with the request you have made.

Very Resp'y Yours,

THE OSBORN MANUFACTURING CO.
F. G. SMITH (V. A. W.),
President and Gen'l Mgr.

F. G. S.

[Feuchtwanger Grain Co., malt, hops, brewers supplies. Members of Manufacturers & Dealers League, western Penna. 616 Ferguson Bldg. Bell phone court 1089. Cable address "Feucht."]

PITTSBURGH, PA., *July 17, 1915.*

Mr. H. FOX,
President, U. S. Brewers Association, 50 Union Sq., New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:—I am enclosing you a copy of a letter I received from the Osborn Manufacturing Company of Cleveland, Ohio. You may use same to the trade.

This is in reply to a request I made of them for a donation for the "wet" in Lawrence County. We have been doing business with these people for fifteen years, and this is the first opportunity we have had to find where they stand.

Respectfully yours,

FEUCHTWANGER GRAIN CO.
AARON F.

Kindest Regards.

[*Confidential.*]

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York, July 22, 1915.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN:—The following letters are for your information:

* * * * * * *

EXCERPT FROM LETTER.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *July 10, 1915.*

FEUCHTWANGER GRAIN CO.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: . . . While we are glad to do business with such good concerns as yours, and furnish such brushes and brooms as will contribute to cleanliness and general good conditions, we cannot support the liquor traffic—because we feel that the American saloon is detrimental to the best interests of the American people, and the American home. . . .

Very respectfully yours,

THE OSBORN MANUFACTURING CO.,
F. G. SMITH,
President and General Manager.

F. G. S.

* * * * * * *

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also take exception and place the Western Union Telegraph Co. on your unfair list because they required their employees to be total abstainers?

Mr. FOX. I have no recollection of that.

Maj. HUMES. They were on the unfair list that came from your records that I showed you yesterday, were they not?

Mr. FOX. I did not notice it, but if they are it speaks for itself.

Maj. HUMES. They are on that list.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; they are on that list.

Maj. HUMES. I show you this letter, addressed to the Western Union Telegraph Co. [Handing letter to witness.]

Mr. FOX. That is a perfectly proper letter, I should say, sir. It does not, however, bear the interpretation which you seem to put upon it. I think that letter ought to be read.

Maj. HUMES. I want to be perfectly fair with you, Mr. Fox. This is the only letter on the subject that appears to be in your file, and the name is on the unfair list that was in the office of the company. The letter is dated January 18, 1915:

EXHIBIT FILE G.

JAN. 18, 1915

Mr. NEWCOMB CARLTON, *President,*
Western Union Telegraph Company,
195 Broadway, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: The Chicago Evening Post of January 11th, reports an address made by the Rev. Wilbur F. Sheridan, General Secretary of the Epworth League of the Methodist-Episcopal Church, in which he intimated that the Western Union Telegraph Company requires its employees to be total abstainers. I am taking the liberty of writing to ask if this is a fact?

We feel that the employer has a perfect right to make rigid rules with regard to the conduct of his employees during the time that he pays for, and that of course he should not employ any man whose habits are such as to interfere with his efficiency, and that drunkenness is at all times a proper cause for discharge. The Western Union Telegraph Company should, and must insist upon its employees being thoroughly temperate, but we question whether any employer has the right to go beyond this.

Yours respectfully,

———— ————,

HFF/W. *Secretary.*

Mr. Fox. The matter had escaped my recollection, but——

Maj. HUMES. Was there ever a reply from that letter?

Mr. Fox. That I do not recall.

(The document in the file referred to, "Exhibit G," is as above set forth.)

Maj. HUMES. The fact remains, however—this was on January 18—that on an unfair list dated April 1, 1915, their name appears as unfair: does it not?

Mr. Fox. I do not know. If you say it is in the records, I will take your word for it.

Maj. HUMES. It is on that list you identified yesterday. Assuming that it is on that list——

Mr. Fox. Then it is correct.

Maj. HUMES. What other interpretation than the one which I have placed on the transaction is it susceptible of?

Mr. Fox. Was the correspondence given in that transaction, sir?

Maj. HUMES. That is the only letter that I find in the files on that particular subject.

Mr. Fox. I do not think I can answer that question without seeing the record to which you refer. I have no recollection of it.

(At this point the list heretofore referred to as an unfair list, and introduced in evidence on yesterday, was produced and shown to the witness.)

Maj. HUMES. This is the exhibit to which I refer, Exhibit 293. I call your attention to the second name on the second page, "Western Union Telegraph Co."

Mr. Fox. Major, this is a list which evidently was in our files as of April 1, 1915, headed "List of firms who are unfriendly to our interests." Now, I have no recollection who got that up, where we got it from, or anything else. I am perfectly sure it was never sent out. I do not know who compiled it, or from whom we received it.

Maj. HUMES. But the fact remains——

Mr. Fox. The fact remains that it was in our files. Now, that is all I can tell you about it.

Maj. HUMES. In view of the fact that I have here the correspondence in practically everyone of those cases, including a bulletin that you sent out to all of the trade, what other purpose could there have been in maintaining that list?

Mr. Fox. It is a question of what you mean by "maintaining the list." The fact that that list was found in our library of files does not necessarily mean that we were maintaining an unfair list. As I say, we had hundreds of thousands of documents. How we got it, I do not know; but I do not believe there is any evidence to show that we ever made any use of it, or that we ever did anything except such as you have in these bulletins.

Maj. HUMES. Who was the clerk that handled these matters?

Mr. Fox. We had a librarian and an assistant.

Maj. HUMES. A librarian and an assistant?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did they sign your name to official bulletins and official confidential communications to the members of the association without your consent?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Or without your knowledge?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. These bulletins and confidential communications all bear your signature, do they not?

Mr. Fox. That is a very different thing from this list that you are speaking of.

Maj. HUMES. Then, as I understand it, your contention is that there are a few concerns on this list that were not actually boycotted?

Mr. Fox. My contention is that I have no recollection about that list, and I do not know how it originated, or what use was made of it, if any.

Maj. HUMES. I show you correspondence with reference to the Maryland Casualty Co., of which Mr. John T. Stone is president, and ask if you did not cause a boycott to be instituted against that company because of Mr. Stone?

Mr. Fox. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be evasive, and I do not want to fence with counsel on this matter; but the interpretation which he has put on it, of "boycott," may have more of a significance than the facts warrant; and I do not feel that I should commit myself or my association to a statement that we boycotted anybody, at any rate without consultation with my counsel. If the counsel of this committee is going to persist in trying to commit us to a technical boycott, I think before I answer that question I should confer with my counsel on the matter.

Senator OVERMAN. You can answer the question in your own way and you can confer with your counsel, if you want to.

(Thereupon the witness conferred with his counsel, after which the following occurred:)

Mr. Fox. The correspondence speaks for itself, sir. I identify it and the interpretation is yours.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not the purpose of your association in sending out that circular to induce and persuade the members of your association and those affiliated with them to withhold their business from the Maryland Casualty Co.?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall it, but I think it is very likely.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE H.

[Interstate Executives' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City. President, Percy Andree; vice president, Oscar Schmidt; secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Executive committee, William Austin, Stephen B. Fleming, William C. Manchester, O. Renner, F. W. Zollman.]

FEBRUARY 14, 1911.

GENTLEMEN: On January 29th, 1911, the Maryland Anti-Saloon League held a mass meeting in the Lyric Theatre, Baltimore, in the interest of its Local Option bill, and for the purpose of raising money for its campaign. The meeting was addressed by William H. Anderson, State Superintendent, George Stewart of Tennessee, and Prof. Alvin M. Thatcher of Boston.

Mr. John T. Stone, President of the Maryland Casualty Company acted as Chairman, and made a brief address on Prohibition, in introducing Mr. Anderson.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[The Gottlieb-Bauernschmidt-Straus Brewing Co., 313 S. Hanover St., Baltimore, Md.]

JANUARY 16TH, 1914.

Copy: Office Copy. Please return this copy to the file.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Replying to yours of the 15th instant relative to present attitude of the Maryland Casualty Company, and particularly its president, on the prohibition question, would say, that I do not know whether or not the Company as a company has taken any stand on this question, but I do not believe it has, because the personnel of its Board of Directors, so far as I know it, would not undertake to inject any question of this sort into the company's policies. As for Mr. Stone, its president, it is well known he is a strong advocate of prohibition, but it seems to me his activity has in recent years been less marked than formerly. The only public position taken by Mr. Stone, was when he was selected by the Anti-Saloon League of Maryland to preside at a joint debate held between the superintendent of the league and a candid te for our State Legislature last fall.

I think Mr. Crain can give you more detailed information relating to Mr. Stone's attitude than anybody else. We feel, however, that this attitude is sufficiently unfriendly to justify us in not giving any of our company's business to the Maryland Casualty Company.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) ALBERT H. WEHR, *President.*

Dict. A. H. W./M.

[Peru Beer Company, Brewers and Bottlers of Favorite Stock Muenchener Style-Malt Extract Porter. Andrew Hebel, president, treasurer, and general manager; Charles Bulfer, secretary. Established 1868. Incorporated 1889. Peru, Ill.]

AUG. 27, 1914.

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York.

GENTLEMEN: The Maryland Casualty Co. of Baltimore, carry our boiler insurance. We have heard that they are unfair to our business.

Kindly advise immediately, as policy expires on September 8th.

Yours truly,

PERU BEER COMPANY,
ANDREW HEBEL, *Pres.*

Miss Todd's Files.
See also circular letter. Sent out Feb. 14/1911.
Answered Sept. 1, 1914

[Lawton-Byrne-Bruner Insurance Agency Co., successors to W. M. Byrne & Company, general insurance, surety and contract bonds, sprinkler leakage, tourist floaters, live stock, fly wheel, robbery, marine, rents, theft, fire, physician's defense, steam boiler, plate glass, automobile, burglary, accident, elevator, tornado, liability, health. Bell Exchange, Main 5555. Kinloch, Central 55. Pierce Bldg, Seventh Floor, Suite 748–758, St. Louis.]

AUGUST 29, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, U. S. Brewers Association,
50 Union Square, New York, City.

DEAR SIR: You may find by referring to your January 1911 reference sheets that Jno. T. Stone, President of Maryland Casualty Company, Baltimore, Md. acted as Chairman in the Lyric Hall, Baltimore, for State-wide Prohibition in Maryland and introduced the principal Speaker of the evening.

Mr. Stone we understand had not changed his ideas on Prohibition. We recently resigned as General Agents for the Maryland Casualty Company

partly on this account, and are now in receipt of the enclosed circular emphasizing his opinions or fanaticism in connection with Personal Accident Insurance.

As the Company also writes Liability, Automobile, Workmen's Compensation, Plate Glass, Steam Boiler, Fly Wheel, Sprinkler Leakage and Burglary Insurance for brewers, etc., it occurs to us your Bureau should be advised of the new circular he has published and we accordingly took up the same with Mr. Ferd. Gast, Secretary of the Independent Breweries Company of this city, who requested us to send same to you.

This circular if issued by a disinterested person might pass the censor, but emanating from Jno. T. Stone, President Maryland Casualty Company would show he is still opposed to your interests.

Please note and lay particular emphasis on the second "don't" viz. "Habitual drinkers." In this and every other city many men and women use beverages at lunch or dinner as a habit, but Mr. Stone notifies each agent of his Company throughout the United States, Canada and Mexico to write no Personal Accident Insurance on such persons.

We are having our own troubles with the Maryland Casualty Company and request you do not use our name in any bulletin you may use in connection with his circular letter of August 22nd, and hope you will send us an acknowledgement of this letter with the information that you will not use our names. Also send us copy of the bulletin if you use this information.

Yours very truly,

LAWTON-BYRNE-BRUNER INS. AGENCY CO.
W. M. BYRNE.
Vice President.

WMB.

SEPT. 1, 1914.

The PERU BEER CO., *Peru, Ill.*

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your letter of August 27th. I enclose copy of our circular letter of Feb. 14th, 1911, which speaks for itself. Mr. John T. Stone, President of the Maryland Casualty Company states that his action is *personal*, and does not imply that the *Company* has taken any position on the prohibition question. However, he has recently sent a printed notice on behalf of the company, to its agents, saying, among other things, that they must not submit as prospective risks, any "habitual drinkers."

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

SEPT. 1, 1914.

MR. ROBERT CRAIN, *Baltimore, Md.*

MY DEAR MR. CRAIN: I am enclosing copy of a circular which was sent out by the Interstate Executives Association on February 14, 1911, in regard to Mr. John T. Jones, President of the Maryland Casualty Company. Shortly after this, Mr. Stone wrote to the Maitland Moritz Agency Company of Denver, stating in substance, that he had acted personally, and that his action did not commit the Maryland Casualty Company in any way. I am now in receipt of a printed notice to the agents of the Maryland Casualty Company, issued officially by its President, instructing them, amongst other things, not to insure, or submit as a risk, any man who is an "habitual drinker."

I also have letters from some of our members, asking for further information about the attitude of the Company, which I believe, does an important business with brewers.

Do you think that we had better get out another confidential letter giving the correspondence and the facts in the matter? Or would you advise that we write to the Company first, and ask what it means by "habitual drinkers"—whether it includes in this class the men who use beer and other drinks regularly in moderation?

Thanks for your letter of the 31st ult!

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th St., New York. Robert Crain, General Counsel, Calvert Building.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 3, 1914.*

HUGH F. FOX, Esq.,
Secretary, The U. S. Brewers' Association, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. FOX: I have your letter of the 1st inst. relative to John T. Stone and the Maryland Casualty Company. It is a well known fact that Mr. Stone is very much of a Prohibitionist, and is an active member of the Maryland Anti-Saloon League. My own judgment about such matters is that we accomplish nothing in publishing circular letters regarding the activity of men on the order of Mr. Stone, and for a number of reasons I would strongly advise against issuing any circular in this case.

Yours very truly,

ROBERT CRAIN.

RC/G

Answered Sep. 4 1914 H. F. F.

SEPT. 4, 1914.

Mr. ROBERT CRAIN, *Baltimore, Md.*

MY DEAR MR. CRAIN: Thanks for your letter of the 3rd, in regard to John G. Stone and the Maryland Casualty Company. I have been inclined to agree with you in regard to our action in such matters, but the results have made me feel that it is worth while, as we have succeeded in a number of cases, in either silencing the opposition, or in winning an ally, and I do not know of any case in which any mischief has arisen from our action.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HHF/ED

[The Ohio Brewing Company.]

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *March 15th, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
% United States Brewers' Ass'n.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Enclosed you will find a page of one of our daily newspapers, and you will notice the leading figures in the Methodist Convention, to be held here in Columbus soon.

By looking over the faces you will observe one John T. Stone, president of the Baltimore Casualty company of Baltimore, Maryland. Of course, being identified as he is with these other men it is taken for granted he is dry and against our business.

No doubt many brewers throughout the country do business with The Baltimore Casualty Company, and no doubt they would not appreciate the fact that Mr. Stone preaches against their business, if that is the case that he is dry.

You might please let writer know whether or not Mr. Stone is antagonistic against our business in order that I may not in any manner, form or shape patronize his company, as I surely would not like to do business with someone who is against me in my business.

No doubt this would be a good National Point to take up.

Most respectfully,

THE OHIO BREWING COMPANY
by ED. PRIOR
Per Ed. Jr.

Answered Mar 17, '15. H. F. F.

MARCH 17, 1915.

The OHIO BREWING Co.,
Columbus, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: This is with reference to your letter of the 15th regarding Mr. John T. Stone of the Baltimore Casualty Co. We have had this matter up several times before, and I am enclosing copy of a letter of March 21st, 1911, from

Mr. J. T. Stone to the Maitland Moritz Agency Company of Denver which fully sets forth Mr. Stone's position.

I should be very much obliged if you will advise me of any statements that Mr. Stone may make at the meeting in Columbus.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

Maj. HUMES. I show you the correspondence with reference to the Sherwin-Williams Co., paint manufacturers, in 1915, their name appearing, as does the name of the Western Union, on the list that was submitted yesterday, and ask if it was not your purpose to induce the members of your association to withhold patronage from that concern.

Mr. FOX. I identify the correspondence, but I do not recall it, sir.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE I.

FEB. 1, 1915.

PRESIDENT, SHERWIN-WILLIAMS PAINT CO.,
601 Canal Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: In a recent address delivered in Chicago by the Rev. W. F. Sheridan, General Secretary of the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he made the statement that a number of large corporations, including your Company, refuse to employ any men who "drink," implying in his statement, that they must be total abstainers.

I take the liberty of enclosing an article entitled "Effect of Intemperance on Industry", which appeared over my signature in the "MANUFACTURERS NEWS" of January 28th. An expression of your opinion thereon would be much appreciated together with a statement as to your attitude, if you are disposed to make it.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

[The Sherwin-Williams Co. Executive Department. Walter H. Cottingham, President.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *February 12, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewers' Ass'n., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 1st, we have no rule regarding al employees being total abstainers, but we are absolutely opposed to any intem perance, and any one guilty of intemperance is, after warning, discharged.

Hoping this answers your inquiry, I remain

Yours very truly,

WALTER H. COTTINGHAM,
President.

WHC—E

(Copy.)

[Re Sherwin-Williams.]

JUNE 28, 1915.

"I have your letter of the 28th ult., referring to the report made by Mr. Jol Schlintz concerning our attitude toward the breweries. I wish to again assu you that we have absolutely no quarrel with the breweries, nor have we ev posted in our factories any such circulars as the Brewers' Association of Cincinnati Ohio claim were posted.

The only posters that we put up in our buildings were posters referring the evils of drunkenness, as you well know, we have no rule in our compa

that says our employees shall be total abstainers, and there are undoubtedly many of our employees who use beer as a beverage, but we are absolutely opposed to intemperance, and as you know intemperance is something that the brewers themselves condemn.

In the case of any of our employees who are guilty of intemperance our policy is first to warn them and then if they do not become temperate in their habits we are forced to discharge them, and I am sure that this is the policy that is followed by all brewers who are really interested in building up their business on a sound, legitimate basis.

I am sorry that untrue reports have been circulated regarding our company, and I trust that this explanation will enable you to correct any reports that may reach you."

(Signed) A. D. JOYCE.

(Copy.)

(Office Copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

[P. Ballantine & Sons.]

NEWARK, N. J., *July 9, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. Fox,
Secy., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed please find a letter from the Sherwin-Williams Co., New York City office, with copy of one from their General Manager, A. D. Joyce, Cleveland, Ohio attached, which we send you for your information.

Please return them to us in due course.

Yours truly,

P. BALLANTINE & SONS,
(Signed) H. R. KINGSLEY,
Asst. Secy.

[Brewers' Association of Massachusetts, 26 Pemberton Square. Tel 778 Hay, 779 Hay.]
[Confidential File.]

BOSTON, MASS., *Dec. 11, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. Fox,
Secy, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Sq., New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: One of our members informs me that for a number of years they have been purchasing considerable quantities of paint from the Sherwin-Williams Company, and he has been told recently that this concern is actively opposed to us. If this report is true he would like to know it. Can you give me any information concerning the matter?

You have from time to time sent us the names of concerns who are interested in the prohibition movement for our information. I regret to say that I have kept no separate file on such concerns and it would be a considerable job to assemble such a list, if indeed it would be possible. Would you mind furnishing me with a complete list of such concerns?

Very truy yours,

HOWARD NOBLE,
Secretary.

[Sherwin-Williams.]

Confidential

DEC. 16, 1915.

Mr. HOWARD NOBLE,
26 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

MY DEAR MR. NOBLE: I have your letter asking for information regarding the Sherwin-Williams Company and I am enclosing herewith excerpt from a letter received by one of our correspondents from the General Manager of the Sherwin-Williams Company. This is, of course, strictly confidential.

We have no special lists of names of firms who are friendly or unfriendly to us. However, any time you wish information regarding any particular firm, we should be glad to get it for you, if possible.

Yours very truly,

MW. Enc. *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that a complaint was made to you with reference to the Asher Cooperage Co., following which you made inquiry of members of the association as to their attitude, and finally secured from them a communication and an affidavit as to their attitude toward your industry, whereupon you notified the trade of their being friendly to your cause?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall it, but I identify the correspondence. I have not any doubt about it, but it has absolutely passed from my memory.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the records as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE J.

[Copy.]

SANDUSKY, OHIO, *June 13, 1914.*

FRANK FEHR BREWING COMPANY,
Louisville, Ky.

GENTLEMEN: Several days ago I sent you a letter from the New South Brewing & Ice Company of Middlesborough, Kentucky, with my affidavit attached. This letter and the affidavit were sent to numerous other brewers throughout the United States. Some have already acknowledged receipt, stating that they were pleased to know that I was not a prohibitionist.

Of course, I would be glad to hear from all my friends and to know whether or not they were pleased with the letter and affidavit. It is a fact that I am not a fanatic and have never supported the prohibition movement or contributed one single cent toward its support.

If representatives of other cooperage concerns have approached you on this subject, and told you that I was in favor of prohibition, buying second-class staves and making defective cooperage, I would be mighty glad to know about it. I would consider it a real favor if you would tell me just who these people are.

If I have the pleasure of quoting you prices on cooperage, which I hope you will be needing this summer, I will reciprocate, and show you that I really appreciate your kindness in giving me any information you can on this subject.

Respectfully,

(Signed) A. J. ASHER.

[Copy.]

STATE OF KENTUCKY,
County of Bell, sct:

The affiant, A. J. Asher, who after being by me first duly sworn, on oath says That he is the same A. J. Asher who is named and mentioned in the letter of the General Manager and Treasurer of the New South Brewery & Ice Company, which is enclosed herewith, and he says that the statements contained in said letter with reference to his attitude on the prohibition question, are true and he further says that he has never contributed any money or support to the prohibition cause.

(Signed) A. J. ASHER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me by A. J. Asher, this May 25, 1914.

(Signed) A. B. GILBERT,
Notary Public, Bell County, Ky.

My commission expires Jan. 13, 1918.

Confidential. JAN. 26, 1915.

Mr. GEORGE F. GUND,
5 Davenport St., Cleveland, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. GUND: One of our Wisconsin friends writes as follows:

"Enclosed we hand you a letter from the Asher Cooperage Company of Sandusky, Ohio.

"We have been informed by competitors of these people that Mr. Asher is not at all favorable to the brewing business, and that he has contributed to the other side.

"Can you find out just how these people stand as we are in the need of cooperage, and if their stand should be unfavorable, do not care to send money through that channel."

Can you give us any information, in confidence, in the matter?

Very truly yours,

HFF/W

Secretary.

[The Gund Brewing Co., Cleveland, O. Geo. F. Gund, Pres. & Treas.; Jacob Fickel, Vice Pres.; M. C. Richards, Secretary.]

JANUARY 29, 1915.

THE U. S. BREWERS ASSOCIATION,
Mr. Hugh F. Fox, Secy., 50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 26th inst. in regard to The Asher Cooperage Co. of Sandusky, would say that it seems a few years ago I heard other cooperage people make remarks as though Mr. Asher, while in Kentucky, had contributed to the other side, but, of course, do not know whether that was a fair accusation or not. If such, however, was the case no doubt the Louisville brewers would be best qualified to give the facts. I would not know where to make inquiries as to that. I have met Mr. Asher but once, when he called here last July.

Yours very truly,

GEO. F. GUND.

JAN. 30, 1915.

Mr. FRANK FEHR, *Louisville, Ky.*

MY DEAR MR. FEHR: We are trying to get a line on the Asher Cooperage Co. of Sandusky, and it is rumored that Mr. Asher while in Kentucky made a contribution to our opponents. If you can throw any light upon the matter I shall appreciate it.

Yours very truly,

_____, _____,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[Chief Executive Office, The Kentucky Brewers' Association, Suite 311 and 312, Louisville Trust Co. Building, Louisville, Ky. Long Distance Phone 3594. H. J. McAvoy, President; Lawrence Reichert, Secretary.]

"BACK TO THE CONSTITUTION"—BILL OF RIGHTS.

Section 6: All elections shall be free and equal.

Section 7: Article 2: Absolute and arbitrary power over the lives, liberty and property of freemen exists nowhere in a republic, not even in the largest majority.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *February 10, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. Fox, Sec'y., U. S. Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Your enclosure of Jan. 30th, addressed to Mr. Frank Fehr, with reference to the Asher Cooperage Works, of Sandusky, Ohio, was referred to the undersigned for attention.

In compliance with same, we are herewith enclosing copies of two letters also copy of an affidavit made by said Asher Cooperage Works.

We feel sure, if there is an impression that they are unfair to our business, that there is some mistake, and it should be corrected.

Very truly yours,

KENTUCKY BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

By L. REICHERT, *Secretary.*

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

Office Copy. Please Return This Copy to the File.

[Confidential.]

NEW YORK, *February 27, 1915.*

To the Members of the United Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following is submitted for the information of our members:

* * * * * * *

THE ASHER COOPERAGE WORKS,
Sandusky, Ohio.

Mr. Asher writes that he is not a prohibitionist, and has never supported the movement or contributed one cent towards its support. In this connection, the Manager of the New South Brewery & Ice Company, of Middlesborough, Ky., writes under date of February 16, 1915: "We have known Mr. A. J. Asher for the last twenty years and have always found him to be a true, loyal and faithful friend of the liberal element, ready at all times to defend its principles and business interests, both morally and financially. During our recent 'wet' and 'dry' election in Bell County (held September 28, 1914) he took a personal interest in the fight, and not only devoted his time, but assisted us financially."

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that a complaint was made with reference to Apperson Bros., and that you investigated this concern, and then notified the trade, under date of February 27, 1915, as follows:

APPERSON BROTHERS,
Kokomo, Indiana.

This is a concern that makes motor cars, and we are informed that their attitude is very friendly.

Did you not send that out?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall it, but I identify the correspondence. I am not disputing any of these things, sir. I am accepting them as the records show.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE K.

FEB. 13, 1915.

UNITED STATES BREWING CO.,
1422 First National Bank Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: I have your favor of the 9th inst., and have no record of the concerns you mention, but will make inquiries. We have not undertaken to make any list of the different motor and truck companies, but have treated each one individually as the occasion for inquiries has arisen. I will, however, send you our circulars which touch upon this matter.

May I take the liberty of saying that we do not maintain any "unfair" list, and deprecate the use of this term. We are merely giving our members the benefit of any information that may be a matter of record in regard to the attitude of people who are catering to them without recommendation.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF: JD

Confidential FEB. 13, 1915.

MR. JAMES C. KELLY,
1503 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLY: We have an inquiry in regard to the Apperson Motor Car Company, which I understand, is an Indiana concern.

Can you tell me how they stand with regard to our industry, and do you regard them as friendly or unfriendly?

Any information you can give me will be appreciated and treated in confidence.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF: JD

[Kokomo Sanitary Milk and Ice Cream Co. (Incorporated). Wholesale Dealers in and Bottlers of Pasteurized Milk and Cream, Draper's Purity Ice Cream, Condensed Milk. Manufacturers of Plain and Fancy Ice Cream, Ices and Sherbets. Office and Factory, Cor. Armstrong and Madison Streets. Telephone 873. H. L. Draper, Mgr.]

KOKOMO, IND.,
Feb. 19, 1915.

Mr. OTTO P. DELUSE, *Indianapolis, Ind.*

FRIEND OTTO: In reply to yours of the 18th in reference to the Apperson Bros. being friendly to your Company, will advise that I know them personally, and have always found them to be very friendly and also very liberal. The two boys both use your beers and we no doubt furnish several employees. The firm has always been considered wet. Hoping the above is the desired information I remain.

Yours very truly, HARRY.

[Indianapolis Brewing Co. Brewers & Bottlers, Comprising C. F. Schmidt, P. Lieber and C. Maus Breweries. Duesseldorfer Beer, the World's Standard of Perfection. Grand Prize and Gold Medal, Madrid, 1907. Grand Prize and Gold Medal, Milano, 1906. Grand Prize, Gold Medal, Cross of Honor, France, 1906, Gold Medal and Highest Award, Belgium, 1905. Grand Prize and Gold Medal, St. Louis, 1904. Gold Medal and Highest Award, Paris, 1900. Capacity: 1000000 Barrels. Cable Address, "Lieber Indianapolis." Executive Department. Albert Lieber, President.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., U. S. A.,
Feb. 20, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secy., United States Brewers Association, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Replying to your letter of the 13th inst., addressed to Mr. J. C. Kelly, making inquiry upon Apperson Brothers, of Kokomo, Ind., beg to say that Mr. Kelly referred the letter to me, as I have acquaintances in Kokomo.

Herewith please find a letter from Mr. H. L. Draper, who is our agent in Kokomo, which gives you the desired information regarding Apperson Brothers. They seem to be very friendly towards our interests.

Yours very truly,

O. P. DELUSE, *Secretary.*

Office Copy. Please Return This Copy to the File.

FEB. 24, 1915.

The INDIANAPOLIS BREWING CO.,
Indianapolis, Ind.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your favor of the 20th, with the information about Apperson Bros. of Kokomo, Indiana.

Appreciating your co-operation, I am,

Yours very truly, *Secretary.*

HFF/ED

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever hear of the American Rolling Mill Co.?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that when a concern was to your mind unfriendly to your interests, and when you could not hurt that concern by means of a boycott or by the withholding of patronage, you sought to interfere with their business in other ways?

Mr. FOX. I have no recollection of anything of the kind.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in the case of the American Rolling Mill Co. you discovered that there was no way by which your

membership could interfere with the business of this concern, and consequently you referred it to architects in an effort to prevent the specification of their material in the preparation of contracts and specifications.

Mr. Fox. I have absolutely no recollection of that.

Maj. HUMES. I ask you to refresh your recollection from the file which I show you, marked "Exhibit File L," and then answer the question.

Mr. Fox. The file shows a letter from the Ohio Brewers' Association calling our attention to the bulletin issued by the American Rolling Mill Co. of Middletown, Ohio, and reads as follows:

EXHIBIT FILE L.

OCTOBER 14, 1914.

Chr. Hafers Iron Works, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: This is to call your attention to the "Armco Bulletin" of September 1914, published by the American Rolling Mill Company of Middletown, Ohio, in which is reprinted the posters used in Massachusetts against alcohol, together with a statement issued by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, which is a very strong indictment of "the man who manufactures alcohol."

No discrimination is made in the five pages of matter on this subject between spirits and mild beverages.

It is suggested that the matter may be of interest to brewery architects and engineers who specify structural iron work in the construction of brewery buildings.

Very truly, yours,

HFF/W *Secretary.*

The attached letter was sent to the following:
Mr. Bernard Barthel, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. C. A. Boehme, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mr. Chas. H. Caspar, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. J. F. Dornfeld, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Richard Griesser, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Wilhelm Griesser, St. Louis, Mo.
Huettemann & Cramer Co., Detroit, Mich.
Koelle, Speth & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Louis Lehle, Chicago, Ill.
Geo. F. Ott, Philadelphia, Pa.
Peuckert & Wunder, Philadelphia, Pa.
Paul Ott, City.
Widmann & Walsh, St. Louis, Mo.
Otto C. Wolf, Chicago, Ill.
Fred W. Wolf Co., Chicago, Ill.
Fred'k. Wunder & Son, Brooklyn, N. Y.

[The Ohio Brewers' Association, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Executive board: Adam Schantz, President, Dayton, O.; John E. Stang, Vice-President, Sandusky, O.; C. Chris. Born, Columbus, O.; Gus. F. Burkhardt, Akron, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.; G. J. Pilliod, Toledo, O.; John G. Rommel, Canton, O.; Wm. F. Hess, Secretary and Treasurer.]

OCTOBER 9, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, Secretary.
U. S. Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I enclosing herewith a bulletin issued by The American Rolling Mill Co. of Middletown, Ohio, and beg to call your attention to the articles on pages 3, 4, and 5.

It has been suggested by one of our brewers that I send this to you with a view of having you bring it to the attention of the brewery architects of the United States, since many of these gentlemen have been in the habit of specify-

ing structural iron work manufactured by this concern in the construction of brewery buildings.

Yours, very truly,

WM. F. HESS, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

[Answered Oct. 13, 1914. H. F. F.]

OCT. 14, 1914.

Mr. WILLIAM F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: I have your letter of the 9th instant, and enclose copy of the letter that I am sending to the 17 architects and engineers. Thanks for the suggestion.

Very truly yours,

_____ _____,
Secretary.

Encl. HFF/W

Maj. HUMES. I now call your attention to the correspondence with relation to the Sommers Motor Car Company, which is a branch of the Allen Motor Car Co., of Fostoria, Ohio, and ask you if you did not send a confidential circular to the members of your association calling attention to that concern, with a view of having your membership withhold patronage?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall the transaction, but I identify the correspondence.

Maj. HUMES. I ask you to refresh your recollection from the file and then answer the question.

Mr. FOX (after examing file). Mr. Chairman, I think this correspondence bears another interpretation than the one put upon it by counsel.

Senator OVERMAN. Does it bear the interpretation that counsel puts upon it?

Mr. FOX. Counsel has asked me a question in respect to it.

Senator OVERMAN. Does it bear the interpretation put upon it by counsel?

Mr. FOX. Yes, I think so; but, as I recall it, there was a constant effort being made naturally by our people, both locally and otherwise, to win friends particularly among important business interests. I think some of this correspondence clearly shows that. The correspondence was opened up with such concerns and a discussion ensued, and a common understanding was reached. I think that that was just as much a motive of it as anything else.

Senator OVERMAN. What was the common understanding—that they would not fight the brewers' interests?

Mr. FOX. In some cases that it was perfectly recognized that their position was sound on local conditions or upon saloons or something of that kind, but that on the question of State-wide or national prohibition they had gone too far.

Senator NELSON. Did you not start the matter by calling them to task for their views on prohibition?

Mr. FOX. I think in most cases, sir.

Senator NELSON. You called their attention to the fact that you regarded them as hostile, and you aimed to convert them. Was that it?

Mr. FOX. I should say in most cases, although I think in some cases they came to me first.

Senator NELSON. Your view is that this whole propaganda was simply moral suasion on the part of the brewers?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE M.

[The Ohio Brewers' Association, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Executive Board: Adam Schantz, President, Dayton, O.; G. J. Pilliod, Vice-President, Toledo, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; S. Fishel, Cleveland, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.; Chas G. Steinle, Delphos, O.; John Unverzagt, Columbus, O. Wm. F. Hess, Secretary and Treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Long Distance Telephone Canal 3182.]

Confidential File.

DECEMBER 3, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I am enclosing herewith copy of letter received from Mr. John M. Dostal of the Bucyrus Brewing Co., together with a copy of his enclosure. Thought probably you might be able to make some use of it.

Yours very truly,

WM. F. HESS, *Sec'y-Treas.*

[Bucyrus Brewing Company, Brewers of the Famous Beer Ehprenpries.]

Confidential File.

BUCYRUS, OHIO, *November 11, 1915.*

WM. F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

DEAR FRIEND WILL: Enclosed you will find a letter that was issued to the employees of the Sommer Motor Company in Bucyrus. The Sommer Motor Company is a branch of the Allen Motor Car Company of Fostoria, that make the Allen car.

We understand their largest agency is in Cincinnati and it certainly would be beneficial to us if we could retaliate in some manner against their business.

With best wishes, I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN M. DOSTAL.

JMD—GAR

(Copy)

Confidential File.

FOSTORIA, OHIO,
October 30, 1915.

November 2nd.

Vote "YES" for "State Prohibition."

Vote "NO" on the "Stability League Amendment."

The following are some of the reasons:

Alcohol destroys the efficiency of Man.

Alcohol destroys the character and reputation of Man.

Alcohol destroys the happiness and prosperity of the home.

Alcohol corrupts politics.

Alcohol cheats the coming generation from an honest inheritance.

Statistics show that the saloon is responsible for 75% of all crime.

Therefore THE SALOON OUGHT TO DIE.

Let every man exercise his franchise to vote this proposition that will bring about better and happier conditions for us today, and advance the possibilities for the coming generation of tomorrow.

W. O. ALLEN.

(Copy)

Confidential File.

DECEMBER 6, 1915.

Mr. WM. F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O.

MY DEAR MR. HESS:—Thanks for your letter of the 3rd, which we will utilize at once.

Appreciating your helpfulness, I am,
Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/JD

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Confidential.

DECEMBER 7TH, 1915.

To the MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN: This is to inform you that Mr. W. O. Allen of the Allen Motor Car Company of Fostoria, Ohio, issued a strong letter on October 30th, 1915, urging the employees of the Sommer Motor Company of Bucyrus, Ohio, to vote in favor of State prohibition.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[The Allen Motor Co., manufacturers of Allen pleasure cars. Address all correspondence to the company, not to individuals.]

FOSTORIA, OHIO. U. S. A. *12/13/15.*

CITY BREWING CO.,
Wapakoneta, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 10th written by your Mr. C. A. Kolter to hand, and in reply to same wish to say that we do not build a truck, but confine our efforts entirely to the pleasure car end of the business.

Regardless of this fact, we wish to say that the attitude of our company is entirely neutral with regard to the wet and dry proposition, and as a company or as a company's policy, we do not enter into any political questions.

There are members of our organizations, which is, of course, to be expected, that have their personal opinions who lean towards the dry side, and while the writer himself is opposed to the dry vote, nevertheless he is of the belief that the opinion of the dry voters is to be respected, just the same as those on the wet side.

Assuring you again that our company is not interested in the situation one way or the other, we remain

Very truly yours,

THE ALLEN MOTOR CO.
E. J. WRIGHT.

EJW.LH

[City Brewing Company, brewers and bottlers of Lager and Pilsner Beer, No. 208 North Water St. C. T. Kolter, prest; Henry Koch, v. prest; Carl A. Kolter, secy; Karl J. Koch, treas. Wapakoneta, Ohio.]

Facts about Wapakoneta: Wapakoneta has a population of 6,000, is located on the C. H. and D., and T. and O. C., and the Western Ohio railroads; has three national and one private bank, fine hotels and restaurants, best of schools, churches, emergency hospital, public library, varied manufacturing plants, flour mills, elevators, garages, livery and sales stables, etc.

Wapakoneta has many miles of street paving, fine sidewalks, municipal electric light and water plants, many beautiful homes, all kinds of retail stores, carrying best of lines. For further information address the following firms: Fisher-Benner Clothing Co., clothiers; the Philip Nagel Furniture & Undertaking Co., furniture; the Home Milling Co., "Old Homestead Flour"; Jos. L. Whiteman & Co., coal, etc.; R. D. Macdonald, Jeweler and Optician; Wm. Schuler, feed store; the City Loan & Savings Co, Gunther Block; Fisher Hardware Co., hardware and builders' supplies; Smith Bros. Electric Co., everything electrical; City Brewing Co., Lager and Pilsner beer; Farmers' Bank (private); Hotel Steinberg, headquarters for commercial men; the George G. Bice Lumber Co., lumber mill, work, and coal.]

DECEMBER 16, 1915.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS.,
New York.

GENTLEMEN: Inclose you will find letter sent to us by the Allen Motor Car Co., Fostoria, O., in answer to ours of recent date, which was to the effect that we were considering the purchase of two small trucks for the use of our branch agents in nearby cities to their Fostoria, O., plant, and for this reason we had been considering the use of their trucks, etc.

We merely wrote them, to carry out the effect of your letter, since this city is almost within a stones throw of our plant.

Very truly yours,

CITY BREWING CO.
Per M. H. K.

Maj. HUMES. I now call your attention to a paper or document from the files of the association, marked "Exhibit File N," as follows:

EXHIBIT FILE N.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109 & 111 East 15th Street. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. President and Chairman Board of Trustees, Jacob Ruppert, Jr. Vice Presidents, 1st, William Hamm; 2d, Edward A. Schmidt; 3d, Gustave Pabst. Treasurer, Anton C. G. Hupfel. Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. General Counsel, Robert Crain. Mgr. Organization Bureau, John A. McDermott. Chairman Vigilance Committee, C. W. Feigenspan. Chairman Advisory Committee and Labor Committee, Louis B. Schram, Chairman Publication Committee, A. G. Hupfel, Jr. Chairman Finance Committee, George Ehret, Jr. Chairman Committee on Federal Relations, Carl J. Hoster.]

NEW YORK, *January 18, 1912.*

The American Art Works, formerly The Meek Company, of Coshocton, Ohio. This concern manufactures metal signs, and does a large business with brewers. A man named Meek was formerly at the head of it, but was fired out after having shown his sympathy for the prohibition movement. The concern is now in good standing, and has done valuable work for the cause in Ohio, and is strongly endorsed by the Ohio Brewers' Association.

[The above is the only document constituting Exhibit File N.]

For what purpose was that record maintained?

Mr. Fox. I have no recollection of that at all.

Senator NELSON. Maj. Humes, you ought to say that the purpose of that was to give them a clean bill of health.

Maj. HUMES. I was asking for Mr. Fox's interpretation of it.

Mr. Fox. This does not appear to have been sent out in any way. This is an original unsigned document which got into the files.

Maj. HUMES. I have not represented it in any other way than that. I am just asking the reason for keeping it in the files.

Mr. Fox. As a matter of information, I should think.

Maj. HUMES. I did not want to misstate it.

Did you ever hear of the Shenango Pottery Co.?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the correspondence in this matter, taken from file marked "Exhibit File O." The first letter is signed "Charles F. Ettla, Secretary," he being secretary of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association. The letter is as follows:

EXHIBIT FILE O.

[Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, 1504 Land Title Building. Chas. F. Ettla, Secretary.]

PHILADELPHIA, 12/20/11.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: In the matter of complaint of the Standard Brewing Company, through its manager, Mr. Feuchtwanger, I desire to say that both

the firms, the Shenango Pottery Company and the Graselli Chemical Company sell outside the state of Pennsylvania as well as in the State. The Pottery Company, I understand, and I believe the same was written you by Mr. Feuchtwanger, have sold their goods to the Government. It might be well in your next Bulletin sent to the Brewers throughout the country to notify them not to patronize either of the above firms.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. F. ETTLA, *Secretary.*

Also a letter addressed by you to Mr. Feuchtwanger, treasurer, as follows:

DECEMBER 14, 1911.

Mr. M. FEUCHTWANGER,
Treas., The Standard Brewing Co., New Castle, Pa.,

MY DEAR MR. FEUCHTWANGER: I have your favor of the 8th inst., before me, and thank you for your endorsement of the proposed co-operative hop plan, and regret very much to learn the licensing judge has virtually put you out of business. I hope that the New Year may have something better in store for you. In the meantime, we are carrying you on our membership list in accordance with my letter of June 16th, 1911.

I thank you for the information about the Shenango Pottery Company, and the Graselli Chemical Company, which I will take up with our Executive Committee in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

I also call attention to the confidential circular, in part, as follows:

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th St., New York City.]

Confidential.

FEBRUARY 21, 1912.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

Mr. James M. Smith of the Shenango Pottery Company of New Castle, Pa., who make hotel china, has been very active in the campaign against licenses.

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

After having your recollection refreshed, state whether that circular was sent out to the trade with a view of inducing your members or their allied organizations not to patronize the Shenango Pottery Co.

Mr. FOX. I have no recollection whatever of the matter.

Maj. HUMES. Your recollection is refreshed, is not, by the correspondence?

Mr. FOX. If I was a hotel man and had that information, I should want an explanation and should try to find out.

Maj. HUMES. Your purpose was to get that information, through your membership, to the hotel men?

Mr. FOX. Apparently.

(The above are all the documents in the file referred to, "Exhibit File O.")

(The document last referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th St., New York City.]

Confidential.

FEBRUARY 21, 1912.

To the members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: Mr. James Horton, of Horton's Ice Cream Company, has been elected 2nd Vice-president of the New York Anti-Saloon League.

Mr. James M. Smith of the Shenango Pottery Company of New Castle, Pa., who make hotel china, has been very active in the campaign against licenses.

Mr. M. F. Crass, Superintendent of the Graselli Chemical Company, of New Castle, Beaver Falls and Uniontown, Pa., also assisted the Anti-Saloon League in the no-license campaign.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Crass are said to have been responsible for inducing Billy Sunday to go to New Castle last fall.

Mr. Shumacher, President of the Cumberland Glass Company, of Bridgetown, N. J., is reported to be responsible for keeping Vineland, N. J. "dry," and has been antagonistic to our interests in South Jersey.

Mr. W. C. Leland, of the Cadillac Motor Company is also aggressively antagonistic, and the entire corporation is reported by the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association to be aiding and abetting the Anti-Saloon League.

On October 14th, 1910, we sent out a confidential letter of warning in regard to the Rev. Leonard W. Snyder, "The Boys' Minister." By a misunderstanding, Mr. Snyder recently secured credentials from the Secretary of the Wisconsin Brewers' Association, who write me expressing his regret at the occurrence. Our letter of October 14th, 1910 still stands, therefore.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. I now show you file marked "Exhibit File P," which is the Wanamaker file, from your records.

Mr. FOX. There is not any denunciation in this. There is a perfectly frank statement of certain correspondence that took place between Mr. Wanamaker and a concern named Myers.

Maj. HUMES. That is not the first time that the trade was notified by you in reference to Mr. Wanamaker, was it? That was the last announcement that went to the trade. Then I see an announcement on November 28, 1911, to this effect:

Mr. John Wanamaker has come out in active support of the temperance organizations, and has stated that he means to devote his closing days to the destruction of the saloon.

The purpose of that was to have patronage withheld from Mr. Wanamaker, I take it.

Mr. FOX. The correspondence speaks for itself.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE P.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Confidential.]

NEW YORK, *July 22, 1915.*

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following letters are for your information:

* * * * * * *

The following correspondence between H. C. Myers, of the H. C. Myers Company, distillers and importers, with offices at 25 Leonard Street, New York City, and John Wanamaker, is self-explanatory:

Mr. Myers to Mr. Wanamaker.

NEW YORK, *February 17, 1915.*

Mr. JOHN WANAMAKER,
9th and Broadway, New York City.

DEAR SIR: The report is current that you contribute money to prohibit the sale and distribution of liquor. I am reluctant to credit this report, and respectfully ask an expression from you on the subject.

If I have been correctly informed, you may be as unwilling to accept money that has been earned in the liquor traffic as I am to pay it to those who are endeavoring to confiscate the business in which I am engaged.

I have indicated my position in this matter by printing on my checks, "A Check Against Prohibition," many of which have been received by your company in settlement of my charge account with you.

Thanking you in advance for any attention, I remain,

Respectfuly yours,

H. C. MYERS.

Mr. Wanamaker to Mr. Myers.

[Private Office, John Wanamaker.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February 23, 1915.*

Mr. H. C. MYERS,
25 Leonard Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 17 of February comes before me as I am leaving on the next train for the South.

I thank you for its frankness, but regret its narrowness. You only buy of me what you want and I give you value for it. I think I do you good service.

As in one sense a father to from 10,000 to 14,000 employés, for many years I have suffered and lost so much from employés that killed themselves and ruined their families I could not and can not be in favor [of the use] of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and with nothing but good will to you as a gentleman, I will say that personal [interest] to serve my business can never bribe me to change my principles.

Yours very truly,

JOHN WANAMAKER.

[Maynz & Co., Manufacturers of M. & H. Varnishes and Paints. Dealers in Brewers' and Bottlers' Machinery, 13 Water Street. General Sales Agents for The Karl Kiefer Filter, Nenzel's Patent Ammonia Purifier & Regenerator. Agents for the Schlangen Racker. Sole Importers of "X.L." Filter Mass. Cable Address, Maynz, New York. Telephone Call, 2325 Broad.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 20, 1911.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec't'y., U. S. Brewers Ass'n., New York City.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed please find copy of an article, which appeared in several New York papers on Nov. 14th.

I call your attention to the same, because several of my friends to whom I have spoken since, never read the article, and I believe an article of this kind, should be called to the attention of every member and that suitable steps should be taken by everybody.

I, personally had no account at the Wanamaker store, but a member of our family had an account there, and upon my request the same was closed, and a letter written to Mr. Wanamaker, giving the reason for doing so.

Yours very truly,

E. MAYNZ.

EM.
AL.

[Maynz & Co., New York.]

Drinking women are a menace.—Wanamaker.

"A pity that they could not get liquor in a Drug store or a Dry Goods Store" He Adds.

Philadelphia, Nov. 13.—The increasing number of women in this country who are both drinking and smoking in private and public, according to John

Wanamaker, is a menace to the nation. He took advantage of "Temperance Day" celebration at the John Chambers Memorial Presbyterian Church last night, to make an impassioned appeal for the total abolition of the liquor traffic.

"I am a republican, and love the old party of Lincoln, Harrison, Grant, Garfield, and McKinley, but I realize that the grand old party cannot be kept up to its standard until it excludes the liquor business.

"It was very difficult for me when I lived in Washington as Postmaster-General to entertain foreign officials without serving them with strong drinks, but none of them ever got anything to drink at my house. I have been a teetotaler since 1877.

"I have never found that I missed anything by not drinking.

"The greatest sorrow of intemperance is that women are now drinking and smoking, not only in private, but in public. It's a sad time when those we consider morally above us are heading for the drunkards grave.

"Isn't it a pity, too, that women can get strong drink in a drug store or dry goods store? They are tempted to buy it there, because nobody will find it out."

NOVEMBER 21, 1911.

E. MAYNZ, Esq.,
#13 Water Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 20th instant enclosing copy of the Wanamaker article. Of course I read the article when it was published, and fully agree with you in your opinion of the matter.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

BT.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

(Confidential.

NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

John Wanamaker has come out in active support of the Temperance organizations, and has stated that he means to devote his closing days to the destruction of the saloon.

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[Maynz & Co., manufacturers of M. & H. varnishes and paints; dealers in brewers' and bottlers' machinery; 13 Water Street, New York.]

DECEMBER 2, 1911.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
U. S. Brewers Association,
New York City.

DEAR SIR: We have your favor of the 28th., inst., and you can rest assured that the information given us will be treated as strictly confidential, and none of the parties mentioned will receive any business from us.

Respectfully yours,

MAYNZ & Co.

EM.
AL.

Maj. HUMES. I now call your attention to the file marked "Exhibit File Q." Did you not also notify the trade in this correspondence of the interference of the Fox Typewriter Co. with a view of having patronage withheld from them?

Mr. FOX (after examination). I do not recollect it.

(The documents in the file referred to Exhibit File Q are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE Q.

[Grand Rapids Brewing Co., brewers and bottlers. Annual capacity, 500,000 barrels. Silver Foam, Export, Pilsner, Alt Nuernberger.]

Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.,
July 16, 1914.

Mr. HUGH FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: We are enclosing you a clipping from the Grand Rapids daily Press of Monday July the 13th, which again shows the animosity of Mr. W. R. Fox, of the Fox Typewriter Company towards our industry, we are

Yours very truly,

GRAND RAPIDS BREWING CO.
G. A. KUSTNER, *Vice Pres.*

GAK–S. Enc.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

CONFIDENTIAL

OCTOBER 6, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

Mr. W. R. Fox, of the Fox Typewriter Company, of Grand Rapids, Mich., has come out publicly against breweries and saloons.

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly.

HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember the transactions with reference to the Graselli Chemical Co., at New Castle, Pa.?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall the name at all.

Maj. HUMES. I show you file marked "Exhibit File R." Under date of February 21, 1912, you sent a confidential letter to the membership containing the following:

Mr. M. F. Crass, Superintendent of the Graselli Chemical Company, of New Castle, Beaver Falls and Uniontown, Pa., also assisted the Anti-Saloon League in the no-license campaign.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Crass are said to have been responsible for inducing Billy Sunday to go to New Castle last fall.

You sent out that circular, did you not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Was there not a question of compelling the Graselli Chemical Co. to discharge Mr. Crass, and was not that one of the subject matters of the correspondence in that case?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall it. I shall refresh my memory, but I do not remember even the name. The correspondence I identify. Is it necessary for me to read it all through? There is a greal deal of it.

Maj. HUMES. Can you not discover enough there very promptly to answer in regard to the question of whether the matter of discharging Mr. Crass was one of the things considered?

Mr. FOX. I have not come to that yet.

Maj. HUMES. Nor the securing of a pledge from him as to his future good conduct?

Mr. Fox. Apparently the correspondence indicates some controversy over the facts. Here is a letter that I wrote the Standard Brewing Co., of New Castle, Pa., under date of April 11, 1912:

I am now writing Mr. Gund—

a Cleveland man—

to suggest that he try and get the Graselli Company to secure a letter from Mr. Crass, expressing his regret at his unwarranted action, and stating his belief that he has acted hastily, etc.

Maj. HUMES. And in that same letter you go on to say:

In other words, I think it is worth while, before we let up on the Graselli Company, to try to get the kind of a letter from Mr. Crass that would be helpful to you in the future. We were able to do this in a similar case a year or so ago in New York State. At any rate, it is worth trying!

That was the letter, was it not?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. The case in New York State to which you refer was the Solvay Process Co., was it not?

Mr. Fox. I think it is extremely likely. You would have to compare the dates.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, to withdraw the blacklist of this concern you were trying to exact a letter from them that you could use for your propaganda purposes in the future?

Mr. Fox. I have no recollection at all of that.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, you were not satisfied with neutrality, but you were even demanding active, open support.

Senator NELSON. Is it that part of the letter that is in controversy?

Maj. HUMES. I think I better read the whole letter so that you can understand it. It is as follows:

APRIL 11, 1912.

Mr. M. FEUCHTWANGER,
Treas. the Standard Brewing Co.,
New Castle, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. FEUCHTWANGER: I appreciate your letter of the 10th inst. very much indeed; not only because of the very clear and complete statement of facts which it contains, but also because of the spirit which you show.

Mr. Gund of the Gund Brewing Co., Cleveland, has suggested to the Graselli Company that they ask their attorney, Mr. Cashman, to call on me when he is in New York, and Mr. Gund states that the Grasselli Chemical Company have called Mr. Crass to Cleveland, and have made him realize the position he has put his firm in.

I am now writing Mr. Gund to suggest that he try and get the Grasselli Company to secure a letter from Mr. Crass, expressing his regret at his unwarranted action, and stating his belief that he has acted hastily, etc. In other words, I think it is worth while, before we let up on the Grasselli Company, to try to get the kind of a letter from Mr. Crass that would be helpful to you in the future. We were able to do this in a similar case a year or so ago in New York State. At any rate, it is worth trying.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

There is another letter on that line that I think is important, and there is also a letter from Mr. Fox, dated April 1, 1912, addressed to Mr. George F. Gund, which I shall read in this connection:

APRIL 1, 1912.

Mr. GEORGE F. GUND,
No. 5 Davenport Street,
Cleveland, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. GUND: I have your letter of March 30th with reference to the Grasselli Chemical Company, and may say for your confidential information

that our action was based, primarily, on a complaint sent on December 8, 1911, by a Pennsylvania brewer, whose plant had been closed down because the County Judge had refused all licenses. His action was said to have been influenced by a campaign conducted under the direction of Billy Sunday. The information is in substance as follows: "Mr. James M. Smith, Treasurer of the Shenango Pottery Company has been and is very active in the campaign against licenses. In fact he is the man who induced that (faker) 'Billy Sunday' to come to our city, in this he was assisted very materially by an active Anti-Saloon Leaguist, Mr. F. Crass, Supt. of the Grasselli Chemical Company, who have a chain of plants at New Castle, Beaver Falls, Uniontown and other cities and cater to our Brewers. The results of efforts largely induced the Judge to act as he did. We believe the Brewers should be apprised of these facts in a letter similar to yours of the 28th ult. We ask this of you for the good of our industry."

After receiving this complaint, I took it up with the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, who recommended the action which we took in our circular letter of February 21st, thereby, of course, endorsing the complaint.

I have written to both the brewer who made the complaint and to the Pennsylvania Association to ask them for any further light that they may throw upon the matter, and have informed them that I think we have gained our point, and that it is high time to make friends with the Grasselli Chemical Company.

While the explanation given in the letter of the Company's attorney to you of March 30th, 1912, is very satisfactory as far as it goes, I notice that the Company does not make any promise of using its influence with the Superintendent of its New Castle Plant, and I think it is up to them to give us some assurance in this respect. You must remember that under the Pennsylvania law if the County Judge refuses to grant licenses it not only puts the saloons out of business, but every brewer in the County has to stop manufacturing and selling. It is even worse than Prohibition in its actual effect, so that the complainant has a very real and serious grievance.

Of course you will make it clear to the Grasselli Company that we do not indulge in boycotts, but we think our people are entitled to know who are their friends and who are not, and that if they do not have the active cooperation of men in the allied trades at least such men not directly antagonize them.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

(The additional documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE R.

EXTRACT FROM NEW CASTLE (PA.) HERALD OF FEBRUARY 16, 1912.

Maurice Crass, superintendent and general manager of the Grasselli Chemical Company, was the first witness called in the afternoon. Mr. Crass said the difference at the chemical works under no-license is very marked, and has changed the morals of the men in a great degree. The company used to have much trouble on account of drinking among the men, but now it has a force, the witness said, that will compare with the men of any industrial institution.

Mr. Crass said when he came here a few years ago, drunkenness was very common, but now he notices a vast improvement. Business men, he said, found collections much better according to statements made by them.

[Standard Brewing Company, Brewers and Bottlers of Lager Beer, Fine Ales and Porter. Annual Capacity, 65,000 Barrels. Geo. W. Lamoree, Pres't. H. Grotefend, V-Pres't. M. Feuchtwanger, Treas. E. O. Haun, Secretary.]

NEW CASTLE, PA., *Feby 20, 12.*

HUGH F. FOX, Esq.
New York

MY DEAR SIR: Some time ago we wrote to you regarding two manufacturers who largely sell to Brewers and are very active workers and contributors to Anti Saloon League, both residents of our city, a Mr. Crass and Mr. J. P.

Smith the former of the Graselli Chemical Co. and latter Pres. Shenango Pottery Co. since then have heard nothing more concerning the matter which at the present time would be of great benefit to the trade, have heard they are organizing for the "Billy Sunday" movement at Wheeling should our industry handle products of such people?

Trusting this is strictly in confidence and awaiting action we are

Very truly yours,

S. B. Co. M. FEUCHTWANGER.

Answered Feb. 21, 1912. H. F. F.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

FEBRUARY 21, 1912.

CONFIDENTIAL.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

Mr. M. F. Crass, Superintendent of the Graselli Chemical Company, of New Castle, Beaver Falls and Uniontown, Pa., also assisted the Anti-Saloon League in the no-license campaign.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Crass are said to have been responsible for inducing Billy Sunday to go to New Castle last fall.

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[The Gund Brewing Co., Cleveland, O. Geo. F. Gund, Pres. & Treas. Jacob Fickel, Vice Pres. M. C. Richards, Secretary.

MARCH 30TH, 1912.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec'y,*
The United States Brewers Ass'n,
109 East 15th St., New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I was requested this morning by Mr. W. T. Cashman, to call at the offices of The Graselli Chemical Co., of this city, whose headquarters are here with branches in many of the larger cities throughout the country.

It seems they received a letter from their manager at New Orleans, of which I herewith enclose you a copy, which please carefully note. I do not know if a circular was issued by our association against this firm as being unfair, at least my attention has not been called to it heretofore; for had it, I certainly would have taken up the matter with you at once.

I have known Mr. C. A. Graselli the president of this company for over twelve years and meet with him as well as other officers of that company very frequently in other business relations. I can assure you that Mr. Grasselli as well as all of the officers here, are as liberal in their views and practice on our subject as you or I are.

You realize this company employs thousands of men and it would not be strange that there may occasionally be one who may be biased or prejudiced against the liquor interest, and act accordingly in a personal capacity; and certainly it would be most unjust under such circumstances, that this firm should suffer in the least.

I would suggest that you at once personally write the brewers of New Orleans explaining the situation, and if a circular was sent that you please correct this and have it mailed to every brewing concern in the country; for you can take my personal assurance that I know fully in this case whereof I speak.

With best wishes,

Yours respectfully,

GEO. F. GUND.

[The Grasselli Chemical Co. Please address your reply to Legal Department.]

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *March 30, 1912.*

GEO. F. GUND, Esq.,
Care The Gund Brewing Co., Cleveland, O.

DEAR SIR: Pursuant to our conversation this morning I am herewith enclosing copy of letter received from the Manager of our New Orleans office. For your information would advise that Mr. M. F. Crass is Superintendent of our New Castle, Pa., plant. He is not Superintendent at Beaver Falls, as stated in the letter, and we have no plant at Uniontown.

Mr. Crass states that about two months ago when the question came up regarding the necessity of issuing licenses for the year 1912–1913 the Anti-Saloon League people circulated remonstrances for presentation to the Judge. He was asked to sign one of these remonstrances, which he did, in his personal capacity. Without solicitation or any action on his part, he was subpœnaed by the Court regarding the necessity for granting licenses. During the testimony, and replying to a direct question, he stated that he was Superintendent of the New Castle Plant of The Grasselli Chemical Co. This was the only reference or connection that the company has had in any way with his personal views.

Mr. Crass further states that he is not an officer, nor has he any official connection with the Anti-Saloon League of Lawrence County, nor did he during the past campaign circulate, or have anything to do with the circulating of petitions which were gotten out by the said League.

The Grasselli Chemical Co. had no knowledge of Mr. Crass' personal action in this respect, nor has it at any time officially taken any position in regard to the saloon question.

We have many plants all over the country and selling agencies in all the large cities. Our plant at New Castle employs not more than fifty men, whereas our plants in the larger cities, such as Cleveland, Chicago, and in New Jersey, employ many thousands of men.

We think it is unfair that the Brewer's Association should place our name on the black list because of this personal action of one of the superintendents of our smaller plants. Mr. Crass is not an official of this company.

Will you please take this matter up with Mr. Hugh Fox to the end that our name shall be removed from the black list, especially in the City of New Orleans.

Will you please let me know what has been done, treating this matter as between us, of course, confidentially.

Yours very truly,

THE GRASSELLI CHEMICAL CO.
W. T. CASHMAN, *Attorney.*

"We have been gradually building up a rather nice business on Anhydrous Ammonia with the local breweries. For some little time our Mr. Harris, who has been working up this trade locally, noticed that for some reason or other this business was beginning to wean itself away from us. It behooved us, therefore, to watch matters very closely and find out why such a condition existed when absolutely no complaint had been made regarding the quality of the Anhydrous Ammonia with which we were supply the breweries.

"The matter has finally been solved and it seems that a boycott has been declared against The Grasselli Chemical Co. because one of our representatives in Pennsylvania affiliated himself with, and in fact is considered a leader of, a prohibition movement in that State and we have been black listed by the Brewer's Association with headquarters at Chicago, Ill., which headquarters are in charge of Mr. Hugh Fox, Secretary.

"The party above referred to as being part and parcel of a prohibition movement is a Mr. M. F. Crass, who we are told is our Superintendent at New Castle, Beaver Falls and Uniontown, Pa. (I did not know that we had a works at Uniontown, Pa.) Just so long as this boycott exists against The Grasselli Chemical Co. we will not get a pound of business from the breweries. This information was given to Harris with a view of assisting us in clearing ourselves, but we are informed that unless we do clear ourselves no brewery who is a member of the Brewer's Association (and we believe all of them are members

[illegible] will favor us with any of its business. You will see, there-
[illegible] against it.'

[illegible] that The Grasselli Chemical Co. of Pa. were not doing business in [illegible] and that we certainly felt that we were being discriminated [illegible] matter because one of the employes of The Grasselli Chemical [illegible] was leader of a prohibition movement.

[illegible] that it was absolutely necessary that something be done by [illegible] to protect themselves and that there were millions of dollars in-[illegible] in this country and that this prohibition movement had cost [illegible] worlds of money and on this account certainly something should [illegible] encourage the movement.

[illegible] with this party in all he said but still maintained that a cor-[illegible] should not be held liable for the personal views of one of its employes; [illegible] neither knew, nor had we ever heard of Mr. M. F. Crass, and [illegible] by no means concerned in his personal views.

[illegible] know what you propose doing about this, but the facts are as [illegible] above and it is certainly going to materially decrease our present [illegible] Anhydrous Ammonia in this field and cut us out of the brewery [illegible] business entirely.

As I understand it, the matter would have to be taken up with Mr. Hugh [illegible] Secretary of the Brewer's Association at Chicago. I am of the opinion [illegible] party were personally approached and informed that Mr. M. F. [illegible] had nothing at all to do with the management of this company and was [illegible] employee that perhaps this would arrange matters. It may be that [illegible] looked upon as an officer of the company."

APRIL 1, 1912.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. M. FEUCHTWANGER,
Standard Brewing Co., New Castle, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. FEUCHTWANGER: I enclose for your consideration correspondence received from the Gund Brewing Company, of Cleveland, regarding the [illegible] Chemical Company. Before replying thereto, I should like to have your comments on the correspondence. Of course, you will understand that it is not our intention to be in any way vindictive. We must always be absolutely fair in such matters. After all, when an offender shows a proper spirit of regret for past occurrences and expresses a desire to cooperate in the future, we feel that we have gained our point and that it is time to make friends.

Awaiting your early reply, I am,

Very truly, yours,

Secretary.

[illegible]
Enclosure.

APRIL 1, 1912.

Mr. GEORGE F. GUND,
[illegible] Davenport Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. GUND: I have your letter of March 30th with reference to the [illegible] Chemical Company, and may say for your confidential information that our action was based, primarily, on a complaint sent on December 8, 1911 by a Pennsylvania brewer, whose Plant had been closed down because the County Judge had refused all licenses. His action was said to have been influenced by a campaign conducted under the direction of Billy Sunday. The information is, in substance, as follows: "Mr. James M. Smith, Treasurer of the Shenango Pottery Company, has been and is very active in the campaign against licenses. In fact, he is the man who induced that (faker) 'Billy Sunday' to come to our city. In this he was assisted very materially by an active Anti-Saloon Leaguist, Mr. F. Crass, Supt. of the Grasselli Chemical Company, who have a chain of plants at New Castle, Beaver Falls, Uniontown, and other cities, and cater to our Brewers. The results of efforts largely induced the Judge to act as he did. We believe the Brewers should be apprised of these facts in a letter similar to yours of the 28th ult. We ask this of you for the good of our industry."

After receiving this complaint I took it up with the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, who recommended the action which we took in our circular letter of February 21st, thereby, of course, endorsing the complaint.

I have written to both the brewer who made the complaint and to the Pennsylvania Association to ask them for any further light that they can throw upon the matter, and have informed them that I think we have gained our point and that it is now time to make friends with the Grasselli Chemical Company.

While the explanation given in the letter of the Company's attorney to you of March 30th, 1912, is very satisfactory as far as it goes, I notice that the Company does not make any promise of using its influence with the Superintendent of its New Castle Plant, and I think it is up to them to give us some assurances in this respect. You must remember that under the Pennsylvania law if the County Judge refuses to grant licenses it not only puts the saloons out of business, but every brewer in the County has to stop manufacturing and selling. It is even worse than Prohibition in its actual effect, so that the complainant has a very real and serious grievance.

Of course you will make it clear to the Grasselli Company that we do not indulge in boycotts, but we think our people are entitled to know who are their friends and who are not, and that if they do not have the active cooperation of men in the allied trades, at least such men should not directly antagonize them.

Very truly, yours,

Secretary.

HFF/BT.

[The Gund Brewing Co., Cleveland, O. Geo. F. Gund, Pres. & Treas. Jacob Fickel, Vice Pres. M. C. Richards, Secretary.]

APRIL 4TH, 1912.

MR. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec'y,*
United States Brewers Ass'n, 109–111 East 15th St., New York City.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 1st inst., was received and duly noted. I have been extremely busy and I did not call upon Mr. Cashman of The Grasselli Chemical Co., until this afternoon. It seems they have had Mr. Crass here and also have had quite a little correspondence with him, and no doubt Mr. Crass now fully realizes the position he put this firm in.

I wrote Mr. Cashman suggesting that he call on you for a personal interview, as per carbon letter herewith, and trust that such interview will lead up in making friends with said company.

Yours truly,

THE GUND BREWING COMPANY,
By GEO. F. GUND, *President.*

APRIL 4TH, 1912.

Mr. W. T. CASHMAN, *Attorney,*
Legal Department, Grasselli Chemical Co., City.

DEAR SIR: It occurred to me that after my conversation with you this afternoon, in regard to a letter I had received from Mr. Hugh F. Fox, in refcrence to your employe Mr. F. Crass, at New Castle; that as you occasionally visit New York, that it might be advisable for you, and I would suggest a personal interview with Mr. Fox in relation to this matter and hope you may be able to arrange this sometime this coming week.

Yours respectfully,

———— ————.

[Standard Brewing Company, Brewers and Bottlers of Lager Beer, Fine Ales and Porters. Annual Capacity, 65,000 Barrels. Geo. W. Lamoree, Pres't; H. Grotefend, V-Pres.; M. Feuchtwanger, Treas.; E. O. Haun, Secretary.]

NEW CASTLE, PA., *April 10, 1912.*

"CONFIDENTIAL."

HUGH F. FOX, Esq.,
Sec'y U. S. Brewers' Assn.,
109 E. 15th St., New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Yours of the 1st inst. handed to me on my return from Chicago. Replying would say that in just one thing in this whole matter we may possibly be wrong, viz. that Mr. M. F. Crass is not an officer in the Gaselli

Chemical Co., and this we do not know. We at no time try to be vindictive, just the contrary, often times too lenient. This man represents himself as being in full control of the Gaselli Chemical Co. here, and when his concern located here and were ready for the Assessors, the plant was assessed at $70,000.00. Having a friendly feeling for any new manufacturing concern locating in our city, especially so, as it was close to our plant, and in going back and forth each day on the cars with Mr. Crass became acquainted with him, who stated the above fact regarding the assessment to me. I at once took the matter up with our President, Mr. Geo. W. Lamoree, who said let us see what can be done for him. At once we called upon the then Chairman of the Board of Appeals, Mr. Thos. Dickson, (now Chairman of Select Council,) who agreed to reduce the above to $50,000.00 to please us, notwithstanding he had expressed his antagonism to our business at that time.

Shortly thereafter he took up with the Billy Sunday movement and remained one of his staunch supporters, and even to this day assists in revival meetings and visits neighboring cities in behalf of the Personal Workers League. At our last license court, he being identified with the Anti-Saloon League, was subpœnaed to appear as a remonstrating manufacturing concern, as against such petitioners for, as the general managers of the Carnegie Steel Co., American Tin Plate Co., the furnaces and Stove Manufacturers, these combined employing about 11,000 men, as against Mr. Crass' concern of 50 or 60 men. When on the stand he stated he was against the granting of licenses anywhere and the morality of the business. We took the pains of clipping from one of our papers of Feb'y 16, 1912, his statement, herewith enclosed, which explains itself. We know he did not circulate remonstrances, but we know from experience that the men back of a movement of this kind never do, but always employ some weaklings for this purpose. Had he kept his concern out of it we might have taken a different view. He is a dangerous man for the Brewing and Distilling interests, and if the Gaselli Chemical Co., in sincere with our interests they ought to place Mr. Crass where they could control such actions. This is a sad condition and more than a purely local affair and to show that we, like all brewers, always aim to be fair, and considering to Gaselli Chemical Co. to show the proper spirit, with the Associations permission, withdraw our objection and place them again amongst our friends.

We set out these facts to you fully in explanation of our action and hope to the satisfaction of the Association.

Very truly yours,

STANDARD BREWING CO.,
M. FEUCHTWANGER, TREAS.

APRIL *11, 1912.*

Mr. GEORGE F. GUND,
The Gund Brewing Co.,
Cleveland, Ohio.,

MY DEAR MR. GUND: I enclose copy of confidential letter from the treasurer of the Standard Brewing Company of New Castle, together with an extract from the New Castle Herald of Feb. 16th, 1912, which confirms what he says. Do you not think that the Grasselli Chemical Company might get a letter from Mr. Crass, which would express his regret at his unwarranted action, etc.? I enclose by way of suggestion, copy of a letter which was written under similar circumstances.

I appreciate very much the assistance you have given in this matter, and the trouble you have taken, and hate to ask you to go to any further trouble. However, the matter may have far-reaching value, and I think that it would be worth while to let the Grasselli Company know just what our New Castle people say. Of course, as their letter is confidential, we cannot send a copy of it to the Grasselli Company.

I shall be very glad indeed to meet Mr. Cashman at any time.

P. S.—By the way, the letter from Mr. Crass should not merely express his regret in embarrassing his firm, but if possible, should indicate the change of heart, based on a more careful study of the situation, which would indicate that he had become converted to more reasonable views, because of his broader study of the whole license question.

Yours very truly,

HFF/ED. *Secretary.*
Enc.

APRIL 11, 1912.

Mr. M. FEUCHTWANGER, *Treas.*,
The Standard Brewing Co.,
New Castle, Pa.,

MY DEAR MR. FEUCHTWANGER: I appreciate your letter of the 10th inst., very much indeed: not only because of the very clear and complete statement of facts which it contains, but also because of the spirit which you show.

Mr. Gund of the Gund Brewing Co., Cleveland, has suggested to the Grasselli Company that they ask their attorney, Mr. Cashman, to call on me when he is in New York, and Mr. Gund, states that the Grasselli Chemical Company have called Mr. Crass to Cleveland, and have made him realize the position he has put his firm in.

I am now writing to Mr. Gund to suggest that he try and get the Grasselli Company to secure a letter from Mr. Crass, expressing his regret at his unwarranted action, and stating his belief that he has acted hastily, etc. In other words, I think it is worth while, before we let up on the Grasselli Company, to try to get the kind of a letter from Mr. Crass that would be helpful to you in the future. We were able to do this in a similar case a year or so ago in New York State. At any rate, it is worth trying!

Yours very truly,

HFF/ED. *Secretary.*

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

APRIL 12, 1912.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: This is to inform you that the Grasselli Chemical Company, having had their attention called to the matter mentioned in our circular letter of February 21, 1912, have acted promptly and vigorously, and that we are entirely satisfied as to their friendly attitude, and their desire to co-operate in matters of mutual interest.

We feel that, under the circumstances, they are entitled to the consideration of the brewers of the United States.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

APRIL 12, 1912.

Mr. M. FEUCHTWANGER,
Treas., The Standard Brewing Co., New Castle, Pa.

DEAR SIR: I enclose copy of my letter of to-day to Mr. Gund which explains itself. Mr. Crass has been hauled over the coals most effectively, and there will be no further trouble from him or any of his associates. At the same time, I hope that he may be made to write the kind of a letter that will be helpful to you in the future!

Secretary.

HFF/FT.
Enclosures.

APRIL 12, 1912.

Mr. GEO. F. GUND,
The Gund Brewing Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. GUND: I have had a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Grant, who is one of the Directors of the Grasselli Chemical Company, and am sending out a letter to the brewers of the United States which will adjust the difficulty. I have suggested to Mr. Grant that they should not make a martyr of Mr. Crass, but should seek rather to make a convert of him, so that after he has "seen the light" he may express himself accordingly.

Thanking you for your trouble in the matter, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Secretary.

HFF/FT.
Enclosure.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember any trouble about the Cumberland Glass Co.?

Mr. Fox. Yes, I recall that.

Maj. HUMES. Tell us about that.

Mr. Fox. I do not recall the details. I remember that there was a discussion there and that I had a visit from one of the partners, and that there was some correspondence.

Maj. HUMES. They succeeded in adjusting that matter by joining the local manufacturers and merchants' association and contributing to the support of your organization, did they not? I do not want to take the time to read that. I think you can refresh your recollection in a moment. I show you the file marked "Exhibit File S."

Mr. Fox. That is my recollection. I know it was a concern doing a very large business with brewers in beer bottles.

Maj. HUMES. And they were forced into the manufacturers and dealers' association, or at least persuaded to join it?

Mr. Fox. My recollection is there was a dispute between the two brothers, one of whom was strongly with us and the other against us.

Maj. HUMES. And finally upon the death of the brother who was against you, you got the matter arranged?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall that. I know that it was arranged.

Maj. HUMES. You remember that he died, also, do you not?

Mr. Fox. I have forgotten that.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE S.

LEHIGH VALLEY BREWERS ASSOCIATION,
Allentown, Pa., January 11, 1912.

Mr. HUGH E. FOX,
Sec'y, U. S. Brewers Association, 109–111 E. 15th St., New York City.

DEAR SIR: We take the liberty of enclosing you herewith a number of newspaper clippings, the purport of which will appear on their perusal.

They come from Bridgeton, N. J., and were sent us by personal friends who insist that the facts are true.

Bridgeton, as you no doubt are well aware, is the home of the Cumberland Glass Mfg. Company, large makers of bottles for the distilled and malt liquor trade, and particularly largely patronized by brewers.

Our information is to the effect that the officers of this concern are rabid Prohibitionists and Local Optionists, have been largely responsible for making Bridgeton "dry" and keeping it so, and that they have fought the liberal minded people of the community who desire license, and all this in the face of the fact that they are drawing their business largely from those whose interests they persistently oppose. It is asserted that nine tenths of the ware manufactured in the town is used by the business they are so bitterly fighting.

Furthermore, it is rather surprising for us to be informed that Mr. Jacob Rupert, a high official of your Association is the best patron these people have. That he has placed an order for no less than 70,000 gross of bottles with them! While this is Mr. Rupert's own business, it is nevertheless discouraging to think and know that he is indirectly aiding and abetting those who are constantly opposing our interests and the interests of his associates.

We submit these clippings and these statements to you, and respectfully request you to verify them. If they be true, it is difficult to understand why the brewers should not give these manufacturers of bottles the wide berth they deserve.

We have noted with pleasure, from the circulars, letters, and other literature sent out by you, that you have paid particular attention to such offenders all over the country, who furnish brewery and bottling supplies. This is most laudable, and we believe an effective weapon that should be continued, and therefore ask that like wide attention be given Bridgeton, if these facts are substantiated. Level your shafts at Bridgeton and shoot hard, as you so well know how to do.

Trusting that you will go into this matter thoroughly and give it the attention and treatment the truth warrants, we remain,

Yours truly,

LEHIGH VALLEY BREWERS ASSOCIATION.
FRED H. HORLACHER, *Secretary.*

Dict. 4.

JANUARY 17TH, 1912.

Mr. JAMES M. REILLY,
#764 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. REILLY: I enclose copy of letter of January 11th from the Lehigh Valley Brewers' Association in regard to the Cumberland Glass Company. May I ask you if you can give me the facts in the matter, and oblige,

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/BT
Enclosure

[New Jersey State Brewers' Association, Newark, N. J. Rooms 506–507, No. 776 Broad Street.]

FEBRUARY 6, 1912.

HUGH F. FOX, ESQ.,
Sec., U. S. B. A., New York City.

DEAR SIR: With reference to the Cumberland Glass Company, it is represented to me from a very reliable source that Mr. Schumacher, President of the Company, has been very antagonistic, and is considered responsible for the result of the election in Vineland.

A mutual friend whose name I do not care to use, who is in a position to know, has so stated.

Very truly yours

JAS. N. REILLY, *Secretary.*

R/J

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

FEBRUARY 21, 1912.

CONFIDENTIAL.

To the MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

Mr. Schumacher, President of the Cumberland Glass Company, of Bridgeton, N. J., is reported to be responsible for keeping Vineland, N. J. "dry", and has been antagonistic to our interests in South Jersey.

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[Copy.]

NEW YORK, *Feb. 23, 1912.*

Mr. R. E. SHOEMAKER, *President,*
Cumberland Glass Company, Bridgeton, N. J.

DEAR SIR: Our attention has again been called to the fact, that you were a great help in causing Burlington County, New Jersey to go dry. When we brought this matter before you a short time ago, you assured us that such was not the case. Will you kindly confirm this statement by writing to Mr. H. F. Fox, Secretary of U. S. Brewers Association, 109 East 15th St., New York.

Your prompt attention will oblige,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) JACOB RUPPERT, JR.

FEBRUARY 24, 1912.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. FRED H. HORLACHER,
Secretary Lehigh Valley Brewers' Association, Allentown, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. HORLACHER: I enclose copy of our circular letter of February 21st from which you will note that I have referred to Mr. Schumacher, the President of the Cumberland Glass Company, as being antagonistic to our interests. You wrote me on January 11th about this, and your information was substantiated by the N. J. State Brewers' Association. However, Mr. Rudolph J. Schaefer, President of the N. Y. State Brewers' Association, informs me that a representative of the Cumberland Glass Company has called on him for an order, and absolutely denies the statements made and declares that Mr. Schumacher, the President of the Cumberland Glass Company, is interested in a hotel in Bridgton, N. J., and is an advocate of license.

The matter is one which has assumed much importance, and I wish you would be kind enough to go into it further and let me know what you can learn. Would it be possible for you to send somebody from your Association to Bridgton to make a first-hand investigation?

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

Enclosure
HFF/BT

[Horlacher Brewing Co., Allentown, Pa. Fred H. Horlacher, Geo. N. Horlacher.]

FEBRUARY 26, 1912.

Answered Feb. 27, 1912. H. F. F.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, U. S. Brewers Association, 109–111 E. 15th St., New York City.

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge your letter of February 24, relative to the position of Mr. Schumacher, President of the Cumberland Glass Mfg. Co., and his antagonism to our interests, the letter being an answer to my letter to you in which his case was reported to you, bearing date of January 11, 1912.

The substantiation of the charge by the N. J. Brewers Association, who are presumed to know the actual facts, would seem to be quite sufficient, for they are in a position to know, by reason not only of their proximity to Mr. Schumacher, but the continued agitation of the Local Option question before the N. J. State Legislature, where our associates have battled against the efforts of the Anti-Saloon League, for years. However, you evidently desire to be just to every man and to do no man harm without cause, and hence your desire for further information.

While we shall endeavor to go into the matter further and do what we can to throw further light on the position of Mr. Schumacher, we feel that the quickest and surest way to get at the truth is for you to address a letter, asking for the facts, to Mr. William Haggerty, % of the Williamstown Glass Co., Bridgeton, N. J., who is in a position to know all about it, being on the ground.

We thank you for your circular letter bearing like information on other offenders of the same stripe, and believe that you are doing most valuable service in spreading such information broadcast among the trade.

Thanking you for your attention paid to this matter, we remain,

Yours truly,

LEHIGH VALLEY BREWERS ASSOCIATION.
F. H. HORLACHER, *Sec'y.*

[Copy.]

NEW YORK, *Feb. 27, 1912.*

Mr. JACOB RUPPERT, JR.,
90th St. & 3rd Ave., City.

DEAR SIR: I have your valued favor of the 23rd inst., and in reply would say I presume it was a typographical error in naming Burlington County, N. J., as I live in Cumberland County and have no interest whatsoever in Burlington County, but I know for a fact that all of the hotels in Burlington, N. J., are licensed.

Regarding my home County (Cumberland), would say the fact of it going dry last Fall was in no way due to my influence or efforts as stated to you personally by me at our last conference. In fact, I personally advocated license, and am at the present time endorser on a note of Isaac L. Stetser, Bridgeton, N. J., who is one of the proprietors of the Commercial Hotel at Bridgeton, N. J., which can be verified by him and also by Senator B. H. Minch who holds the note in question, and if I had not felt reasonably certain that license would have been granted in our County last Fall, I most assuredly would not have assumed the responsibility of endorsing the said note for the above party.

I cannot possibly understand why the report as stated to you was sent to Mr. H. H. Fox, Sec'y of the U. S. Brewers Asso., unless it was by an unknown enemy who is desirous of injurying our pleasant relations with your Company. I have written Mr. H. H. Fox as requested by you and herewith enclose copy of my letter to him.

With kind regards, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

FEBRUARY 27, 1912.

Mr. F. H. HORLACHER,
Sec'y. Lehigh Valley Brewers' Asso.,
% Horlacher Brewing Company, Allentown, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. HORLACHER: I have your favor of the 26th instant, for which I am much obliged. We have to be exceedingly careful in matters such as the one that I wrote you about, so as to avoid libel suits. We must not only *know* the facts, but must be able to *prove* them!

Yours very truly,

HFF/FT *Secretary.*

[The Cumberland Glass Mfg. Co. General office: Bridgeton, N. J. New York office: 2 Hudson Street.]

NEW YORK, *Feb. 27, 12.*

Mr. H. H. FOX,
Sec'y U. S. Brewers Association, 109 East 15th St., City.

DEAR SIR: I am just in receipt of a letter from Colonel Jacob Ruppert under date of the 23rd inst., copy of which I inclose, and am also enclosing copy of my letter to him under even date which explains itself. If you would like to have an interview with me on this subject I will be glad to have a conference with you at any time and place to suit your convenience, and feel reasonably certain that I can establish the fact that I was in no way whatever interested in Cumberland County going dry last Fall, but am fully convinced that I do know the cause, and that was on account of the fact that there is approximately sixteen social clubs in Bridgeton, Cumberland County, N. J., and have been informed that the members of these clubs were very much opposed to license being granted, and have likewise been informed that they voted against license last Fall, owing to the fact that if license was granted it would seriously effect the revenue of their clubs. There is no doubt whatsoever in my mind but what the license element would have carried a majority of votes at the election last Fall if they could have succeeded in having the licenses of the social clubs revoked, thereby closing them up, about three months in advance of election. Three years ago Bridgeton went no license by thirty-seven votes and last Fall the temperance element carried Bridgeton by a majority of about 400 votes, and if you will write Isaac L. Stetser or John Kinkle at Bridgeton, N. J., who are the present owners of the Commercial Hotel I feel very positive that they will confirm my statement.

With kind regards, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

RES R. E. SHOEMAKER.

FEBRUARY 28, 1912.

Confidential

Mr. JAMES M. REILLY,
Sec'y. N. J. State Brewers' Association,
#776 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. REILLY: I inclose for your confidential information, copies of letters from the President of the Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company

to Mr. Jacob Ruppert, Jr., and to me. It is, of course, possible that the information which you have given me regarding the attitude of Mr. R. E. Shoemaker comes from some personal or trade enemy of his, who has an ulterior motive to serve. On the other hand, it is also possible that Mr. Shoemaker may be all right himself but some of his associates may be against us.

I am merely giving you this information now for the purpose of assisting you in your efforts to get at the absolute truth of the matter.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am,

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/BT
Enclosures

[New Jersey State Brewers' Association, Newark, N. J. Rooms 506–507, No. 776 Broad Street.]

FEBRUARY 29, 1912.

HUGH F. FOX, Esq.,
Sec., U. S. B. A., New York City.

DEAR SIR: With reference to the situation at Bridgeton, would say that I met the mutual friend referred to in my previous letter—W. F. H., who supplied me with the facts as represented to you.

Having read the exchange of letters between Mr. Schoemaker and Mr. Rupert I talked the matter over again, and he has made a positive statement to me that the President of the Cumberland Glass Company was in open opposition and that it was well known in Bridgeton.

The situation as represented by Mr. Shoemaker with reference to the number of social clubs and the influence they exert, accords with a statement furnished to me by Mr. Stetser of the Commercial Hotel.

I am satisfied that in making the statement to me, W. F. H. was not doing so as an interested party, nor with any thought of gaining an advantage.

Do you think it would be of any particular use for me to send someone to Bridgeton on this matter?

Respectfully yours,

JAS. M. REILLY, *Secretary.*

R/J

[Christian Feigenspan (A Corporation), Brewers and Bottlers of Lager Beer, Ales & Porter, Newark, New Jersey, U. S. A. Office of the President, C. W. Feigenspan. P. O. N., Trade-mark.]

MARCH 6, 1912.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secty., 109 E. 15th St., N. Y.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * * * *

Relative to the Shoemaker matter of Bridgeport, I understand that C. W. Shoemaker is the brains and ability behind the concern, and is vigorously opposed to license. The President of the concern, a brother of Mr. Shoemaker is the reverse. I think they are trying to put one over on us.

Yours truly,

C. W. FEIGENSPAN,

[United States Brewers' Association, 100–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

MARCH 21, 1912.

Confidential.

Re Cumberland Glass Mfg. Co.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Ass'n.

GENTLEMEN:—In our confidential circular of February 21st, we stated that it was reported that the President of the Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company had been antagonistic to our interests in South Jersey.

This is to say that Mr. R. E. Shoemaker, the President of the Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company, has called on me. He informs me that h

has personally advocated license, and is interested in the Commercial Hotel at Bridgeton, N. J., which town went dry last fall owing to the activity of sixteen social clubs, whose revenue, would be seriously affected if licenses were granted.

It seems that some fifteen years ago his brother, Mr. C. E. Shoemaker, was opposed to the Company's manufacturing bottles for the liquor business, but that he was overruled and has since had a change of heart and is now in favor of the license system.

Mr. R. E. Shoemaker showed his good faith by appearing at the recent Hearing in Trenton in opposition to the Local Option Bill; and I am satisfied that the Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company can now be counted on to befriend our interests.

In view of this explanation and the promise which Mr. Shoemaker has made as to co-operation in the future, the Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company would seem to be entitled to the consideration of the brewing trade.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

P. S.: The Cumberland Glass Mfg. Co. has applied for Associate Membership in the U. S. Brewers' Association.

[Christian Feigenspan (a corporation), Newark, New Jersey, U. S. A. Office of the president, C. W. Feigenspan.

MARCH 23, 1912.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secty., 109 E. 15th St., N. Y.

DEAR SIR:—I note your communication relative to the Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company. I am afraid as mentioned in my previous communication that you still have the Shoemakers mixed. Mr. R. E. is practically nothing but a figure head in the concern. Mr. C. W., or C. E. Shoemaker as you have him, was opposed and still is opposed to the liquor business. This is from reliable information.

Yours very truly,

C. W. FEIGENSPAN.

[Manufacturers and Merchants Association of New Jersey. Rooms of the Association: No. 776 Broad Street, Newark, N. J. Officers: President, George W. Jagie; Vice President, Wm. F. Hoffman; Treasurer, Joseph M. Byrne; Secretary, J. A. Roney. Advisory Board: William A. Baker, Chairman; Martin Ade, James W. Greene, A. Hannibal, Charles Agnew, William Kuenzler, J. S. Menagh, Frank R. Kelly. 'Phone Market 86.]

OCTOBER 10, 1912.

R. V. KUSER, Esq.,
The Peoples' Brewing Co., Trenton, N. J.

DEAR MR. KUSER: I am pleased to inform you that the Cumberland Glass Mfg. Co. made application to-day for membership in this Association. The necessary application blanks have been forwarded to the New York office of the concern. The letter to me was signed by R. E. Shoemaker, President.

Very truly yours,

J. A. RONEY.

JAR/KMB

The Manufacturers and Merchants Association of New Jersey was organized to protect the Brewing Industry of the State against the enactment of drastic and unreasonable statutes and ordinances working injury to one of the state's best revenue producing industries.

Miss Todd's Confidential File.

OCTOBER 14, 1912.

Mr. R. V. KUSER,
The Peoples Brg. Co., Trenton, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. KUSER: I have your favor of the 11th with its enclosures. You say: "I think we will let the matter drop." I take this to mean that you are satisfied with the action of the Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company in applying for membership in the Manufacturers & Merchants Association of New Jersey.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

(Copy.)

[The Cumberland Glass Mfg. Co., Bridgeton, N. J.]

MARCH 29, 1915.

MR. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter of the 12th instant has been referred to the writer upon his return from a short absence, and in reply would say we also received a letter from the National Association of Commerce and Labor, of Chicago, Illinois, advising us that they had made an arrangement with the Western bottle manufacturers that were members of their Association, to pay an assessment of one cent per gross on all beer bottles furnished the brewing interest by them, but no arrange had yet been consummated with the manufacturers in the East.

You doubtless are aware of the fact that we are members of the Merchants & Manufacturers Association of New York City, who are closely allied with the National Association of Commerce and Labor, and we stand ready to co-operate with these Associations as soon as they complete their arrangements with the Eastern bottle manufacturers.

Very truly yours,

THE CUMBERLAND MFG. CO.
R. E. SHOEMAKER (signed)

[From Andreae's files by subpœna.]

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant.]

MARCH 30, 1915.

THE NATL. ASSN. OF COMMERCE & LABOR,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: The Cumberland Glass Mfg. Co. of Bridgeton, N. J. have renewed their membership in the United States Brewers' Assn., and, at the same time, have written me under date of the 29th as per copy herewith. This is for your information.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF/ED Enc.

Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.

[From Andreae's files by subpœna.]

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever resort to any methods other than notifying the trade where there were concerns that did not deal directly with the trade, in your effort to force obedience of manufacturers to your mandate?

Mr. FOX. You will have to refresh my memory if anything of that kind occurred.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever undertake to cause labor trouble for a concern that you could not reach in any other way?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I show you the file marked "Exhibit File T." Do you remember the Nichols Copper Co.? Did you ever hear of that concern?

Mr. FOX. I do not recollect.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know a man named Ernest Bohm?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Who is he?

Mr. FOX. Mr. Bohm is, I think, secretary of the Central—what do they call it—one of the Federation of Labor organizations in New York City—the Central Council, I think they call it.

Maj. HUMES. Was he ever employed or retained by you or your association?

Mr. FOX. Not to my recollection.

Maj. HUMES. Was his service ever utilized by you for any purpose?

Mr. FOX. I think it is extremely likely, but I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. In what particulars have you availed yourselves of his services?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall.

Maj. HUMES. Didn't you have a conference and correspondence with him in an effort to cause labor trouble for the Nichols Copper Co. because you could not reach them in any other way?

Mr. FOX. I have absolutely no recollection of it.

Maj. HUMES. I wish you to refresh your recollection by examining the Exhibit File T and then answer the question.

Mr. FOX. I had entirely forgotten this entire transaction, and I shall have to rely upon the correspondence. [After further examination.] The correspondence to my mind shows this, that complaint was sent in by a brewery in Brooklyn with regard to the action of the Nichols Copper Co. or with regard to their attitude toward their men.

Senator OVERMAN. In what respect—in regard to prohibition?

Mr. FOX. The rules which they laid down. Here is a circular which apparently was issued by this company on beer and liquors. That circular goes on to state:

The State law says if an employee has been drinking and he is injured, the company does not have to pay him money.

The company has found that men who drink are injured much more than men who do not drink liquor.

Beginning February first (Monday) at 7 a. m. and thereafter, no beer, wine, spirits, or alcoholic drinks of any kind will be allowed to be brought into the works of the Nichols Copper Company.

Any employee having such in his possession in the plant will be dismissed immediately without notice.

All shift men in smelter, power, casing, or other department—that is, men who work eight house (hours) will not leave their work for lunch during work house (hours). If they wish lunch they will bring it with them when they come to work and eat it during spare minutes while working.

The rest of the correspondence shows that this was brought to our attention and that we endeavored, or that Mr. Bohm was asked to get information for us, and his letter is as follows:

N. Y. SEPT. 20th/15.

Confidential

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,

MY DEAR SIR: In re Nichols Co. here is the information. They employ about 2,800 Italians, Poles, Huns Slavs, are a non-union concern and manufacture copper bilots which they sell to coppersmiths, rolling mills and etc.

I have taken the matter up with the different trades and we are going after them hot footed. Will give you the information as the fight progresses. I also collared the circular they issued and gave the contents to the press.

Yours,

ERNEST BOHM.

From that it appears that it bears the inference that we tried to get the matter straightened out.

Senator NELSON. Is there any one of the letters directly upon the question?

Maj. HUMES. Not directly. This file contains the newspaper clipping that is referred to by Mr. Bohm.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE T–2.

BEER AND LIQUORS.

The State Law says if an employee has been drinking and he is injured, the Company does not have to pay him money.

The Company has found that men who drank are injured much more than men who do not drink liquor.

Beginning February 1st, (Monday) at 7 a. m. and thereafter no beer, wine, spirits or alcoholic drinks of any kind will be allowed to be brought into the works of the NICHOLS COPPER CO.

Any employee having such in his possession in the plant will be dismissed immediately without notice.

All shift men in Smelter, Power, Casing or other departments—that is, men who work 8 house, will not leave their work for lunch during work house. If they wish lunch they will bring it with them when they come to work and eat it during spare minutes while working.

The 9-hour day men can leave the works between 12 noon and 12.30 for lunch if their homes are near enough so they can get back to work in half an hour.

If 9-hour day men who leave works between 12 and 12.30 noon, go to saloons for lunch, we will assume they buy beer and they will be discharged without notice.

For every 100 men injured, the following table shows the number injured each period of 3 hours:

	Men.
Between 7 a. m. and 10 a. m	30
Between 10 a. m. and 1 p. m	16
Between 1 p. m. and 4 p. m	36
Between 4 p. m. and 7 p. m	5
Between 7 p. m. and 10 p. m	7
Between 10 p. m. and 1 a. m	4
Between 1 a. m. and 4 a. m	2
Between 4 a. m. and 7 a. m	0
Total	100

This is, after men come to work at 7 a. m. there are more injured, also after men come to work at 12.30 there are more men injured.

For this reason any employee who gives evidence of having drank liquor before coming to work either by his actions, his way of speaking, or his breath, will be discharged without notice.

Heads of departments and watchmen are instructed to discharge all men instantly for any of the above reasons.

The Company believes that the abolition of liquor will be for the best interests not only for the Company but for the employees.

It is suggested that all employees take this circular home and read it to their wives and ask their wives if they do not think these are very good rules for everybody.

LAUREL HILL, *January 16th, 1915.*
LONG ISLAND, QUEENS CO.

[Otto Huber Brewery, Meserole St. from Bushwick Ave. to Waterbury St. Joseph Huber, Prest. & Treas. F. Max Huber, Sec'y.]

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN, NEW YORK,
February 5, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec.,*
U. S. Brewers Association, #50 Union Square, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed please find copy of the circular, issued by the Nichols Copper Co., Laural Hill, L. I., it was brought home by one of our drivers yesterday. We undertand that there are 5 Saloons in the immediate neighborhood of the factory, catering to the need of the factory.

Yours very truly,

OTTO HUBER BREWERY.

FEB. 8, 1915.

The OTTO HUBER BREWERY,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have your favor of the 5th inst., with the most important circular of which you enclosed copy. I take it that the Nichols Copper Company must be running an open shop? If this is not correct, will you kindly let me know, and oblige,

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[Master Brewers' Association of the United States, District New York. August Lüchow's Hotel, 110 East 14th Street. Robert Weigel, President, F. Muench Brewery, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Max Papai, Vice-President, Lion Brewery, New York City; John Koenig, jr., Secretary, Lembeck & Betz Brewing Co., Jersey City N. J.; John Knoll, Treasurer, Excelsior Brewing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.]

NEW YORK, *Feb. 10, 1915.*

The UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
50 Union Square, New York City.

GENTLEMEN:—Enclosed we hand you copy of the rules and regulations as formulated by the Nichols Copper Co., Laurel Hill, Queens Co., Long Island, which concern we are informed, employ about eleven hundred men.

Since these rules as laid down by this concern are a detriment to our business and mutual interests, it was the sense of our meeting to forward this copy to you for any action your esteemed Association deem fit to take.

Very truly yours,

MASTER BREWERS ASS'N
OF THE UNITED STATES,
DISTRICT NEW YORK.
JOHN KOENIG, JR., *Sec'y.*

[Otto Huber Brewery, Meserole St. from Bushwick Ave. to Waterbury St. Joseph Huber, Prest. & Treas. F. Max Huber, Sec'y.]

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, *February 11, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec.,*
50 Union Square,
New York.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 8th inst. would say that we have made inquiry as requested by you, and find that the Nichols Copper Company, is running an open shop.

Yours very truly,

OTTO HUBER BREWERY,

FEB. 17, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. JOHN KOENIG, Jr., *Secy.,*
Master Brewers' Association,
110 East 14th Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: This is to acknowledge your favor of the 10th inst., regarding the Nichols Copper Co. of Laurel Hill, L. I. I find on inquiry that this company does no business with brewers, and is not a union plant, so that it is not clear what we can do in the matter.

Thanking you for the information, I am,

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[New York Call, February 22, 1915.]

NICHOLS COPPER CO. FORBIDS MEN GOING OUT TO EAT; SNATCH BITES DURING WORK.

Exploitation as a fine art has been mastered to perfection by the Nichols Copper Co., Laurel Hill, L. I., which employs about 2,800 workers. The latest

ukase it has issued decrees that the "shift men" are forbidden to leave the plant for lunch during the eight hours of their work. In a burst of touching generosity the company adds that "if the workers wish lunch they will bring it with them when they come to work and EAT IT DURING SPARE MINUTES WHILE WORKING."

This order was issued in connection with a circular forbidding the workers to drink beer or any kind of liquor in or out of the plant under pain of instant dismissal. Those employes working nine hours a day are to be permitted to go home for lunch—time allowed being thirty minutes—"if their homes are near enough so they can get back to work in half an hour."

If nine-hour day men go to a saloon for lunch, the circular posted in the factory continues, "we will assume that they buy beer, and they will be discharged without notice."

No court in the land has ever dared to interfere in a like manner with the freedom of a man. When workers tried to get through the legislature a bill limiting the hours of certain employes, the court objected to allowing a clause to stand providing for a certain closing hour for mercantile establishments, holding that the fourteenth constitutional amendment guaranteed every man the right to do as he pleased so long as public welfare was not endangered.

Yet the Nichols Copper Co. has taken it upon itself to subject its workers to a condition of slavery and bondage which the Civil War is supposed to have abolished.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

NEW YORK, *February 27, 1915.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN:—The following is submitted for the information of our members:

* * * * * * *

NICHOLS COPPER CO., LAUREL HILL, QUEENS COUNTY, N. Y.

This company employs over 2,000 men, and is a non-union concern. It manufactures copper billets which are sold to coppersmiths, rolling-mills, etc. The company has issued a circular to its men, notifying them that "all shift men in Smelter, Power, Casing or other departments—that is, men who work eight hours, will not leave their work for lunch during work hours. If they wish lunch they will bring it with them when they come to work and eat it during spare minutes while working. The nine-hour men can leave the works between 12 noon and 12:30 for lunch, if their homes are near enough so they can get back to work in half an hour. If nine-hour day men who leave works between 12 and 12:30 noon go to saloons for lunch, we will assume that they buy beer and they will be discharged without notice. If any employee gives evidence of having drunk liquor before coming to work either by his actions, his way of speaking or his breath, he will be discharged without notice."

The company declares that it has found that "men who drink liquor are injured much more than the men who do not drink."

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

N. Y. FEB. 20th/15

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX.

MY DEAR SIR. In re Nicols Co here is the information:

They employ about 2800 italians, poles, huns, slavs, are a non-union concern and manufacture copper bilots which they sell to coppersmiths, rolling mills and etc.

I have taken the matter up with the different trades and we are going after them hot footed. Will give you the information as the fight progresses. I also collared the circular they issued and gave the contents to the press.

Yours,

ERNEST BOHM.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Bohm was apparently employed by you to look this thing up.

Mr. FOX. He was certainly employed to get information. I do not know whether he was employed for anything else.

Senator OVERMAN. He said that he was employed to go after them.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that Ernest Bohm was treasurer of Labor's Peace Council and associated with David Lamar and Frank Buchanan, an organization that it has been clearly established by the courts was financed by the German Government and in connection with which those who have been indicted have also been convicted and repudiated by the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. FOX. I do not know, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that is a fact?

Mr. FOX. I remember something in the papers about it, but it is very vague. I knew this man Bohn very casually.

Maj. HUMES. Is he still employed by you from time to time?

Mr. FOX. I do not think we have employed him for a long time.

Maj. HUMES. Well, how long?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall. I do not think I ever actually employed him. I think I may have given him a $20 bill occasionally to get us a piece of information; but his relation, if he has any, would be with the local people.

Senator NELSON. He has been engaged in peace work?

Mr. FOX. I should think so. But he is still the secretary of this Central Federated Labor Union in New York, and his relations naturally would be with them and not with me.

Maj. HUMES. Did this correspondence occur during the time of the existence of Labor's Peace Council?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I do not know whether the dates synchronize or not. I do not know the date of the peace council or the date of the other thing.

Maj. HUMES. I think, from recollection, it is only fair to say that since that time Mr. Bohn himself has repudiated the Labor's Peace Council.

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Since that time?

Mr. FOX. I am perfectly sure he could not hold his present job if he had not. How it was brought about, I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Because it was on the record I wanted to make that statement, in fairness.

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember your transactions with the Goodyear Rubber Company?

Mr. BOWEN. I remember that we——

Maj. HUMES. You had a lot of trouble there, did you not?

Mr. FOX. We had a lot of trouble there; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you finally forced them into line, or what you considered sufficiently into line?

Senator OVERMAN. You persuaded them?

Mr. FOX. I do not know whether we fought them into line, but I think they got into line.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; and the president of the company came down to New York to confer with you, did he not, to get the matter fixed up?

Mr. Fox. My recollection is that the Goodyear Rubber Co. practically tried to make me their salesman.

Maj. HUMES. Well, it was necessary because of the information that your association had given to the trade, after the differences were largely adjusted—it was necessary for them to come to you to get a letter to each individual brewer that they tried to sell tires to, before brewers' bureau would purchase them?

Mr. Fox. I do not know whether it was necessary, but I know they tried to do it, and I was good-natured enough to help.

Maj. HUMES. Is not the reason you pursued that course in that case because you were trying to force them—before you would send out a general circular to the trade you were trying to get them—to openly indorse your activities and to go on record in support of your cause, rather than to maintain an opposition or neutrality?

Mr. Fox. I think I certainly tried to win their friendship.

Maj. HUMES. And you got them to the point where they agreed to maintain neutrality on the question?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. But you declined to notify the trade of their neutrality, but said to them that you would help them out with individual brewers that they might want to come in contact with?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And in the meantime you were trying to force them to commit themselves to the wet issue and to support the Ohio State Brewers' Association: is not that a fact?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall it. The correspondence will no doubt bear it out.

Maj. HUMES. Day after day they wrote to you and asked you to write a letter to some individual brewer to say that they had adjusted their differences, and each time asking you if you would not send out a general circular, or give general notice to the trade?

Mr. Fox (after examining File K-2). I identify all this correspondence, and I have no doubt that what you state is correct, but I——

Maj. HUMES. In other words, you do not want to take issue on that proposition.

Mr. Fox. I do not want to take issue on that: no, sir.

(The documents in the file referred to are here printed in the record in full as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE K-2.

[The Manufacturers and Dealers Association of America. Officers: R. E. Bruns, president; Wm. Bartholomay, jr., secretary and treasurer. Publicity committee: Charles F. Felt, V. M. Ollier, Richard Griesser. Address all mail to association headquarters, Delaware Building, 36 W. Randolph St., Chicago, U. S. A.: telephone Central 802. A. P. Daniels, business manager. Our principles: Boost for others are you would have them boost for you. We are co-operative—together we assist. We oppose restrictive or class legislation.]

Answered Jan. 4, 1915. H. F. F.

CHICAGO, *January 2nd, 1915.*

DEAR SIR: We understand that Ernest Deibel of the Renner Brg. Co., Akron Ohio, is going to make complaint to you in regard to the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. of that city as being unfair to our side.

The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. of that city are members of this Association, and from that standpoint we must defend them and must consider them in the right until proven wrong. They report to us that they are accused of sending out Dry editorials in their official organ, and that they posted notices

throughout their works asking their men to vote for the Drys. They explain as follows:—

"That their official organ had always been censured by their Superintendent. The editor was a young man who was a member of the Y. M. C. A., and this particular Issue and the only one as they claim, had an article written by this young man asking the employees to vote for the Drys. The paper was taken to the Superintendent and as he was so busy with big orders, he said to the young man, "Now you know what we want and what we don't want, is the paper all right? the young man answered yes." The article appeared and as soon as it was discovered, the young man was discharged right then and there. The Company says they will prove that there was no notices put up in their works at any time. They further claim that they had a banquet where wine was served. They also claim that they have $30,000 invested in special machinery for making Hose for Breweries, they cite that as an illustration how foolish they would be to do anything against their own interests."

Now before you accept anything from the Renner Brg. Co., as facts, we want you to investigate and give the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. a fair trial, and if they are guilty, we will not uphold them; at that, the Renner Brg. Co. may be perfectly right, as they are really on the grounds and know the case better than we do, but at the same time we are duty bound to defend our members, which we insist upon doing, and will fight for them just as much as we are fighting Prohibition. Please give this your immediate attention.

On the 16th of this month we are going to have a Grand Get Together Meeting with all of the principal women of Chicago at the Congress Hotel.

Mrs. Trout, Mrs. Treadwell, and Mrs. Zimmerman, the leading women in Suffrage and Club work are going to speak for us, what do you think of that for good work?

Yours very truly,

MANUFACTURERS AND DEALERS ASSOCIATION.
A. P. DANIELS, *Business Manager.*

Mr. HUGH FOX,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
APD/AN.

JAN. 22, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. WILLIAM F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: Thanks for your letter of the 20th regarding the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company. Their Assistant Secretary explained that "The Wingfoot Clan" was run by the employees, and until the article "Home Rule & Prohibition" appeared, no attempt had been made by the company to supervise it. This is now being done, and he assures me that no such break will be made again.

He admitted that the President of the company had contributed $100 to the Anti-saloon League of Akron, but declares that this contribution was made in the usual careless way in which a man of affairs responds to appeals that come from business associates, and assures that it has no real significance, and that the very man who made the contribution voted "wet."

This, of course, you can take for what it is worth, but the question is whether the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is not now in such a chastened mood, that its support might easily be obtained provided you think that the company is of sufficient importance from the Ohio viewpoint.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W.

FEB. 8, 1915.

Mr. WILLIAM F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: May I refer again to my letter of Jan. 22nd in regard to the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company? I have received several letters from our members regarding the matter, and requesting information as to what action will be taken upon it. Apparently the article from "The Wingfoot Clan" of October 17, 1914, has been reproduced and mailed to them. I judge that in some parts of the country the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company has friends among our members.

I am inclined to think that it is unwise to demand that the man who wrote the article should be discharged. If the Company, through its President, would make a satisfactory statement regarding the prohibition question, and other matters of special interest to you in Ohio, it should absolve them from further opposition. Can you handle this, or would you prefer that we write direct to the Company; or do you think we had better let the matter rest entirely?

I shall appreciate your suggestions and co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

HFF/W.

Secretary.

[Copy.]

THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER COMPANY,
Akron, Ohio, Feb. 9, 1915.

GMS/EG

GENERAL LETTER NO. 4064.

To Branch Managers,
District Managers,
Motor Truck Salesmen,
Department Managers.

A situation grew out of the State Election in Ohio last fall which our salesmen who call upon the brewers and liquor trade are apt to encounter.

The pre-election campaign was a bitter one, and a great deal of feeling developed among the campaigners on both sides. The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. have been charged with having supported the Prohibition side of the campaign in a number of ways, and a movement has been started with the intention of restricting the sale of Goodyear products to the liquor trade.

In order that our Organization may be able to handle any charge or misrepresentation against this company as a result of this campaign, we give you the following fcts: It has been charged:

(1) That an editorial appeared in the "Wingfoot Clan" issue of Oct. 17, 1914, urging Goodyear factory employees to vote for prohibition.

Answer: The "Wingfoot Clan" is a publication issued by the Labor Department of our factory organization for the purpose of distributing factory news among employees and promoting good will among factory workers. It is not supposed to deal with political, religious, racial, or sociological problems, which would be outside its province. Nor is it supposed to express opinions on subjects which might be offensive to any industry with whom we are doing business. Up to this time the Company has not thought it necessary to exercise censorship on the articles written. From now on a strict censorship has been put into effect on this organ to the end that nothing offensive to any industry with whom we may be doing business shall appear. It is true that the editorial referred to did appear, but it in no way represented the views of the corporation.

(2) That a week later a similar communication appeared in the "Wingfoot Clan".

Answer: The answer to this charge would be the same as that above.

(3) That Mr. F. A. Seiberling, President of this Company, did personally contribute $100 toward the expenses of the prohibition campaign.

Answer: This is true. Mr. Seiberling was solicited along with all of the influential men of Akron, and he did make a contribution of $100. A contribution for a similar amount was made by the officers of two other rubber companies of Akron. You can well appreciate that if Mr. Seiberling had been in full accord with the Dry Movement this contribution would in all probability have been nearer $10,000 than $100. Mr. Seiberling was well within his personal rights and in making this contribution he had no thought other than it was a personal matter and did not reflect the views of the corporation in the campaign that was then on.

(4) That at the time of the Convention held in Akron, Goodyear salesmen paraded the streets with "dry" buttons.

Answer: This is absolutely untrue as every salesman knows who attended the convention and banquet.

(5) That during the campaign the factory and general offices of the company in Akron were placarded with signs urging employees to vote "dry."

Answer: This is absolutely untrue.

In contradiction to the general charge that this company is unfair to the liquor interests, we beg to state that we have been contributing an amount

equal to One Per cent of all invoices for materials sold by this company to the brewery trade, which went to a fund to combat National Prohibition Movement. We are also members of the Manufacturers and Dealers' Association having headquarters in Chicago, composed of manufacturers of various kinds who sell to brewers and similar institutions.

These are the facts and you are privileged to show this statement to anyone who questions our position and intentions in the matter.

In every organization men's personal opinions differ and men have a right to their principles and personal beliefs, but it must be apparent to anyone that this Company as a business institution could not and would not knowingly align itself in a partisan way against the interests of an industry as large as the liquor business, with whom it has enjoyed such substantial and pleasant business relations.

G. M. STADELMAN, *Secretary.*

[The Ohio Brewers' Association, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio. Executive board: Adam Schantz, president, Dayton, Ohio; G. L. Pilliod, vice president, Toledo, Ohio; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, Ohio; S. Fisbel, Cleveland, Ohio; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, Ohio; Chas. G. Steinle, Delphos, Ohio; John Unverzagt, Columbus, Ohio. Wm. F. Hess, secretary and treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio. Long-distance telephone, Canal 3182.]

FEBRUARY 13, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Referring further to our letter of February 11th, in reply to your letter of February 8th, concerning the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, our latest advice is that the President and Secretary are broad enough to be liberal, and it is believed that they have heard from enough quarters of their position that they will be very careful as to the action of their Company in the future. This advice is coupled with the further information that the majority of the directors of their board are dry. It is also stated that there is no foundation for the rumor that posters were placed about their factory advising the men to vote dry.

Under the circumstances, I would suggest that the matter be left at rest until arise further developments.

Yours very truly,

WM. F. HESS, *Sec'y-Treas.*

FEB. 17, 1915.

Mr. H. J. PARKER,
Secy., Manufacturers & Dealers League, New York.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 15th inst., the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company publishes a sort of house organ called "The Wingfoot Clan," which, until recently, was run by its employees. On Oct. 17, 1914 an article appeared strongly favoring prohibition. The Assistant Secretary of the Company called on me a short time ago to explain that until this article appeared no attempt had been made by the company to supervise the publication, but this is now being done, and he assured me that no such break would be made again. He admitted that the President of the company had contributed $100 to the Anti-Saloon League, but declared that this contribution was made in the usual careless way in which a man of affairs responds to appeals from business associates, and assured me that it had no real significance, and that the very man who made the contribution voted wet. I took the matter up with the Secretary of the Ohio Brewers' Association, who replied under date of Feb. 13th as follows:

"Our latest advice is that the President and Secretary are broad enough to be liberal, and it is believed that they have heard from enough quarters of their position that they will be very careful as to the action of their company in the future. This advice is coupled with the further information that the majority of the directors of their board are dry. It is also stated that there is no foundation for the rumor that posters were placed about their factory advising the men to vote dry."

I do not feel justified, under these circumstances, in sending any letter to our members exonerating the company, at the present time, but it is evident that they are now in a chastened mood.

Yours very truly.

Secretary.

HFF./ED.

[General office, Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n. Adolphus Busch, president; August A Busch, vice president; Edw. A. Faust, 2d vice president; E. S. Clauss, 3d vice president; Adolphus Busch, III, 4th vice president; Edward Magnus, 5th vice president; Robert Holm, secretary and treasurer. Brewers of fine beer exclusively.]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *March 2, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. Fox,
Secretary U. S. B. A.,
50 Union Sq., New York.

DEAR SIR:—In re. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio.

Herewith circular of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., referring to an article which appeared in their factory publication the "Wing Foot Clan."

I am unfortunately a stockholder in this corporation. Have taken pains to have this matter straightened out through the kindly offices of the Ohio State Brewers Assn.

Their competitors are making the most use of this article to obtain trade from the brewing industry and in my candid opinion they are no more guilty than the at least two of the other big tire concerns of Akron.

Herewith am enclosing you the correspondence I have had on the subject which please return after perusal for my files. I do not remember of having seen any notice from the U. S. B. A. regarding the Goodyear Co., and would thank you very much to inform me if or not it is justice to allow this matter to run on. Their explanation as to how the offending article appeared is plausible, and I am sure it will never be repeated.

A few days ago the local manager of the Ford Motor Car Co. spent the afternoon with me trying by every argument to undo Henry Ford's unfortunate remark when he came out in favor Natl. Prohibition. From a number of reliable sources I am given to understand that a number of cancellations of orders on this account and the further loss of business in St. Louis territory is responsible for this. Have you heard anything from other quarters regarding this?

Very truly yours,

ROBERT HOLM.

MARCH 4, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. ROBERT HOLM,
Sec'y & Treas., Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n., St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 2nd with its enclosures, which I return herewith. The Assistant Secretary of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company called on me some weeks ago and gave me his explanation of the matter referred to, and I wrote to the Ohio Brewers' Association telling them that I thought the Company was in a penitent mood and that there was a good opportunity of securing its real friendship and co-operation. For this reason I had not sent out any notice to our members which would prejudice the Company, but I do not think that we should, on the other hand, send out a letter which would put them on the preferred list, so long as their attitude is merely "one of strict neutrality." We have found by experience that such a letter has immense advertising value, and sometimes makes a good deal of feeling among the fair-minded competitors of a concern that is thus singled out, especially when such competitors have always been generous supporters of our interests. I believe that I explained this fully to the Assistant Secretary of the Goodyear Company when he called.

I am enclosing a copy of my recent article on "The Effects of Intemperance on Industry." Will it not be possible for you to get the Company to endorse the position taken therein, and at the same time to declare its opposition to State and National Prohibition? If this were done I should, of course, feel justified in sending a letter to our members which would be helpful to them.

Regarding the Ford Motor Car Company, I had not heard that they had been loosing business by Mr. Ford's attitude, but if this is the case in St. Louis undoubtedly it is true elsewhere. I may say to you, in confidence, that we are now having a study made of the automobile concerns in Michigan with special reference to their attitude on our question.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/KHD
Enc.

[General office, Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n.]

ST. LOUIS, Mo., U. S. A., *March 8, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Secy. U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR SIR: We are in receipt of your favor of the 4th returning our letters, etc from the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., and note all you say regarding this concern.

We enclose copy of our letter to them in which we sent copy of your article on "The Effects of Intemperance on Industry," and will let you know what their reply is just as soon as we receive same.

Yours very truly,

ROBT. HOLM, *Secy. & Treas.*

[Copy.]

ST. LOUIS, *March 8, 1915.*

Mr. G. M. STADELMAN,
Secy. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio.

DEAR SIRS: I think that I have done everything possible to remove the effect of the "Wingfoot Clan" publication and Mr. S.'s personal donation of $100 to the cause of the prohis.

Now all this was done in good faith and because I am a stockholder and hope to receive in turn like good faith. I am enclosing you copy of "The Effects of Intemperance on Industry," which I would thank you to read and also show to Mr. Seiberling. And if you and he agree on it, can't you endorse the position taken? This pamphlet was written by Mr. H. F. Fox, Secretary of the United States Brewers' Assn., and if you endorse the views expressed in the pamphlet and at same time declare your opposition to State & National Prohibition I am in a position to assure you that it will result in an official letter being sent to all the U. S. B. A. members and affiliations in the United States.

Think it over—not one out of one thousand owners of automobiles who have money to spend are for prohibition. It is the class that has no money, that is envious of everybody who has funds to buy either autos or an occasional drink that is behind Dr. Baker & Co. of the "Anti-Saloon League."

The Firestone people have completely cleared themselves and now I would like you to take this one more step to wipe out your competitors argument that you are not friendly to us.

Very truly yours,

ROB'T HOLM.

[General office, Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n.]

ST. LOUIS, Mo., U. S. A., *March 19, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. FOX, Secy., U. S. Brewers Assn., 50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR SIR:—Enclosed herewith find copy of letter I received from The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. today, relative to their endorsing your article on "The Effects of Intemperance on Industry," and you note they will not endorse this article.

Yours, very truly,

ANHEUSER-BUSCH BREWING ASSN.,
ROBERT HOLM, *Secy. & Treas.*

DEAR MR. FOX: Isn't it unfair to make these people after they have been penitent and seen the error of their ways, declare themselves on our side when all the others of the big tire concerns are neutral? This my personal view. Kindly advise me.

[Copy.]

[The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio.]

MR. ROBT. HOLM,
Secretary, Anheuser-Busch Brewing Assn., St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Both Mr. Seiberling and the writer have read the pamphlet on "The Effects of Intemperance on Industry," in which is involved a scientific problem; namely, what is the effect of alcoholic drinks on the efficiency and health of mankind.

Since neither Mr. Seiberling nor the writer have given this subject sufficient study to qualify as experts, we feel that we should continue to assume a neutral attitude toward this question, just as we would toward any question on which we are insufficiently advised. We feel the necessity for taking this position especially in view of the fact that some of the experts cited in the pamphlet you enclosed are rather uncertain in their conclusions on this subject.

We believe that as a stockholder in this company you can see the necessity for the corporation preserving an entirely neutral attitude in connection with all questions which do not involve company business. One of our employees made a mistake in giving publicity to his personal views in connection with the prohibition matter, and we took immediate steps to prevent a recurrence of such a discussion. We have also attempted to explain our attitude to the liquor and brewery interests throughout the country. In view of the assurances we have given as to our neutral attitude in the future, we feel as though it would be best to let the matter rest, excepting that we propose to explain our position to those who have not yet had matters fully explained to them.

We thank you very much for the effort you have made in our behalf, and we hope that the combined work of all our friends will result in restoring the friendship that existed before our unfortunate experience.

Yours, very truly,

THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER CO.
G. M. STADELMAN, *Secretary.*

MARCH 22, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. ROBERT HOLM,
Secretary, Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n.,
St. Louis, Mo.

MY DEAR MR. HOLM: I have your favor of the 19th with its enclosure, and I think that under the circumstances the only thing we can do is, like the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, "to let the matter rest." We have no intention whatever of saying or doing anything that would be unfriendly to them, but I think you will agree with me that we could not on the other hand go out of our way to notify our members that they are conspicuously friendly in view of their neutral attitude.

I have received a considerable number of letters from our members on the matter, and have put the position of the Company plainly before them that they are not unfriendly, and that we had reason to hope that they might be completely won over to our side before long. Evidently this is impossible and I feel that we have, like yourself, done all that we can in the matter. I am surprise, however, that they should have any hesitation about expressing themselves on the perfectly reasonable and moderate attitude which I took in the article entitled "The Effects of Intemperance on Industry." The point I made had nothing to do with the "scientific problem" but simply touched upon the attitude that the employer ought to take in the matter. It has been endorsed without qualification by a number of other large employers who have no connection with, or interest in the brewing industry at all, but who have been quoted recently by the prohibitionists as "being against us."

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

[UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION, 50 Union Square. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant.]

NEW YORK, *March 22, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose, for your information, copy of a letter received from Mr. Holm of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, regarding the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, with copy of the enclosure referred to, together with my reply to Mr. Holm.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX,
Secretary.

W.
Encs. 8.

[From Andreae files.]

MARCH 25, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec., U. S. B. A.,*
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I have yours of March 22nd, with enclosures relative to the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, at Akron, Ohio.

I agree with you that the fires built under this concern will no doubt result in their neutrality on our question and that the matter should be allowed to rest, at least for the time being.

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

[The Manufacturers and Dealers League of the City and State of New York, 2625 Grand Central Terminal, New York. (Address All Communications to 2625 Grand Central Terminal, New York.) Officers: Chas. Zoller, President (Chas. Zoller Co.), 211 East 94th Street, New York; G. L. Savage, Vice-President (Golden Gate Mfg. Co.), 9 Desbrosses Street, New York; Watson A. Guthrie, Treasurer (Edward Ermold Co.), 652 Hudson Street, New York; H. J. Parker, Secretary, 2625 Grand Central Terminal, New York. Board of Directors: A. Kalthoff, Chairman (H. D. Berner & Winterbauer Co.), New York; Chas. Roos, of Aug. Roos' Son, 429 East 91st Street, New York; S. V. Steiner, of S. S. Steiner, 17 Battery Place, New York; W. V. Hirsh, of Hirsh & Schofield, 18 Water Street, New York; Frank Pentlarge, of U. S. Bung Mfg. Co., 50 South 2d Street, Brooklyn; Ferd Goebel, of S. & F. Uhlmann, 17 Battery Place, New York; Theodore Rosenwalt (T. Rosenwald & Co.), 116 Broad Street, New York; J. Samuel Smoot (Burns Bros.), 50 Church Street, New York; J. S. Raymond (Buffalo Cereal Co.), F-6 Produce Exchange, New York; A. S. Barritt (Manhattan Rubber Mfg. Co.), 18 Vesey Street, New York; Louis Block, 45 East 42d Street, New York.]

NEW YORK, *May 18th, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers Association,
50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR MR. FOX: This will introduce to you Mr. H. G. Boyer, Ass't Manager Motor Truck Dept. of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio, who would appreciate it if you will grant him the privilege of a few minutes of your time to discuss certain matters relative to his company.

In this connection I would advise you that the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. are now members in good standing in our League, and from advices received I believe this applies to the other Leagues throughout the country. I am also fully of the opinion that they have tried every means possible to overcome the error made during the last State campaign in Ohio.

Any advice you can give Mr. Boyer relative to this matter will be appreciated by

Yours very truly,

H. J. PARKER, *Secretary.*

Answered Jun. 3, 1915. H. F. F.

[Confidential File.]

MAY 19, 1915.

Mr. F. A. SEIBERLING,
President, Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.,
Akron, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: In view of the repeated inquiries that we have received in regard to your attitude, and that of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, on the prohibition question, I am taking the liberty of writing to ask if you care to give me an expression of your views?

Perhaps it may facilitate your action if I state our position in regard to prohibition and the license question, together with the relation of the employer to his employees on the drink question.

1. In regard to the latter it is conceded even by Organized Labor leaders, that drunkenness is a proper cause for discharge. We think that the employer has the right to tell his men what they shall or shall not do during their working hours. It is also his right to establish, if he can, a standard of physical and mechanical efficiency which can only be lived up to by men of temperate habits. When, however, the employer dictates to his men as to what they shall or shall eat or drink, or what places they shall frequent during their own leisure hours, he is interfering in an unwarranted way with their personal liberty.

Are these your views?

2. In regard to prohibition, we believe that it has absolutely broken down in the administrative sense, and that it is not only impractical, but has brought serious evils in its train. In sparsely populated places where people occupy their own homes and there is no need of a social centre such as the saloon, prohibition or no-license sometimes works fairly well; but this can be accomplished best under an electoral system which allows each community to register its own wishes, so that localized public sentiment is back of the law. One of the reasons why County Option breaks down is because the unit is too large, and the people of the cities are subject to the dominance of outsiders, while the enforcement of no-license in the cities is left to the local police who know that the people who pay them for their services are opposed to the law. It stands to reason that the police unit and the license area must correspond to each other.

How does this accord with your views?

3. With regard to the saloon question, we believe that the licensing principle should primarily be that which meets the reasonable convenience of the people who patronize the saloons; also that the saloons must be conducted absolutely in accordance with the law, and that they must be conducted in a clean and sanitary manner. Moreover, we advocate that the premises should be open to public scrutiny by the removal of screens or other obstructions, and that the saloon must be kept entirely free from gambling and other evils, and from all disreputable practices. We also urge the establishment of refreshment places which may be family resorts, and in which all kinds of beverages are dispensed. We are working in co-operation with the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association to bring about these conditions, believing that in all the important centers of population the well-regulated saloon, under rigid license laws, offers the best solution of this problem.

Do you endorse this position?

4. Inasmuch as prohibition is ruinous to the people who have invested their money in any branch of the liquor business, we believe that they should be compensated out of public funds in accordance with the principle which is being followed in all European countries where any form of prohibition prevails, and in accordance with the action taken recently by the Province of Quebec on this question, in case prohibition is adopted.

How does this strike you?

In conclusion let me say that we are trying to inform the people of this country as to the merits of beer, and are basing our claims upon the fact that it has recognized food value, and has such a small percentage of alcohol that it may fairly be classed as a temperance drink.

If you are in accord with these views, and with the standard which is here set up, we feel justified in asking that you give us your hearty co-operation and support. Will you do this?

Hoping to be favored with an early reply, I am,

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Office of President.]

AKRON, OHIO, *May 29, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been absent from home the major part of ten days and returning, find your letter of the 19th.

I will be pleased to give you my views on the subject matter in which you are interested, provided it would be treated as purely personal, not to be used outside. I do this from a feeling that my views on questions sociological, moral or religious are of no concern to anyone but myself, but I am prompted to answer your letter from a feeling that you are not seeking information in the spirit of hostility, but have an interest in knowing my views growing out of the attack that has been made upon the Company of which I am President, and which has been as unfair and unjust as I have ever known in my business experience.

As to The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, it has no attitude whatsoever on any of these questions, that are wholly outside of its business undertaking.

I would be much pleased to meet you and go over the subject with you in person when I am in New York, where I am usually quartered at the Waldorf, or I will be glad to write you a personal letter with the understanding above recited.

Yours truly,

F. A. SEIBERLING, *President.*

FAS: J
Answered Jun. 3 1915 H. F. F.

JUNE 4TH, 1915.

Mr. F. A. SIEBERLING,
Pres., The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of May 29th. I shall, of course, be glad to have an expression of your views and to treat them as purely personal, if you wish it. I am simply trying to get such an expression as would warrant me in notifying our members that your attitude is entirely friendly. We should very much like to be able to remove any prejudice that exists against the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, and in my letter to you of May 19th, I tried to state our position in such reasonable terms that you might, if you saw fit, simply state that you were in accord with it. This would be quite sufficient.

I have received visits from two of your representatives in this connection, and wrote you after discussing the matter fully with them. At the present time, I am only in a position to say to inquirers that the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company is not unfriendly, and that "it has no attitude whatsoever on any of these questions," which, I think you will admit, constitutes a rather colorless appeal.

I should be very glad indeed to meet you on your next visit to New York, but a letter such as I have indicated would dispose of the whole matter.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF: JD

[Fuhrmann & Schmidt Brewing Co., Inc. Beer, porter, and ales.]

Answered Jun. 14 1915 H. F. F.

SHAMOKIN, PA., *June 8, '15.*

HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y., United States Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR SIR:—Enclosed find circular letter of "American Civic League," explaining itself.

We are using the tires of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. almost exclusively, because they are giving us the best satisfaction. Yet we feel that we should not patronize this concern if they are actively fighting our business. Before giving them up however, we like to know from you what stand the U. S. B. Assn. takes in the matter.

Awaiting your advice, we remain,

Yours very truly,

FUHRMANN & SCHMIDT BREWING CO. INC.
P. H. FUHRMANN, *Pres.*

PHF. R.—Enc.

[200–202 Walsh Block. Bell Phone 2244; Citizens 1785.]

Answered Jun 14 1915 H. F. F.

AKRON, OHIO, *June 11th, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
New York City, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: We are today in receipt of some literature and a communication from the American Civic League and would appreciate it very much if you would advice us what this association is, and its purpose.

Thanking you for your attention, we are

Yours very truly,

SUMMIT COUNTY BREWERS ASS'N.
C. N. SPARKS, *Secretary.*

JUNE 14, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. C. N. SPARKS,
Secy., Summit County Brewers' Assn.
200 Walsh Block, Akron, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your inquiry of the 11th inst., my understanding is that the American Civic League is a new organization started by a Mr. Neuberger who is an attorney, and is the President or Manager of the Everard Brewery, New York. He is not a member of our Association, but I got in touch with him before he made his attack on the Goodyear Rubber & Tire Company, and tried to call him off, but without success.

The President of the Goodyear Company has assured us of his sympathy and interest, and the Company has explained the mistake which was made last October in publishing a prohibition article in their house-organ. I think they have made sufficient amends, and that it is a mistake to attack them in the way that the American Civic League has done. The League is apparently the result of Mr. Neuberger's individual efforts, and so far as I can learn, it has not been officially endorsed by the New York State Brewers' Association, or any of the other brewers' organizations in this city.

Kindly regard this as confidential and oblige,

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF

[Summit County Brewers' Association, 200–202 Walsh Block. Bell Phone 2244; Peoples Phone 1785.]

Answered Jun 18 1915 H. F. F.

AKRON, OHIO, *June 16th, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. FOX,
U. S. Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Your reply to our inquiry of the 11th, inst., in reference to the American Civic League received, and we thank you very much for the information.

Regarding the Goodyear Company and the attitude the American Civic League is taking towards it, we are a little bit afraid that it will re-act against us here, as you know of course, that the Goodyear Plant is here and they employ from eight to nine thousand men, and a large majority of them are with us in the fight that we are to have this coming Fall.

The writer, last year as an employee of the National Association of Commerce & Labor and as Campaign Manager here, came in contact with the situation as to the rubber industry, and like you, we feel that Mr. Seiberling, President of the Goodyear Company, has made sufficient amends. If this agitation is kept up against him he could just as easily donate $10,000 to the Anti-Saloon League this year as he did $100 last year—which there is a possibility he will do.

Any influence or pressure that your Association can bring upon the Civic League to stop this agitation will be greatly appreciated by us, as we have a very tough proposition here this coming Fall. This county and locality went dry last year by a large majority.

Thanking you very kindly for past favors, we are,

Yours very truly,

SUMMIT COUNTY BREWERS' ASS'N,
H. N. SPARKS, *Secretary.*

CNS*DL

CONFIDENTIAL.

JUNE 18, 1915.

Mr. C. N. SPARKS,
Sec'y Summit County Brewers' Ass'n, Akron, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: I do not think that you need fear the action of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company. I am in correspondence with Mr. Seiberling, who has asked me to meet him and discuss matters when he comes to New York again.

I am also in receipt of a letter this morning from the Chicago branch of

Company asking us to use our good offices with a large brewery in Chicago, which we are doing. I will also take the matter up with the American Civic League.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

JUNE 18, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. H. G. BOYER,
The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.,
1601 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 16th inst., and am writing the Schoenhofen Brewing Co., as you request. I may also inform you that we are writing to the American Civic League requesting them to stop their agitation.

If your Company would officially give me a word of assurance of its friendly attitude, I could issue a letter to the trade, which would dispose of the entire matter.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

[The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. Long Distance Telephone No. 12. W. U. & Postal Wires in Our Office. Cable Address, Goodyear, Akron. Lieber's & Western Union Codes. Automobile, Motor Truck, Motorcycle, Carriage, Bicycle Tires. Rubber Tiling, Mechanical Goods, Rubber Bands, Aeronautic Supplies.]

In replying kindly refer to these initials HGB.RS.

AKRON, OHIO, *June 25, 1915.*

H F FOX,
Sec'y United States Brewers Association,
50 Union Square New York City N Y

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of June 18th, and to thank you for having written the Schoenhofen Brewing Company and the American Civic League.

Regarding the matter of sending out a trade letter, wish to state I shall refer that part of your letter to our Secretary, Mr G M Stadelman, who is absent at present and from whom you will no doubt hear.

Again thanking you, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly

THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER CO
H. G. BOYER
Motor Truck Tire Dep't

JULY 2, 1915.

Mr. F. A. SEIBERLING,
President, The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.,
Akron, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. SEIBERLING: In almost every mail for the last week or so I have received letters from the manager of your Motor Truck Tire Department asking me to write to various concerns stating the position of your company on the liquor question. I suppose I must have written at least a score of individual letters in the last three or four days.

It would facilitate matters very much if you could see your way clear to write us a few lines in accordance with my previous suggestion.

I am just starting on my vacation, and shall not return to the city until the middle of July.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

JULY 2, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MESSRS. HAFFENREFFER & Co.,
Boston, Mass.

GENTLEMEN: I am asked to inform you as to the present status of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company with relation to our interests. The brewers of

Akron individually, and the Summit County Brewers' Association of Akron, inform us that they feel that the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company has made ample amends, and that its attitude is now entirely friendly. In fact they have asked us to have the agitation of the American Civic League stopped, as there is a county election coming up this fall, and it is important that the 9,000 men employed in the Goodyear plant should be enlisted on our side. They are now with us, but there is an undercurrent of exasperation on the part of some of the heads of departments over the action of the American Civic League, and the attitude of some of the brewers.

I may say to you in confidence that I am in correspondence with the President of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., who has expressed a desire to confer with me, and we are assurred of the neutrality at least of the company, and hope to win their active friendship shortly.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant.]

Received Nov. 20, 1915. N. A. of C. & L.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 18, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So: Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose copy of my letter of to-day to Mr. Hess, which speaks for itself. A letter from you with regard to the attitude of the Goodyear Company on the stamp proposition would, I think, be helpful.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX,
Secretary.

HFF/ED
Enc.

Received Nov. 20, 1915. N. A. of C. & L.

Nov. 18, 1915.

Mr. WM. F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: I have just had luncheon with Mr. Seiberling, President of the Goodyear Rubber Co. of Akron, and am very much impressed with his personal attitude and broad views, to which I do not find I can take any exception. He tells me that he was interested in the recent Ohio campaign, and I judge that he gave the brewers his financial and personal support, and that his company is also contributing to our cause through the stamp proposition.

Some of our New York brewers are still sore over his company, and I should like to have a letter from you confirming the above, if it is correct, for the guidance of our New York colleagues.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[The Ohio Brewers' Association. Wm. F. Hess, Secretary-Treasurer. 22 Garfield Place. Telephone, Canal 3182. Cincinnati. Executive Board: Adam Schantz, President, Dayton; S. Fishel, Vice-President, Cleveland; G. F. Burkhardt, Akron; Paul Esselborn, Portsmouth; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati; John Unversagt, Columbus; John F. Weiss, Canton.]

DECEMBER 10, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Your letter of recent date relative to the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. was duly received. For your information I am sending you herewith copy of a letter from the Burkhardt Brewing Co. with a copy of letter addressed to Mr. Seiberling, President and General Manager of the above company by the Summit County Brewers' Association and a copy of the Goodyear Company's reply.

Yours very truly,

WM. F. HESS,
Sec'y-Treas.

[Copy.]

[The M. Burkhardt Brewing Co.]

AKRON, OHIO, U. S. A., *Nov. 22, 1915.*

Mr. WM. F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

DEAR WILL: I am today in receipt of your letter regarding Mr. Seiberling and Mr. Fox. Wish to state that I am herewith enclosing you a letter from our association to Mr. Seiberling and his reply in reference to funds for our local fight which is self-explanatory.

However, I personally feel that the ban should be taken from the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company as they have tried to be fair since last year and there was no agitation of whatever kind started by their company that we could get trace of. They did not come out openly for us nor against us, but we feel that they realize that they made a mistake and acknowledged it; so what more could you expect?

We, for one, have commenced buying tires from them. Please return to me the enclosed letters after they have answered your purpose. I am,

Yours very truly,

G. F. BURKHARDT.

GFB–JBG

[Copy.]

[Summit County Brewers' Association.]

AKRON, OHIO, *Sept. 21, 1915.*

Mr. FRANK A. SEIBERLING,
Pres. & General Manager,
The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.,
Akron, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: In the State-wide fight against Prohibition last year, the members of the above association were put to a terrific expense, and as we have the same fight again this fall, we are calling upon some of our friends to assist us financially.

Knowing you to be a member of the various Manufacturers' and Dealers' Clubs in the United States, and that you are interested in our fight to protect our industry, we herewith solicit a donation from you.

Thanking you in advance for any assistance that you may give us, we are,

Yours very truly,

CNS*DL.

[Copy.]

[The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. Office of Secretary.]

AKRON, OHIO, *October 4, 1915.*

SUMMIT COUNTY BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
200–202 Walsh Block,
Akron, Ohio.

Gentlemen: Your communication of the 21st ultimo addressed for the attention of Mr. F. A. Seiberling, has remained unanswered owing to his absence from the city. Mr. Seiberling has referred your request to this office for attention.

As members of several Manufacturers' and Dealers' Clubs throughout the country we feel that we are doing our share through these organizations in assisting your industry and do not feel that we should be called upon to make contributions outside of the affiliations we now have.

Yours very truly,

THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER CO.
A. F. OSTERLOLZ,
Assistant Secretary.

AFO–EC.

DECEMBER 13, 1915.

Mr. WILLIAM F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place,
Cincinnati, O.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: Thanks for your letter of the 10th with its enclosures. I had lunch with Mr. Seiberling recently, and am thoroughly satisfied with his views and general attitude. He has a good deal of constructive criticism to offer, which I found most helpful and refreshing, but his convictions are just as liberal as yours or mine, and I feel that we can count upon his interest and support in all vital contests. When it comes to a matter of making cash contributions in campaigns, I think it is absolutely up to him and to any other man in his position, and our members certainly have no cause for offense if he takes the position that he has done in his correspondence.

Perhaps this is as good an opportunity as any for me to say that I think there is a grave danger in pressing matters of this kind unduly. Of course, we are perfectly justified in letting our members know who our friends are and who our opponents are, as a matter of information only, but our main object is to make friends and not to force those who are neutral or indifferent into the camp of our opponents.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

hff;jd.

DEC. 29, 1915.

Mr. H. G. BOYER,
Goodyear Rubber & Tire Co.,
1601 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Apparently we have not sent out any general letter to our members, but have answered all letters and inquiries received from our members along the line of our understanding. If you will continue to refer any inquiries to us, we shall be glad to do what we can in the matter.

Very truly yours,

_____, *Secretary.*

HFF/W

[The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. Inc. General Office and Factories, Akron, Ohio. Long Distance Telephone No. 12. W. U. & Postal Wires in Our Office. Cable Address, Goodyear, Akron. Lieber's & Western Union Codes. Automobile, Motor Truck, Motorcycle, Carriage, Bicycle Tires. Rubber Tiling, Mechanical Goods, Rubber Bands, Aeronautic Supplies.]

10 CENTRAL PARK WEST, NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 27th, 1916.*

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Secy., United States Brewers Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Will you kindly write the Excelsior Brewing Co., 254 Hart Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., attention of Mr. John Reisenweber; also Beadleston & Woerz, 291 West 10th Street, New York City.

The writer wishes to state that all the breweries whom we have called upon and to whom you have sent letters in our behalf have removed The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. from their unfair list and the situation is clearing up very nicely.

Thanking you again, we remain

Yours very truly

THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER CO., INC.
H. G. BOYER,
Manager Motor Truck Tire Department.

HGB:AM

[The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.]

10 CENTRAL PARK WEST, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y., *January 14th, 1916.*

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers Assn.,
50 Union Square, N. Y. City.

DEAR SIR:—We thank you for the letters written to Leisy Brewing Co. at Cleveland and Jacob Ruppert Co. of this city, and we beg to give you the fol-

lowing additional names which we should like to have receive the same or a similar letter:—

Ballantine Bottling Company, 5127 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Daniel Dever, 1536 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Andrew Forbes & Co., 940 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Chris. Gallagher Company, 508 So. 8th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Thos. Massey & Company, 1630 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert Steele, 1530 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Edward Trainer, 820 So. 2nd Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
C. Schmidt & Son Brew. Co., 127 Edwards Street, Philadelphia, Pa., attention of Mr. E. A. Schmidt.
Rieger & Gretz Brew. Co., Germantown Ave. & Oxford St., Philadelphia, Pa., attention of Mr. Wm. Gretz.
Andrew Erdrich & Son, Bridge & Walker Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., attention of Mr. Wagner.
Finkenauer Brew. Company, 1700 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., attention of Mr. Theo. Finkenauer.
F. A. Poth & Son, 31st & Jefferson Sts., Philadelphia, Pa., attention of Mr. Harry Poth.
Bergdoll Brew. Company, 29th & Parrish Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
Michael Rummel, 1216 Oxford Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburg Brewing Company, Oliver Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., attention of Mr. Leonard Seifert, Pur. Agent.
Independent Brewing Co., 1st National Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa., attention of Mr. Walter Hades, Pur. Agent.
Mutual Brewing Co., Kenan Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa., attention of Mr. Hackenstein, Pur. Agent.
Feigenspan Brewing Company, Newark, N. J., attention of Mr. Black.
Ballantine Brewing Co., Newark, N. J., attention of Mr. Greece.
Wm. Peters Brewing Co., Union Hill, N. J., attention of Mr. August Peters.
Lion Brewing Company, Newark, N. J., attention of Mr. Kreuger.
Paterson Brewing & Malting Co., Paterson, N. J., attention of Mr. Hinchcliff, Pres.

In a great many cases in New York City, we have been able to present our proposition without the assistance of a letter and we may from time to time refer to you a few additional names, only where we believe a letter is absolutely necessary.

Again thanking you, we remain

Yours, very truly,

THE GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER CO.,
H. G. BOYER,
Mgr. Motor Truck Tire Dept.

HGB:AM

FEB. 25, 1916.

Mr. H. G. BOYER,
Manager, Motor Truck Tire Dept.,
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your request of the 24th, I have to-day written the parties mentioned in your letter.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

W

Maj. HUMES. Now, is it not a fact that you tried to persuade, or did persuade, the members of your association to withhold their patronage from the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad because of the rule of that railroad with reference to the drinking of their employees?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall that.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that, because of the big wreck up at Corning, N. Y., where some 30 or 40 people were killed and some

75 or so seriously injured, an order was promulgated by the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad prohibiting certain classes of their employees from drinking, the evidence in that case showing that the engineer of the train, which was wrecked, was under the influence of liquor; and the circular issued by the railroad was issued because of that situation; and when you discovered that did you not try to compel or to persuade the members to withhold patronage from the road?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall anything about it.

Maj. HUMES. Refresh your recollection from that correspondence [handing file to the witness].

Mr. Fox (after examining Exhibit File L–2). I think this is a little different in character from some of the matters. In other words, this bulletin, to which you refer, was a bulletin which was apparently sent out at that time covering all kinds of matters of general news, and it is not marked "confidential." It is marked "For members only. Not for publication." It deals with court interpretations, and a score of other things, and among the items of news is this item:

Employees in the storehouses of the Lackawanna Railroad Company, over its entire system from Hoboken, N. J., to Buffalo, N. Y., have received circular letters in which they are notified that men who drink intoxicating liquors will not be continued in the service of the company. It is also stated in the circular that men who drink intoxicating liquor will not hereafter be employed.

Now, I find in the following month a letter from me to the Pabst Brewing Co., of Milwaukee, in which I quote what the railroad has to say in regard to the accident that you refer to; and, perhaps, I had better read this letter. It is as follows:

AUG. 19, 1915.

The PABST BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

GENTLEMEN: The East Bound Freight Agent and the Contracting Agent of the D. L. & W. R. R. Co., called on me recently to explain their attitude on the liquor question, and have sent me a copy of the letter which they received from your Traffic Manager, Mr. Charles Zeilke, and of their reply thereto. They state that Rule G to which reference is made has been adopted by the General Managers' Association representing the majority of the railroads of this country. The object of this rule is to enforce strict sobriety in the Operating Department, and engineers are not allowed to frequent drinking places. Neither the engineers or any other of their employees are, however, required to be total abstainers, and no attempt is made to stop them from having what they please in their own houses. They told me specifically that they would have no objection to an engineer keeping beer in his household and to his drinking it moderately.

They explained that the attitude of the railroad is not in favor of prohibition, and that they are totally out of sympathy with that movement.

In our July Bulletin we referred to the statement which has gone the rounds of the newspapers, that the storehouse keepers have been notified that they must cut out all liquor. In a recent communication to their solicitors they quote the correspondence with you, and then add the following:

"You, of course, all remember the deplorable results of the wreck at Corning, and that, under the circumstances, our Management was in duty bound to renew the instructions generally known as Rule G, with respect to abstaining from the use of alcohol, which had been in effect for a number of years.

"Aside from the Danger to life and limb, and the destruction of property, which the use of intoxicants is very apt to produce, our Company also experienced considerable losses by reason of employees purloining material which had been sold for the purpose of obtaining liquor.

"We give you the foregoing information to the end that you may be in position to fully understand and explain the attitude of our Company should

you find that instructions issued by the Operating Department under Rule G should be referred to adversely during your solicitations."

I wish you would be kind enough to let me know what you would advise in view of this correspondence, and of the explanations made to me by the representatives of the company? It is represented to us that our July circular is an unfair discrimiation against the D. L. & W. Co., and that we ought to send out a corrected statement. I should appreciate it if you will give this matter your consideration.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF–ED

Apparently this was brought to us by the traffic managers of the shipping brewers.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; and also in the file are copies of letters which the shipping brewers had written to the railroad company; and their reply, where they protested against this regulation; is not that true?

Mr. Fox (after examining letters). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And, as a result of the persuasion, or what you may choose to call it, of the United States Brewers' Association, the general manager of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. was induced to send a letter to their solicitors—their freight solitors—explaining this situation and suggesting that they give this explanation to their customers among the shipping brewers. Is not that the fact?

Mr. Fox. I presume so. I do not recall it. I presume it is, according to the correspondence. I presume that the matter was really a matter between the traffic managers, the shipping brewers, and the railroads, and we were brought in really as an intermediary.

Maj. HUMES. Then, your contention here is that any interference with the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. was the interference of individual members of your association rather than of the association itself?

Mr. Fox. If there was such; yes.

(The additional documents contained in File L–2 are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE L–2.

AUGUST 12th, 1915.

On August 12th, Mr. F. G. Platt, East Bound Freight Agent, and Gordon E. Gaines, Contracting Agent of the D. L. & W., called to explain the attitude of their road on the liquor question.

They state that the circular which was issued some time ago to their operating department, was the result of an accident at Corning, in which it was shown that the engineer had been drinking heavily. The object of their rule is to enforce strict sobriety in the operating department, and engineers are not allowed to frequent drinking places. They are not, however, required to be total abstainers, and can have what they please in their own houses. The attitude of the road is not in favor of prohibition, and is totally out of sympathy with that movement.

HUGH F. FOX.

[The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. Office of East-Bound Freight Agent, New York City.]

AUG. 13, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
U. S. Brewers' Association, City.

DEAR SIR: In line with our talk in your office this morning we are enclosing you copy of letter from Mr. Charles Zeilke of the Pabst Brewing Company and the reply to that letter made by this company.

Along with this communication we are giving you three paragraphs setting forth what our vice president had to say to the soliciting force of the D. L. & W. R. R.

As explained to you this morning, the second notice calling attention to the old Rule G was only sent out to the departments of the Storekeeper, and was not a general notice.

Trusting that our position is appreciated, I am

Yours very truly,

FRED. G. PLATT.

[For members only—Not for publication.]

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. July (1915) Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 9.]

* * * * * * *

A BAN ON DRINKERS.

* * * * * * *

Employees in the storehouses of the Lackawanna Railroad Company, over its entire system from Hoboken, N. J., to Buffalo, N. Y., have received circular letters in which they are notified that men who drink intoxicating liquors will not be continued in the service of the company. It is also stated in the circular that men who drink intoxicating liquors will not hereafter be employed.

* * * * * * *

AUG. 19, 1915.

The PABST BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

GENTLEMEN: The East Bound Freight Agent and the Contracting Agent of the D. L. & W. R. R. Co. called on me recently to explain their attitude on the liquor question, and have sent me copy of the letter which they received from your Traffic Manager, Mr. Charles Zielke, and of their reply thereto. They state that Rule G to which reference is made, has been adopted by the General Managers' Association representing the majority of the railroads of this country. The object of this rule is to enforce strict sobriety in the Operating Department, and engineers are not allowed to frequent drinking places. Neither the engineers or any other of their employees are, however, required to be total abstainers, and no attempt is made to stop them from having what they please in their own houses. They told me specifically that they would have no objection to an engineer keeping beer in his household and to his drinking it moderately.

They explained that the attitude of the railroads is not in favor of prohibition, and that they are totally out of sympathy with that movement.

In our July Bulletin we referred to the statement which has gone the rounds of the newspapers, that the storehouse keepers have been notified that they must cut out all liquor. In a recent communication to their solicitors they quote the correspondence with you, and then add the following:

"You, of course, all remember the deplorable results of the wreck at Corning, and that, under the circumstances, our Management was in duty bound to renew the instructions generally known as Rule G, with respect to abstaining from the use of alcohol, which had been in effect for a number of years.

"Aside from the Danger to life and limb, and the destruction of property, which the use of intoxicants is very apt to produce, our Company also experienced considerable losses by reason of employees purloining material which had been sold for the purpose of obtaining liquor.

"We give you the foregoing information to the end that you may be in position to fully understand and explain the attitude of our Company should you find that instructions issued by the Operating Department under Rule G should be referred to adversely during your solicitations."

I wish you would be kind enough to let me know what you would advise in view of this correspondence, and of the explanations made to me by the representatives of the company? It is represented to us that our July circular is an unfair discrimination against the D. L. & W. Co., and that we ought to send out a corrected statement. I should appreciate it if you will give this matter your consideration.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED
Miss Todd.

AUGUST 12th, 1915.

On August 12th, Mr. F. G. Platt, East Bound Freight Agent, and Gordon E. Gaines, Contracting Agent of the D. L. & W., called to explain the attitude of their road on the liquor question.

They state that the circular which was issued some time ago to their operating department, was the result of an accident at Corning, in which it was shown that the engineer had been drinking heavily. The object of their rule was to enforce strict sobriety in the operating deparement, and engineers are not allowed to frequent drinking places. They are not, however, required to be total abstainers, and can have what they please in their own houses. The attitude of the road is not in favor of prohibition, and is totally out of sympathy with that movement.

HUGH F. FOX.

[The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. Office of East-Bound Freight Agent, Lackawanna Floor, Produce Exchange, New York City. Fred. G. Platt, East-Bound Freight Agent; Fred. E. Perry, Contracting Agent; Gordon E. Gaines, Contracting Agent. In your reply please refer to P–109.]

AUG. 13, 1915.

Mr. HUGH FOX,
Secretary, U. S. Brewer's Association, City.

DEAR SIR: In line with our talk in your office this morning we are enclosing you copy of letter from Mr. Charles Zeilke of the Pabst Brewing Company and the reply to that letter made by this company.

Along with this communication we are giving you three paragraphs setting forth what our Vice President had to say to the Soliciting force of the DL&WRR.

As explained to you this morning, the second notice calling attention to the old Rule G was only sent out to the departments of the Storekeeper, and was not a general notice.

Trusting that our position is appreciated, I am,
Yours very truly,

FRED G. PLATT.

[Copy of letter referred to in letter of August 13, 1915, from Fred. G. Platt, east-bound freight agent, to Hugh Fox, Sec'y U. S. B. Ass'n, as the instructions given by the vice president to the soliciting force of the D. L. & W. R. R.]

GENTLEMEN: Mr. Chas. Zeilke, Traffic Manager of the Pabst Brewing Company, recently wrote us as follows:

"We are advised that the employees in the storehouses of the Lackawanna R. R., covering its entire system from Hoboken to Buffalo, have received circular letters in which they are notified that men who drink intoxicating liquors will not be continued in your employ. It is also stated in the circular that men who drink intoxicating liquors will not hereafter be employed. We wish you would kindly advise whether this statement is correct and if same is the principle or stand that is now being taken by your Company.

"You personally know the brewers well enough that they do not desire you to keep in your employ drunkards or men who drink to excess, especially while on duty, but we can not see why you should want, nor do we suppose as yet that you have joined the Prohibition Party and that you are lending them your support by forcing the thousands of employees of the Lackawanna R. R. to abstain from drinking any liquor whatever.

"Shipments of beer, as you well understand, are a large source of revenue, not only to your line but to all other railroads in the country and are solicited by your employees in different parts of the country daily. We just recently gave you three cars for San Francisco via New York which your Commercial Agent at Milwaukee solicited and would have been very much put out, and would no doubt have had to make an explanation to you, if he had not secured the shipments.

"Awaiting your answer on the subject, we remain."

A similar letter was received from Mr. R. Muehlberg, Traffic Manager of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company.

To these communications we made the following reply:

"Answering your letter of 13th inst., which arrived during my absence.

"The rule of our Company prohibiting the use of intoxicants while on or off duty was promulgated on July 25th, 1912, following a most serious accident near Corning, N. Y., on the morning of July 4th, 1912, and which resulted in the death of 39 passengers and the injury, more or less serious, of 75 more.

"The investigation developed that this accident occurred through the fault of an engineer who ran by three standard block signals, one set at "Caution" and the other two at "Danger," as also one in the hands of a flagman.

"The causes leading up to the accident and the conditions affecting same were fully investigated by representatives of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Public Service Commission of New York, with result that the engineer above referred to was solely to blame for its occurrence. Prior to taking his run he had been off duty thirty hours, but the investigation showed he misused his opportunity for rest, as within a few hours of going on duty he had visited numerous saloons and indulged more or less in intoxicating liquor while there.

"All things considered, in the light of the foregoing explanation, we do not quite understand how anyone can reasonably take exceptions to the rule to which we have referred.

"As to your remarks about our Company having joined the Prohibition Party, and lending support to it, would say that the very fact of our purchasing beer from your firm and other brewers, for sale in our restaurants and dining cars to passengers calling for same, should make it clear to you that we are not identified with the Prohibition Party.

"Trusting that you will accept the foregoing in the spirit in which it is intended,"

You, of course, all remember the deplorable results of the wreck at Corning, and that, under the circumstances, our Management was in duty bound to renew the instructions generally known as Rule G, with respect to abstaining from the use of alcohol, which had been in effect for a number of years.

Aside from the danger to life and limb and the destruction of property, which the use of intoxicants is very apt to produce, our Company also experienced considerable losses by reason of employees purloining material which had been sold for the purpose of obtaining liquor.

We give you the foregoing information to the end that you may be in position to fully understand and explain the attitude of our Company should you find that instructions issued by the Operating Department under Rule G should be referred to adversely during your solicitations.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a file with reference to the Bird-Sykes Co. of Chicago, and ask you if that is from the files of your association?

Mr. FOX (after examining file). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer this in evidence.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE M-2.

[United States Brewing Co. of Chicago, First National Bank Bldg., Chicago. Telephone Randolph 382.]

FEBRUARY 9, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Kindly advise us if the following concerns classify under our "unfair" list.

Bird-Sykes Co. . Chicago handlers of the Paige Detroit Car.

Apperson Motor Car Co.

If you have compiled a list showing where the different motor car and truck companies stand on the question in which we are vitally interested, should thank you to send us a copy of same.

Yours truly,

UNITED STATES BREWING COMPANY,
R. S. JONES, *Auditor.*

RSJ-GAW
Answered Feb. 12 H. F. F.

FEB. 13TH, 1915.

Confidential.

Mr. HARRY RICKEL,
74 Griswold St., Detroit, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. RICKEL: We have inquiries as to the attitude of the manufacturers of the Paige Detroit car.

Can you tell me how they are regarded with reference to our industry? Of course, any information you can give us will be treated in strict confidence.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

JD:HFF

(Inquiry was by U. S. Brewing Co. of Chicago. See Apperson file.)

Confidential.

FEB. 13, 1915.

MANUFACTURERS' & DEALERS' ASS'N OF AMERICA,
Tutonic Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: We have inquiries as to the attitude of the Bird-Sykes Company, who are the Chicago handlers of the Paige Detroit car.

Are they regarded as in any way unfriendly to our interests?

Any information you can give me will be greatly appreciated and treated in strict confidence.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF:JD

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

FEB. 13, 1915.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE & LABOR,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: We have inquiries as to the attitude of the Bird-Sykes Company, who are the Chicago handlers of the Paige Detroit car.

Are they regarded in any way as unfriendly to our interests?

Any information you can give me will be appreciated and treated in strict confidence.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF:JD

Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.

[From Andreae files.]

[Copy.]

[Bird-Sykes Company, Automobiles, 2210–2212 Michigan Ave., Chicago.]

FEB. 16TH, 1915.

MANUFACTURERS AND DEALERS ASS'N OF AMERICA,
36 W. Randolph Street, Chicago.

GENTLEMEN: On account of a report which has apparently been circulated that this Company is antagonistic toward the liquor and brewer's interest in this country, we wish to set ourselves right in your eyes, and firmly deny that the officials of this concern have ever, in any way, made any statements which would warrant such an impression being circulated.

Both Mr. Sykes and myself, and the other members of our organization, take a drink when we want it; and keep liquor in our homes. We have quite a number of friends and customers who are affiliated with these interests and there is absolutely no reason why we should take a position against them. On

the other hand, there are a number of reasons why we should be favorable to their interests, as enumerated above.

Thanking you for interesting yourself in this report, we remain

Yours very truly,

BIRD-SYKES COMPANY,
GEO. H. BIRD, *President.*

GHB:W.
Mr. Fox.

[Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Telephone, Douglas 7225. Temporary Quarters, 1132 to 38 Transportation Bldg.]

FEBRUARY 17, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to your letter of Feb. 13th, addressed to The National Association of Commerce and Labor, relative to the attitude of the Bird-Sykes Company of Chicago, handlers of the Paige Detroit car, I enclose herewith copy of a letter from this Company, addressed to the Manufacturers and Dealers Ass'n of Chicago.

I trust this will be the information you are after.

Yours very truly,

PERCY ANDREAE.

[Michigan Citizens' Association. Secretary's Office, Room 704, No. 172 Griswold Street (Garrick Theatre Bldg.), Detroit. Phone, Cherry 2955.]

Re Paige-Detroit Co., Detroit, Mich.

Confidential and Personal.

FEBRUARY 23, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to yours of the 13th inst. regarding your inquiry as to the attitude of the manufacturers of the Paige-Detroit car: The enclosed is the best information which we have at hand at the moment, and trust that same fills your requirements.

Very truly yours,

R—B HARRY RICKEL.

Enclosures.

The following is a report as to the attitude of the officials of the Paige-Detroit Motor Co., of Detroit, Mich., with regard to the liquor question:

In determining the attitude of the Paige people in regard to the liquor question, I find that Mr. QUINLAN, superintendent of the shops, is a very liberal man and places no restrictions upon the employees.

The Employment Agency assures me that all liberties are granted in regard to the saloon. Timekeepers and male stenographers say that they enjoy the liberty of the saloons without restriction, although most of the factory help carry their lunches and eat at the shops; I was informed that those who desire are allowed to eat at the saloons, or wherever they may choose.

I find that there are three (3) saloons within three blocks of the Main Plant and that all of these announce a good patronage from the Paige shops. In all three of these saloons lunches are served at noon for the convenience of the shop employees, and liquor is served when desired.

Altogether, the attitude of the Paige people is entirely liberal. This concerns the main shop only but as far as I am able to learn there has been no printed matter or verbal requests on the part of the foremen or other men in authority to their employees to not frequent saloons.

HOLLY WILSON, *Investigator.*

[The Manufacturers and Dealers Association of America. Officers: R. E. Bruns; President; Wm. Bartholomay, jr., Secretary and Treasurer. Publicity Committee: Charles E. Felt, V. M. Ollier, Richard Griesser. Adress all mail to Association Headquarters, Delaware Building, 36 W. Randolph St., Chicago, U. S. A. Telephone, Central 802. A. P. Daniels, Business Manager. Our principles: Boost for others as you would have them boost for you—we are co-operative—together we assist. We oppose restrictive or class legislation.]

CHICAGO, *February 25th, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. Fox,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 13th in regard to the attitude of the Bird-Syke Company, representing the Page Automobile Co., of Detroit, to hand.

I just had a talk with Mr. Bird, and he informs me most emphatically that he is not against our interests, he said that "he would be a fool if he was," as he was doing business with the brewers and he couldn't understand how any such idea could prevail.

He promised to write me a letter to that effect. You undoubtedly asked the same question of the National Association of Commerce & Labor (Mr. Percy Andreae) as they phoned over here for the same information that you are asking, and as I understand that they do nothing of a local nature.

I will be glad to go into the matter further, if you so desire.

Yours very truly,

MANUFACTURERS AND DEALERS ASSOCIATION,
A. P. DANIELS, *Business Manager.*

"Let Business Alone."

Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, national headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.

[United States Brewers' Asssociation, 50 Union Square, New York.]

Confidential. NEW YORK, *February 27, 1915.*

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following is submitted for the information of our members:

* * * * * * *

The Bird-Sykes Company, Automobiles, Chicago, Ill.

This concern has written to the Manufacturers' & Dealers' Association of America, under date of February 16, 1915, putting itself on record as being entirely friendly to our interests. The Paige-Detroit Motor Car Co., of which the Bird-Sykes Co. is the Chicago representative, maintains a liberal attitude and places no restrictions upon their employees.

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a file with reference to the A. Wilhelm Co., of Reading, and ask you if that is from the files of your association.

Mr. Fox (after examination). Yes, sir.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE N–2.

[The Reading Brewing Company, ale and porter; bottlery and office, 9th & Laurel Sts. west. U. S. standard beers, light and dark. Brewery and office, 9th & Laurel Sts. east. Incorporated Sept. 1, 1886. Confidential file.]

READING, PA., *April 7, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Much as I dislike the task, yet at times like the present it would be most cowardly to overlook the circumstance which forms the cause of this letter.

We have in our town a very large paint manufacturing establishment, The A. Wilhelm Co., Chas. W. Wilhelm, President, Walter S. Davis, Sec. & Treas., and H. J. Hayden, General Manager. Now I know that the first two did take a drink when it could be done privately, the other man poses as an active member of the No-License people, is quite a religious light and active in the Y. M. C. A., President of the Chamber of Commerce, and ambitious enough to preside at any meeting that may suit his purpose. He was one of the Committee at yesterday's Local Option Meeting at Harrisburg, and very active in the interest of the Antis.

The Wilhelm Paint Co., sell paint all over the United States; a good deal of it to Brewers. Could you not devise ways and means of acquainting our industry with the actual character of this firm? We had bought paint from them until we found out their standing, since then stopped. While it might only be a drop in the bucket, still if all the Brewers would stop dealing with them, they ought to feel the weight of that drop.

Individually I have nothing against the firm, but industrially I am down on them, and as I said before if we don't take care of our interests nobody else will.

Yours very truly,

THE READING BREWING CO.,
P. BISSINGER, *President.*

Answered Apr. 8, 1915. H. F. F.

Confidential.

APRIL 8, 1915.

MR. P. BISSINGER,
President The Reading Brewing Co., Reading, Pa.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 7th instant from which I understand that the general manager of the concern you mention is against us. If there has been any newspaper account of the matter in which his name is mentioned, I wish you would let me have it for the reason that if we sent out a notice such as you propose, we have nothing in the way of a newspaper or other record to back us up, and we should have to quote you as our authority in case any issue was made of it, and naturally it would be better to state that we got our information from some other source, if we were called to do so.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

Maj. HUMES. I show you a file with reference to the C. A. Smurthwaite Co., of Utah. Is that correspondence from your files?

Mr. FOX (after examination). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer that in evidence.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE O–2.

[Becker Brewing & Malting Co., G. L. Becker, president and treasurer; A. E. Becker, vice president; J. S. Becker, secretary. President's office.]

Answered Aug. 12, 1912. H. F. F.

OGDEN, UTAH, *Aug. 6/12.*

MR. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: I have your letter, and am sorry you could not stop here on your way to New York. Would like very much to have had you stop over here a day or so.

I notice that you are getting data on some of the enemies of our business throughout the U. S., and it may be of interest to you and to the members of our Association to know that C. A. Smurthwaite, head of the C. A. Smurthwaite Co., formerly of Ogden, now of Salt Lake City, who sells lots of barley to brewers, is a rabid prohibitionist. Mr. Smurthwaite called us up over the phone several days ago and offered us 40 cars of barley at a cut price, and the writer told him that he couldn't see the consistency of fighting for prohibition and attempting to sell barley to the brewers to make that "awful

stuff" called beer out of. The writer told him that, according to his, Smurthwaite's, doctrines, we couldn't see the consistency of his action, and we cordially invited him to sell his barley to his friends, the prohibitionists. You can use this information as you may see fit. It occurs to us that it surely is valuable to all of those connected with our industry to know who their friends and foes are, if possible.

With kind regards, to you,

Very truly yours,

G. L. BECKER.

GLB H

AUGUST 28, 1912.

Mr. G. L. BECKER,
The Becker Brg. & Malting Co., Ogden, Utah.

MY DEAR MR. BECKER: Referring again to your letter of Aug. 6th I do not want to put an item in our next Bulletin about Mr. Smurthwaite that could possibly be questioned in any way. Will you kindly let me know if his attitude as a prohibitionist is a matter of public record, and whether we can publish the information you gave to our members without any possibility of a "come-back" if it should get into public print. Has he taken any active part personally in the prohibition cause, or do you know him to have contributed money to it? Kindly w re your reply at our expense, and oblige.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF ED

[Telegram.]

[J 127 CH BE 10]

OGDEN, UTAH, *Sep. 3, 1912.*

HUGH F. FOX,
Secy., 109 East 15th St., New York

Party referred to your letter is active prohibitionist public record.

BECKER.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a file with reference to the Standard Oil Co. Is that from your files?

Mr. FOX (after examining papers). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer that in evidence.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE P-2.

[Standard Oil.]

FEBRUARY 1, 1915.

President, Standard Oil Company,
26 Broadway, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: In a recent address delivered in Chicago by the Rev. W. F. Sheridan, general secretary of the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he made the statement that a number of large corporations, including our company, refuse to employ any men who "drink", implying in his statement, that they must be total abstainers.

I take the liberty of enclosing an article entitled "Effect of Intemperance on Industry", which appeared over my signature in the "Manufacturers News" of January 28th. An expression of your opinion thereon would be much appreciated together with a statement as to your attitude, if you are disposed to make it.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W
Enc.

[Confidential file, Standard Oil.]

JUNE 28, 1915.

Confidential.

Mr. OLIVER T. REMMERS,
St. Louis, Mo.

MY DEAR MR. REMMERS: Replying to your letter of August 30, we have a letter from the manager of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey addressed to a friend of ours, stating that "this company is not in any way interested in the prohibition movement, nor, in fact, in any other movemet of like nature."

I do not believe that the Standard Oil Company is taking any position in the matter, and doubt whether anything substantial has been done for our opponents by the Rockefellers. Of course they have very likely made small contributions from time to time to our opponents, but if they were seriously interested we should have known of it long ago as their contributions would in such case have been on a large scale. I happen to know that the Rockefeller Foundation has kept clear of the whole matter.

Very truly yours.

Secretary.

HFF/W

[Standard Oil Company, Newark Branch, 31 Clinton Street, Newark, N. J. C. E. Young, manager.]

JULY 21, 1913.

Mr. E. C. HALSEY,
Standard Oil Co. (N. J.), Jersey City, N. J.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. and beg to advise this company is not in any way interested in the Prohibition movement, nor in fact, in any other movement of a like nature.

Yours truly.

C. E. YOUNG.

V. W.

[The Ottawa Brewing Assn. Brewers of fine beers. T. L. Grot, president; J. Damgard secretary and treasurer.]

OTTAWA, ILLS.,
August 30, 1915.

Mr. HUGH FOX,
United States Brewers Assn., New York City.

DEAR SIR: Kindly let us know by return mail if you know anything about the Standard Oil Company contributing to the "dry" cause.

Very truly yours,

THE OTTAWA BREWING ASSN.
JOHN DAMGARD, *Sec.*

[Confidential file.]

SEPTEMBER 1, 1915.

Mr. JOHN DAMGARD,
The Ottawa Brewing Assn., Ottawa, Ill.

DEAR SIR:—Replying to your letter of August 30th, we have a letter from the manager of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey addressed to a friend of ours, stating that "this company is not in any way interested in the prohibition movement, nor, in fact, in any other movemet of like nature."

I do not believe that the Standard Oil Company is taking any position in the matter, and doubt whether anything substantial has been done for our opponents by the Rockefellers. Of course they have very likely made small contributions from time to time to our opponents, but if they were seriously interested we should have known of it long ago as their contributions would in such case have been on a large scale. I happen to know that the Rockefeller Foundation has kept clear of the whole matter.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

MW.

Senator OVERMAN. They did not try to boycott that institution, did they?

Maj. HUMES. This was a subsidiary.

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a file with reference to the National Biscuit Co. Is that from your files?

Mr. FOX (after examination). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer that in evidence.

Senator OVERMAN. All of these pertain to this boycott system?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

(The documents referred to are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE Q–2.

[Adam Scheidt Brewing Co. Main office and brewery, Norristown, Pa. Philadelphia branch, 963–971 N. 9th St. All correspondence must be addressed to the company. Long distance telephone connection.]

NORRISTOWN, PA., *January 20, 1914.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I understand that Sylvester S. Marvin is or was president of the National Biscuit Company. His residence is in Bryn Mawr, and he is president of the No-License Campaign in Montgomery County. On good authority he has made the statement in one of their meetings that they should not give him away, that he has secured the rates for advertising the No-License Campaign matters at the low rate of the National Biscuit Company but it would not do to give that away.

Can you not take this up with the National Hotel Keepers, with the States Liquor Leagues, with the brewers, to withhold their patronage from the National Biscuit Company? If we, as brewers, and others engaged in the liquor business, give our money still to the people who injure us, what good reason would they have to let us alone? It really seems as if we were allowing hotels and liquor people to give them their patronage in order so they would not fight us all at once.

Ought not Mr. Marvin know that we are alive to the fact to watch our enemies? In a recent speech he is quoted as having said "we must put an end to this liquor traffic, and if we do our advertising right and bring the public the statistics which we have in our hands (fake statistics), the court will have to listen to us." I am bringing this before you so that somebody may act in this matter.

Yours truly,

ADAM SCHEIDT BREWING CO.
ADAM SCHEIDT,
President & Gen. Mgr.

[Bradstreet's Commercial Agency, Suite 1108, Singer Building, New York City. Telephones 418, 419, Cortlandt.]

(Office Copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

JAN. 21/14.

Strictly confidential.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, City.

DEAR SIR: In the matter of your inquiry concerning Sylvester S. Marvin, as to whether he is or was Pres't of National Biscuit Co, and what position he occupies with the company, we beg to state that he is not, and we do not learn that he ever was the Pres't, but is the General Manager of their Philadelphia office, and has been with the company from its inception, going into it with one of the concerns that was merged into the National Biscuit Co. We be-

lieve the following list of officers are correct: A W. Green, Pres; Frank E. Bugbee (not a director) Secy. The directors are, A. W. Green, S. S. Marvin, L. D. Dozier, H. J. Evans, T. S. Olive, John D. Richardson, F. M. Peters, Norman B. Ream, Francis L. Hine, Frank A. Kennedy, Joseph W. Ogden, Wm. H. Moore, H. M. Hanna, S. A. Sears and J. B. Vredenburgh.

Yours truly,

PROUDFOOT'S COMMERCIAL AGENCY.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

FEBRUARY 21ST, 1914.

Strictly confidential.

To the members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following is submitted to you without prejudice, for your information:

* * * * * * *

The National Biscuit Company: Mr. Sylvester, S. Marvin, the General Manager of the Philadelphia office of this Company, is President of the No-License forces in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and is quoted in a recent speech as having said: "We must put an end to this liquor traffic, and if we do our advertising right, and bring before the public the statistics which we have in our hands, the court will have to listen to us." Mr. Marvin has been with the National Biscuit Company since its inception, having gone into it with one of the concerns that was merged into this corporation.

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[The Stark-Tuscarawas Breweries Company, 614–617 Courtland Bldg. Officers: John G. Rommel, president; Michael Seibold, 1st vice president; John A. Brobst, 2nd vice president; John F. Weiss, secy. & treas.]

Answered Oct 2 1914 H. F. F.

CANTON, OHIO, *Sept. 30th 1914.*

HUGH F. FOX,
Secy. United States Brewers Association, New York City.

DEAR SIR: The Ohio State Representative of the National Biscuit Co., Mr. Nunamaker called at our office to-day protesting against the action taken by the National Association in practically boycotting their business.

He states that a certain stockholder by name of Marvin of Pittsburg who has been furnishing articles to newspapers, etc., is a radical prohibitionist, but the Company remains neutral on our question. He further states that the Company employs almost nine thousand men in the capacity of salesmen of whom the majority are liberally inclined. He also states that he has placed the matter before the officers of the Corporation who informed him they will make every effort to silence Marvin or take some action to get rid of him.

In justice to the other stockholders and employes of the Company this matter should receive further consideration.

Yours truly, JNO. G. ROMMEL, *President.*

[Confidential file.]

Nov. 18, 1915.

Mr. ADAM SCHEIDT, *Norristown, Pa.*

MY DEAR MR. SCHEIDT: Is there anything new that can be said regarding Sylvester S. Marvin and the National Biscuit Company? Their Ohio representative claims that Mr. Marvin does not represent the views of the company, and is only acting as an individual.

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[Adam Scheidt Brewing Co. Main office and brewery, Norristown, Pa.]

NORRISTOWN, PA., *November 20, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secy.,*
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 18th has been received. In reply thereto will say that Sylvester S. Marvin is still living in Ardmore. We hear nothing at present but he is still connected with the National Biscuit Company, and whether he is going to be active this spring in the no-license movement we could not now say, we have to await further developments. If there is anything turns up I will be glad to advise you.

Yours truly,

ADAM SCHEIDT BREWING CO.,
ADAM SCHEIDT,
President & Gen. Mgr.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a file with reference to the Electric Storage Battery Co. Does that correspondence come from your files?

Mr. FOX (after examination). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer that in evidence.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE R-2.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Confidential file.

Confidential OCTOBER 22ND, 1915.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:—The following letter is for your information:

The Electric Storage Battery Co., Allegheny Avenue and 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1915.

United States Brewers' Association
50 Union Square, New York.

GENTLEMEN:—Misstatements having reached us regarding our attitude upon the liquor question, we therefore desire to advise you as follows:

This Company disapproves of its employees carrying Whiskey into the factory for consumption during working hours, and this position has become more necessary by reason of the recent enactment of the Workmens' Compensation Act.

The drinking of Beer has never given us any concern, nor do we anticipate any from this source.

We have been a member of the Allied Brewers' Association since its formation. The above facts will indicate to you our position.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HERBERT LLOYD
President & Genl., Manager.

[The Peter Schoernhofen Brewing Company, Peter S. Theurer, Prest. O. B. Oberstat, Vice-Pres. R. Osterrieder, Secy. & Treas. Established 1859. P. O. Box 743, Chicago. Address all correspondence to the company. Western Union and Postal Telegraph wires in main office. Long distance telephone Canal 9.]

Confidential file.

OCTOBER 29TH, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, The United States Brewer's Association,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We beg to acknowledge receipt of your confidential circular of a copy of letter from The Electric Storage Battery Company, of Philadelphia, Pa., relative to statements made regarding their attitude upon the liquor question.

Our Mr. Peter S. Theurer is of the opinion, that this firm permitted the Evangelist "William Sunday" to make a series of speeches in their plant, and we would appreciate very much your advising us of the truth of this matter.

Yours very truly,

THE PETER SCHOENHOFEN BREWING CO.
By R. OSTENRIEDER, *Treasurer.*

Nov. 1, 1915.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. GARDINER:—I have the following letter from Mr. Ostenrieder, of The Peter Schoenhofen Brewing Company of Chicago:

"We beg to acknowledge receipt of your confidential circular of a copy of letter from The Electric Storage Battery Company of Philadelphia, Pa., relative to statements made regarding their attitude upon the liquor question.

"Our Mr. Peter S. Theurer is of the opinion that this firm permitted the Evangelist 'William Sunday' to make a series of speeches in their plant, and we would appreciate very much your advising us of the truth of this matter."

Do you know anything about this?

Very truly yours, *Secretary.*

HFF/W

Nov. 1, 1915.

Mr. R. OSTENRIEDER,
Treas., The P. Schoenhofen Brewing Co.,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of the 29th ult., regarding The Electric Storage Battery Company of Philadelphia, I have referred this matter to Mr. John Gardiner, who is President of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association.

Very truly yours, *Secretary.*

W.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a file with reference to the White Co Does that come from your files?

Mr. Fox (after examination). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer that in evidence.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE S–2.

[The Ohio Brewers' Association, Wm. F. Hess, secretary-treasurer, 22 Garfield Place Cincinnati. Telephone, Canal 3182. Executive Board: Adam Schantz, president Dayton; S. Fishel, vice-president, Cleveland; G. F. Burkhardt, Akron; Paul Esselborn Portsmouth; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati; John Unverzagt, Columbus; John F. Weiss Canton.]

JANUARY 19, 1916.

To the Brewers of Ohio:

The enclosed is a copy of a letter received at this office, is sent to you fo your information and is self-explanatory.

Very truly yours,

THE OHIO BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.
WM. F. HESS, *Sec'y-Treas.*

[The White Company, manufacturers of motor cars and trucks, Cleveland, Ohio. Win sor T. White, president; Rollin H. White, first vice president; Walter C. Whit second vice president; A. R. Warner, secretary. Cable address: "Whitco" Weste Union code.]

JANUARY 14, 1916.

THE OHIO STATE BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Attention W. F. Hess, Secretary.

GENTLEMEN: Our Special Brewery Representative, T. J. Fay, has request me to make a statement of the White Company's attitude toward the Brewer

situation. He informs me that in a so called debate in Ohio, it was claimed that the White Company made a donation to the Prohibition Cause, which I most emphatically deny.

The White Company, and to the best of my knowledge, not one of the executive members of the Company, have ever made a donation or in any way helped to promote the Prohibition movement. We have been in business for the past fiftyfour years and have always been successful and maintained a liberal policy, and we cannot see why it would be good business to change the policy.

Trusting that this letter will be satisfactory to you and wishing you a very prosperous New Year, I am

Yours very truly,

(Signed) WALTER C. WHITE.

(Copy)

[Confidential file.]

JAN. 22, 1916.

Mr. WM. F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: Thanks for your letter of the 19th about the White Company of Cleveland, O. If these people are doing a general business with brewers throughout the country, I should be glad to send out a copy of their letter to the Ohio Brewers' Association, to all of our members. Will you advise me?

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

JHFF: JD
Told.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Confidential.

JANUARY 31, 1916.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

In re the White Company, Cleveland, O.

The President of the White Company, manufacturers of Motor Cars and Trucks, Cleveland, Ohio, states over his own signature:

"The White Company, and to the best of my knowledge, not one of the executive members of the company, have ever made a donation or in any way helped to promote the Prohibition movement. We have been in business for the past fifty-four years and have always been successful and maintained a liberal policy, and we cannot see why it would be good business to change the policy."

In re the Reo Motor Car Company.

The Vice-President and General Manager of this Company, Mr. Scott, is the President of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League.

This concern is soliciting business from the brewing trade.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. You also caused an investigation to be made of the Du Pont Powder Co., did you not?

Mr. FOX (after examining papers). Evidently an investigation was made, and this is a report of it.

Maj. HUMES. Who made that investigation?

Mr. FOX. A newspaper man named Kessler.

Maj. HUMES. Was he a newspaper man?

Mr. FOX. A newspaper man and—oh, a cartoonist.

Maj. HUMES. I notice in the report he says he represented himself to be a newspaper man in order to get an entré to the plant?

Mr. FOX. Yes; he was a newspaper man. From time to time he was in our employ, intermittently. I think very likely he was at that time.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE T.

[Confidential file.]

[Camillus Kessler, 839 West 179th St.]

After a two days investigation of the report that the Du Pont de Nemours Powder Company intended to effect a scheme to regulate the amount of alcoholic liquor used by its workmen by the establishment of a canteen system within its factories, I wish to submit the following:—

I first called upon the Advertising Manager of the Company, who is regarded as one of the official family. I represented myself to be a newspaper man seeking material for a story. I showed him the clipping from the Newburgh News and after questioning him as to whether the Du Ponts were really seeking efficiency in their workmen by controlling and regulating the consumption of liquor by a check system, he impressed upon me most emphatically a complete disavowal of the story. He explained how for years past the Du Ponts have absolutely prohibited the use of intoxicants by their employees and, now with the rush of war orders, the prohibition ban has been drawn even closer. Mr. Lord, the advertising manager, to verify his statements, called on the phone, my presence, the heads of two of their factories and explained to them the clipping from the Newburgh News and tried to find out the source of the story. No one that he could reach or refer me to ever heard of any such system.

After calling on several of the men in the offices in Wilmington, I took the ferry and went across the river to Penn's Grove, where one of the largest of the Du Pont factories is located. There I talked with the Chief of Police, some of the men who work in the high explosive department and one of the guards. They all assured me that there was not a drink to be had in Penn's Grove. The only bar in the town had been closed by the Du Ponts and if any workman wanted a drink of any kind he would have to go to Wilmington, or some other neighboring town.

It is reported if a guard is seen taking a drink off duty he is immediately discharged. If a workman comes to work with the slightest indication of liquor on his breath he is not allowed to work. From all that I could see prohibition could not be more effectively enforced than it is in Penn's Grove. I was informed by the officials and by men who had worked in the other factories of the company that the same conditions exist in all of the Du Pont Company factories.

(NOTE.—Clipping from Newburgh News referred to is from the issue of September 21, 1916.)

Maj. HUMES. In reference to the Wayne Oil Tank & Pump Co. is that from your files?

Mr. FOX (after examining papers). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer that in evidence.

(The paper in Exhibit File U is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE U.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Confidential file.

FEBRUARY 7TH, 1916.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

Re Wayne Oil Tank & Pump Co.

As the Wayne Oil Tank & Pump Company has apparently been confused by some of our members with a concern which has unpleasant and unfriendly feelings toward the brewing industry, I take pleasure in stating that the Wayne Oil Tank & Pump Company has always observed a most cordial attitude toward

the trade and has in no way been identified with any hostile measures or propaganda.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. I hand you a file concerning the Escanaba Manufacturing Co. Is that from your files?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Was that investigated by you?

Mr. Fox (after examining papers). I do not recall it. It looks to me as though it was investigated by the Michigan association.

Maj. HUMES. The reason for your investigation of that concern was because of the rule that it did not allow pay checks to be cashed in saloons, was it not?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall anything about it, but I should think that the indorsement on the back of this would show. It is indorsed:

This order will not be paid or honored by the Drawer or by the bank upon which it is drawn if it be or becomes endorsed by, or the property of any person, firm or corporation engaged in the business of selling spirituous or intoxicating liquors, either at wholesale or retail, or if it be or becomes endorsed by or the property of any person who conducts a hotel or boarding house in connection with any place where such liquors are sold.

And so forth. I should think that it was. I do not know whether we investigated it or the Michigan people did.

Maj. HUMES. It was under investigation?

Mr. Fox. It was under investigation; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I offer that file in evidence.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE V–V–2.

[Leisen & Henes Brewing Co. Capacity 75,000 barrels. Special brands: Our Ideal, Silver Brand, Standard and Nuernberger. Louis J. Leisen, Pres't.; Jos. W. Leisen, Vice Pres't.; John Henes, Sec'y. Treas. & M'g'r. "The Best What Is."]

MENOMINEE, MICH., *Apl. 12–1911.*

Mr. HUGH FOX,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We enclose herewith copies of papers which recently came into our hands and think such a mean action should be counteracted.

This company manufacture woodenware of all discriptions and is composed principally of St. Louis, Mo. parties.

Anything you can suggest what can be done will be appreciated and we will do all we can. This does not directly effect us nor our business not doing business at Escanaba, Mich, but the example to other firms might effect other points.

Yours very truly,

LEISEN & HENES BREWING CO.

Answered Apr. 28, 1911—H. F. F.

APRIL 28, 1911.

Messrs. LEISEN & HENES,
Menominee, Mich.

GENTLEMEN: This is with reference to your letter of April the 12th in regard to the Escanaba Manufacturing Co. The matter has been taken up, by correspondence, with the counsel of the Michigan State Brewers' Association and other parties, and we are giving it most careful consideration, but we are not yet sure of the best course to pursue.

Thanking you for calling our attention to it, I am,

Yours faithfully,

Secretary.

HFF/BT

[Not to be cashed at a saloon. No. 408. Escanaba Manufacturing Company.]

ESCANABA, MICH., ———.

Subject to all the conditions on the back hereof, pay to _____

$ _____

$_____ dollars.

ESCANABA MANUFACTURING CO.,
_____ *Treasurer.*

To the Escanaba National Bank
Escanaba, Mich.

This order will not be paid or honored by the Drawer or by the bank upon which it is drawn if it be or becomes indorsed by, or the property of any person, firm or corporation engaged in the business of selling spirituous or intoxicating liquors, either at wholesale or retail, or if it be or becomes endorsed by or the property of any person who conducts a hotel or boarding house in connection with any place where such liquors are sold, and the person into whose hands this shall come, accepts it subject to these conditions, and in full payment of the amount named on its face and of the claim against the drawer for which it is given.

The undersigned each agree to the foregoing.

ESCANABA MANUFACTURING CO.
Escanaba, Mich. Delta Co.

M. B. Wallace, Prest. St. Louis, Mo.
A. A. Wallace, V. Prest. St. Louis, Mo.
J. W. Sheldon, Secy. St. Louis, Mo.
T. M. Judson, Treasr. Escanaba, Mich.

April, 10–11: The stock-holders of this Co, as shown by last report files with Secretary of State are as follows.

T. M. Judson, 100 shares common.
M. B. Wallace, 1100 common, 40 preferred.
G. W. Wallace, 10 common, 19 preferred.
A. A. Wallace, 350 common, 675 preferred.
J. W. Sheldon, 50 common.
H. Maxwell, 50 common.
O. P. O'Fallon, 50 common, 110 preferred.
O. P. O'Fallon (Trustee), 200 preferred.
Caroline Pope, 300 preferred.
Caroline M. O'Fallon, 60 preferred.
J. J. O'Fallon, 800 preferred.
Nancy H. Mottley, 20 preferred.
Adelaide E. W. Pope, 66 preferred.
All of these parties are residents of St. Louis, Mo.

Maj. HUMES. The Auburn Motor Co.—is that from your files [handing file to the witness]?

Mr. FOX (after examination). Yes, sir.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE W.

MARCH 18, 1915.

BERGHOFF BREWING ASS'N.,
Fort Wayne, Ind.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letter of the 15th giving information regarding the attitude of the Auburn Motor Car Company. This is much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

W. *Secretary.*

[Berghoff Brewing Association. Extra Pale—Pilsner Process—"A Real German Brew"—Old Munich Process—Dortmunder-Salvator.]

FORT WAYNE, IND., *March 15, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
% United States Brewers Ass'n.,
New York City, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of Feb 24th, to Mr. J. C. Kelly at Indianapolis, relative to the Auburn Motor Car Company, has been referred to us and in reply beg to say this firm is unfair to our business as the President of that company has done all in his power to make both their city and county dry, and keep it so.

Yours truly,

BERGHOFF BREWING ASS'N.,
L. H. GOCKE.

LHG–C
Berghoff—Honest Brew
Landsberg.

Maj. HUMES. The Kelly-Springfield Co.?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE X.

[Kelly-Springfield Co.]

[Oliver T. Remmers, attorney at law, office Ninth and Pestalozzi Streets, St. Louis, Mo.]

JUNE 25, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec'y.,*
United States Brewers' Ass'n., 50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: On June 23rd I wrote you concerning two companies that our Purchasing Department is about to undertake a contract with, and I now desire the same information as to the Kelly-Springfield Tire Co., of Springfield, Mass., and New York City, to know whether you have any information which would cause you to believe that either the firm or any of its officers are contributing to or encouraging the prohibition cause.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Respectfully yours,

OTR–LM. OLIVER T. REMMERS.

[Kelly-Springfield Co.]

JULY 12, 1915.

Mr. W. F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: I have an inquiry from one of the large shipping breweries as to whether the Kelly-Springfield Tire Company of Akron, Ohio are friendly to our interests, or whether they are contributing to or encouraging the prohibition cause.

Any information you can give me on the subject will be treated as confidential and will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

W. *Secretary.*

[O. T. Remmers.]

[The Ohio Brewers' Association, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Executive board: Adam Schantz, president, Dayton, O.; G. J. Pilliod, vice president, Toledo, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; S. Fishel, Cleveland, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.; Chas. G. Steinle, Delphos, O.; John Unverzagt, Columbus, O.; Wm. F. Hess, secretary and treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Long distance telephone, Canal 3182.]

JULY 19, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *New York City.*

DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to yours of the 12th inst.

Our correspondent at Akron writes as follows:

"In our fight here last year, the Kelly-Springfield Company took no part, either for or against us, and to-day, I called upon Mr. Thomas Marshall, the

General Supt., and he informed me that he personally was liberal and that he positively knew that the policy of the Company in the coming fight would be a neutral one, and he referred me to Mr. V. H. Cartmell, 229 W. 57th St., New York City, N. Y., President of the Company, as the one who has the absolute control of their policies.

"Mr. Marshall also informed me that since last fall their sales have increased wonderfully and that he understood from the New York office, that their increase was partly due to the trouble the Goodyear people had with the Brewing Industry, because of their attitude in our State-wide fight last year."

Yours very truly,

WM. F. HESS, *Sec'y-Treas.*

Maj. HUMES. Robert A. Keasbey Co.—do you remember that concern? You persuaded them to commit themselves to the cause you were contending for, did you not?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall anything about it, but the correspondence is identified.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE Y.

(Copy.)

[Robert A. Keasbey Co., heat and cold insulating materials. Headquarters for 85% magnesia, asbestos and brine pipe coverings, asbestos products, etc., 100 North Moore St., New York City.]

APRIL 12, 1910.

The JOHN STANTON BREWING Co.,
Troy, New York.

GENTLEMEN: We acknowledge yours of April 8th. and have received a visit from Mr. Parker, connected with the Manufacturers' & Dealers' League.

We have explained to him our position, namely: That we believe that local option, giving to every community the privilege to vote as to whether saloons shall or shall not be instituted in their locality, is a prerogative of the American people and part of the Constitution, and therefore it has our general good wishes.

We regret very much that we cannot think with you or have you think with us.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT A. KEASBEY CO.
ROBERT A. KEASBEY,
Pres. & Gen'l Mgr.

RAK/W

[The John Stanton Brewing and Malting Co. Established 1817. Incorporated 1895. John Stanton, pres't & treas.; Wm. P. Stanton, vice Pres't & Mgr.; Edmond F. Stanton, secy. Brewers & bottlers of ales, porter and lager beer. Absolutely the best ever brewed. Supreme brand—Jupiter.]

Answered Apr. 14, 1910. F. F. F.

1428–1448 FIFTH AVENUE.
Troy, N. Y., April 13th, 1910.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secty., United States Brewers Assn.,
109 E. 115th Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: At the suggestion of Manufacturers and Dealers League, we recently addressed a stereotyped letter to a number of individuals and firms with whom we have done business, in an effort to have them join the League, the objects of which you are no doubt familiar with.

The enclosed copy of reply we received from the Robert A. Keasbey Company, and explains itself.

We, in the past, have done a great deal of business with this concern, as no doubt many other brewers, hotel keepers and manufacturing firms allied with the trade have done, and many of whom will undoubtedly continue to do so in the future, unless the attitude of this firm toward our interests becomes known to them.

Should you deem it wise to send out a copy of this letter, we would request that the name of the addressee be withheld.

Yours very truly,

THE JOHN STANTON BREWING COMPANY.
WM. P. STANTON, *Mgr.*

WPS–E.

APRIL 14, 1910.

Mr. WILLIAM STANTON,
Mgr., Stanton Brewing & Malting Co., Troy, New York.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 13th, and thank you for calling our attention to the attitude of the Robert A. Keasbey Company.

Their letter to you is certainly frank and manly, and I must express a certain admiration for their honesty, when it would have been so easy to evade the issue.

We are about to publish a study of local option, and my judgment would be to wait until this is out, and then submit it to the Keasbey Company, and see if we cannot convert them, before doing anything that would put them permanently in opposition to us. I have notified Mr. Savage of the Manufacturers & Dealers League accordingly.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/D

JUNE 1ST, 1910.

THE JOHN STANTON BRG. & MALTING CO.
1428 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y.

DEAR SIRS:—This is with reference to your letter of April 13th, regarding your correspondence with the Robert A. Keasbey Company, and I enclose for your information, copy of my letter to this concern, and will advise you of the developments.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/D Enc.
(This letter in not in the files.)

[Orange County Brewery, Middletown, N. Y. The king of all beers, the cream of all ales. Wuerzburger & Pilsener beers, sparkling & cream ales and porter.]

JUL 14 1914.

THE U S BREWERS ASSOIN
50 Union Sq New York City

GENTLEMEN: To day a Robert A Keasbey agent called to solicit orders on Pipe Covering etc. We did not hesitate to tell the agent that we would not give Keasbey an order, as Keasbey would use the money to fight our business. We had to order the agent out, which he disliked very much. Keasbey received a number of orders from us up to two or three years ago, when we were informed that he opposed the Liquor business. This agent said that the Keasbey Co are doing a lot of work for Obermeyer & Liebman at Brooklyn N. Y. If this be the case would it be proper for you to acquaint Obermeyer and Leibman of the facts Robert A Keasbey & Co. are located at 100 North Moore St N Y City We are positive that Keasby made some remarks or donated to the cause of Prohibition. Of course we have no paper to show this to be true, however we refused to give Keasbey any more orders after we read of his doings against the business. The Robert A Keasby Co advertise in the Brewers Journal. Would it be wise to ascertain from the Keasby Co how they stand on the Liquor question, as they manufacture material used in Breweries and we are opposed to support any one that is against us. If the Brewer's support any firm or person that is against us we would be paying money to others to put us out of business, in fact it would be our own money putting us out of business. Give this matter prompt attention.

Yours truly

ORANGE COUNTY BREWERY
CHAS C YOUNG
Middletown, N. Y.

[New York State Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York.]

JULY 16, 1914.

MR. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, 50 Union Square, New York City, New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Mr. Parker, of the Manufacturers' & Dealers' League, informs me that Robert H. Keasbey & Company of 100 North Moore Street are decidedly hostile to our interests.

Yours very truly,

SAM. S. BREWER.
McL.

SSB/McL.

[Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

JULY 17, 1914.

MESSRS. ROBERT H. KEASBEY & CO.,
100 North Moore St., New York City.

DEAR SIRS: I have received several inquiries from our members, asking whether you are friendly to our interests, and I am taking the liberty of writing you direct, to ask for an expression of your views?

We do not, of course, question the right of any man to his own opinion, and there are certain questions which relate to license legislation that are doubtless debatable. It is, however, generally conceded by all the leaders of thought in the brewing industry, and by impartial students of the license question, that national prohibition, state wide prohibition, and county option are thoroughly unwise, and that they should be consistently opposed. What is your attitude on these questions?

We believe that the system of controlling the retail trade by licensing it, and thus keeping it under constant regulation and supervision, works better than anything else. What is your opinion as to this?

I understand that some four years ago you explained your position to the John Stanton Brewing Company, in the following terms:

"We believe that local option, giving to every community the privilege to vote as to whether saloons shall or shall not be instituted in their locality, is a prerogative of the American people, and part of the Constitution, and therefore it has our general good wishes."

Unfortunately we are opposed by an organized body of a national character, whose ultimate purpose of absolute prohibition, and they have now admitted that their local option campaign in this and other States is merely a detail of their plan for progressive prohibition, and that therefore, their policy is one of mere opportunism in advocating local option. The merits of the local option question are therefore, more or less academic from our viewpoint, considering the character of our opponents.

I am taking the liberty of sending you our Year Book for 1909, which contains a careful study of the local option question. I am also sending you my recent address on "The Co-Operation of the Retail Liquor Trade in Saloon Regulation," which will indicate our advanced attitude on the regulation of the saloon.

We should like to know, if you see fit to tell us, whether your firm or any of its members are contributing to the Anti-Saloon League, or to any of the other organized forces that are attacking us.

I understand that you are doing a good deal of business with brewers and hotelkeepers and other people whose interests are closely related, and I should very much like, if possible, to quote you in the most friendly spirit.

Awaiting your reply, I am,

Yours faithfully,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

Maj. HUMES. The Firestone Rubber & Tire Co. correspondence is included in that file, is it?

Mr. FOX. I identify it.

Maj. HUMES. That is from your files?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. They appear on this list, Exhibit 293?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE Z.

[The Manufacturers and Dealers League of the City and State of New York, 9 Desbrosses Street, New York. (Address all communications to 9 Desbrosses St., New York.) Officers: G. L. Savage, president (Golden Gate Mfg. Co.), 9 Desbrosses Street, New York; Chas. Zoller, vice president (Chas. Zoller Co.), 211 East 94th Street, New York; Theodore Rosenwald, treasurer (T. Rosenwald & Co.), 116 Broad Street, New York; N. J. Mitchell, secretary (Guarantor Realty Corp.), 437 Fifth Avenue, New York. Board of directors: A. Kalthoff, chairman (H. D. Berner & Winterbauer Co.), New York; Chas. Roos, of Aug. Roos' Son, 429 East 91st Street, New York; S. V. Steiner, of S. S. Steiner, 17 Battery Place, New York; W. V. Hirsh, of Hirsh & Schofield, 18 Water Street, New York; Frank Pentlarge, of U. S. Bung Mfg. Co., 50 South 2d Street, Brooklyn; Ferd Goebel, of S. & F. Uhlmann, 17 Battery Place, New York; T. A. Dwyer (Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co.), 29–33 West 32d Street, N. Y.; J. Samuel Smoot (Burns Bros.), 50 Church Street, New York; J. S. Raymond (Buffalo Cereal Co.), F-6 Produce Exchange, New York; Watson A. Guthrie (Edward Ermold Co.), 652 Hudson Street, New York; A. S. Barritt (Manhattan Rubber Mfg. Co.), 18 Vesey Street, New York.]

[Confidential file.]

NEW YORK, *January 18th, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, SECRETARY,
United States Brewmasters' Association,
50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of the 16th inst., regarding the Firestone Tire & Rubber Company, 1871 Broadway, New York, we are glad to advise you that this concern has been a member of the League since 1908, and have just paid their dues for 1915. As they are fully aware of the objects and purposes of the League, their membership would seem to indicate their sympathy with our cause.

Should, however, you learn of any concrete instance to the contrary, if you will advise us we will be glad to go into the matter further.

Yours very truly,

H. J. PARKER, *Secretary.*

Confidential. FEB. 19, 1915.

THE AKRON BREWING CO.,
Akron, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: We have been receiving a number of inquiries from New York brewers regarding the Firestone Rubber & Tire Co., which I understand, has a factory in Akron. The New York representatives of this concern belong to the Manufacturers & Dealers League, with which we are affiliated, and their attitude is entirely friendly. It is, however, rumored that the parent company has allowed notices to be posted in its plant, encouraging the prohibition cause. May I ask if you will be kind enough to let me know *in confidence*, what the facts are, and whether you regard the company as being friendly or unfriendly to our interests?

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

Confidential file.
HFF/ED

[The Akron Brewing Co., Akron, Ohio. Purity, strength, age.]

MARCH 6TH/15.

H. F. FOX,
Sec. United States Brewers Ass., New York.

DEAR SIR: In answer of yours of Feb. 19/15, would say I have made a special effort in regard to the Firestone Rubber & Tire Co., toward our industry, and find where Mr. Firestone personally contributed One Hundred Dollars toward the dry cause as a personal donation.

The Firestone Rubber & Tire Co., have so far never allowed any literature of any kind, such as religion, creed, wet or dry in their factory.

I would appreciate it greatly
me such information as may

F. A. HUNTER, *Secretary.*

JAN. 31, 1916.

League,
Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
the 29th inst., I have taken up the
Pennsylvania correspondent, and will
him.

Secretary.

---

bottlers of lager beer, ale and porter. Erie
local branch. Fred Koehler, president; Adolph
Brevillier, secy. & treas.; J. M. Magenau
& treas. Address all communications to the

FEB. 4, 1916.

New York, N. Y.

letter of the 31st ult., beg to advise that the
by this company some time ago there having
the General Electric was antagonistic to the
investigation, that the charges were un-
with the General Manager of the local plant
was later followed by a letter, that his com-
our business nor did they intend to do so.
that we have obtained a new license at Wesley-
from the General Electric Plant.
short distance from the plant and so far as we
any objections filed on the part of the General
these licenses. We see no reason why the brewers
the General Electric when in the market for

information will be of assistance to you, we remain,

THE ERIE BREWING COMPANY.
FRED. KOEHLER, *President.*

Corp., M. J. Healey, pres.; Joseph G. Schuler, vice pres.;
Murray, treas.; L. O. Hoover, secy.]

Answered Feb. 10, H. F. F.
SCHENECTADY, N. Y., *February 9th, 1915.*

Association, New York City.

letter of the 20th ult.; received, but regret to say that it
me and therefore not answered up to this time, for which
from me.
General Electric Company towards the liquor industry, will
information that I have been able to receive, from a
officers of the concern, they have never attempted to intimi
employees on the liquor question.
truly,

MOHAWK VALLEY BREWING CORP.
By C. T. SCHULTZ.

Confidential.

JAN. 20, 1915.

MOHAWK VALLEY BREWING COR.,
Schenectady, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I have an inquiry from a Brewers' Association in the West as to the attitude of the General Electric Company of Schenectady toward the liquor industry.

May I ask if you can let me know, in confidence, whether they have taken any attitude in the matter, and whether they attempt to influence their employes unfairly.

Any light that you can throw upon this query will be appreciated, and of course be treated in the strictest confidence.

Very truly yours,
HFF/W

Secretary.

[The Manufacturers and Dealers League of the City and State of New York, 9 Desbrosses Street, New York. (Address all communications to 9 Desbrosses St., New York.) Officers: Chas. Zoller, president (Chas. Zoller Co.), 211 East 94th Street, New York; G. L. Savage, vice president (Golden Gate Mfg. Co.), 9 Desbrosses Street, New York; Watson A. Guthrie, treasurer (Edward Ermold Co.), 652 Hudson Street, New York; H. J. Parker, secretary, 9 Desbrosses Street, New York. Board of directors: A. Kalthoff, chairman (H. D. Berner & Winterbauer Co.), New York; Chas. Roos, of Aug. Roos' Son, 429 East 91st Street, New York; S. V. Steiner, of S. S. Steiner, 17 Battery Place, New York; W. V. Hirsh, of Hirsh & Schofield, 18 Water Street, New York; Frank Pentlarge, of U. S. Bung Mfg. Co., 50 South 2d Street, Brooklyn; Ferd Goebel, of S. & F. Uhlmann, 17 Battery Place, New York; Theodore Rosenwald (T. Rosenwald & Co.), 116 Broad Street, New York; J. Samuel Smoot (Burns Bros.), 50 Church Street, New York; J. S. Raymond (Buffalo Cereal Co.), F-6 Produce Exchange, New York; A. S. Barritt (Manhattan Rubber Mfg. Co.), 18 Vesey Street, New York; Louis Block, 45 East 42d Street, New York.]

NEW YORK, *January 21st, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of the 20th inst., asking for information in regard to the Moller & Schumann Company, Marcy & Flushing Aves., Brooklyn, N. Y., and the General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y., are friendly toward the liquor industry:—

The Moller & Schumann Company is, and has been for three years a member of our League in good standing, and have been prompt in complying with every request made of them. It is inferred, having no knowledge to the contrary, that they are in entire sympathy with the cause.

The name of the General Electric Company has been given to us by many brewers as doing business with them, and numberless letters have been sent them both by brewers and by the League, but they have not responded to any of them. In view of this, it would seem they are not desirous of giving their aid and influence in disseminating sentiment favorable to the interests mentioned.

Trusting this information is satisfactory, and that we may be advised as to the result of your correspondence with the latter company, we are

Yours very truly,

H. J. PARKER, *Secretary.*

[The Manufacturers and Dealers League of Western Pennsylvania, Inc. J. D. Robertson, president; W. E. Kusen, vice president; F. A. Hunter, secretary; John D. MacDermid, treasurer. Directors: J. D. Robertson, W. E. Kusen, John D. MacDermid, William James, C. O. Zimmerman, C. F. Mason, E. M. Wagner. Confidential file. Phone, Court 1982. May Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.]

JANUARY 29, 1916.

(Confidential)

Mr. H. F. Fox,
United States Brewers Assoc.,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: The General Electric Company are putting up a plant on the outskirts of Erie, Pa., and information has come to me that they will not permit

a saloon in the town where the plant is located. I would appreciate it greatly if you will look into this matter and forward to me such information as may come into your hands.

Thanking you for the information, I am

Very truly yours,

F. A. HUNTER, *Secretary.*

JAN. 31, 1916.

Mr. F. A. HUNTER,
Secretary, The Manufacturers & Dealers League,
May Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 29th inst., I have taken up the matter referred to therein with our Pennsylvania correspondent, and will advise you further as soon as I hear from him.

Very truly yours,

W.

Secretary.

[The Erie Brewing Company, Brewers and bottlers of lager beer, ale and porter. Erie, Pa. Jackson Koehler branch. C. M. Conrad branch. Fred Koehler, president; Adolph L. Curtze, v. prest. & genl. mgr.; F. A. Brevillier, secy. & treas.; J. M. Magenau, asst. mgr.; E. W. King, asst. secy. & treas. Address all communications to the company.]

FEB. 4, 1916.

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Secretary, U. S. Brewers' Ass'n., New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 31st ult., beg to advise that the matter referred to was taken up by this company some time ago there having been rumors to the effect that the General Electric was antagonistic to the trade. We found however, upon investigation, that the charges were unfounded. We had an interview with the General Manager of the local plant who assured us verbally, which was later followed by a letter, that his company had taken no action against our business nor did they intend to do so. We are also pleased to advise that we have obtained a new license at Wesleyville which is but a short distance from the General Electric Plant.

There is another license a short distance from the plant and so far as we know there has never been any objections filed on the part of the General Electric against either of these licenses. We see no reason why the brewers should not favorably consider the General Electric when in the market for anything in their line.

Trusting that this information will be of assistance to you, we remain,

Yours very truly,

THE ERIE BREWING COMPANY.
FRED. KOEHLER, *President.*

FK*E

[The Mohawk Valley Brewing Corp., M. J. Healey, pres.; Joseph G. Schuler, vice pres.; M. F. Murray, treas.; L. O. Hoover, secy.]

Answered Feb. 10, H. F. F.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., *February 9th, 1915.*

Mr. H. R. FOX,
U. S. Brewers' Association, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 20th ult.; received, but regret to say that it has been mislaid by me and therefore not answered up to this time, for which I hope you will pardon me.

Regarding the General Electric Company towards the liquor industry, will say that from the information that I have been able to receive, from a number of the employees of the concern, they have never attempted to intimidate any of their employees on the liquor question.

Yours sincerely,

MOHAWK VALLEY BREWING CORP.
By C. T. SCHULTZ.

CTS/WMS

Maj. HUMES. You also investigated the Baker Electric Co.?

Mr. FOX. The correspondence is identified.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE BB.

[Copy.]

THE GUND BREWING CO.
Cleveland, Ohio, November 28th, 1914.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secy.,*
U. S. Brewers Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Again referring to your letter of the 16th, in regard to attitude of the Baker Electric Co., of our city, on the liquor question, as far as we can learn they have never shown any antagonism against our business and, in fact, the manager of their retail sales department and garage assisted our man sometime ago in getting signatures on the Anti-Shipping Bill petition. Also understand they are patrons of one of our customers in that neighborhood. Should I, however, learn anything to the contrary, I will bear it in mind and inform you.

We also have had one of their representatives here sometime ago, as they are going into the electric truck business, and taking that into consideration, it surely would be unwise for them to be antagonistic.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) GEO. F. GUND.

Maj. HUMES. You gave notice to the trade that the Burroughs Adding Machine Co. was not fair, did you not, with a view of having patronage withheld?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall, but the correspondence speaks for itself. The correspondence is identified.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE CC.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

JUNE 15TH, 1914.

To the members of the United States Brewers' Association.

The following is for your information:

* * * * * * *

The Burroughs Adding Machine Company, Detroit, Michigan, Mr. Joseph Boyer, who is the head of this concern, is a liberal contributor to and supporter of the Anti-Saloon League.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[The Olt Brewing Company, 20 to 34 McGee St., Dayton, Ohio. Executive Committee: Chas. J. Olt, president; Fred Olt, secy. and treas.; Wm. J. Olt, vice president. Associate directors: Edward Olt, Oscar C. Olt.]

[Answered Aug. 9, 1914.]

AUG. 7, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec'y,*
U. S. Brewers' Association, New York.

DEAR SIR: Re. your advice of June 15th.

We noticed that Mr. Joseph Boyer, head of the Burroughs Adding Machine Co., of Detroit, is stated to be a liberal contributor to and supporter of the Anti-Saloon League. One of the members of our firm had occasion to mention to the local representative of the above company that this is the case, and the latter mentioned it to the local Sales Manager (a Mr. H. H. Rowe). Mr. Rowe's representative called up several days later, stating that they had advice from the home office (Detroit) that there was no foundation for such claim—but that Mr. Boyer had taken active interest in preventing a saloon being started just

across from the main entrance of the Burroughs Factory. He further stated that a lot suitable for saloon location was involved.

Kindly advise us of the result of your investigation. We are informed that one of the Breweries in this City has the purchase of a machine under consideration—and we consider it our duty to block the game if the facts should warrant it.

Respectfully yours,

THE OLT BREWING CO.,
FRED OLT, *Sec'y. & Treas.*

[Michigan State Brewers Association, 1002–3–4 Ford Building, Detroit.]

(Confidential.) AUGUST 11, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
% U. S. Brewers' Assn., New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: There is no doubt of the activity of Joseph Boyer in behalf of the Anti-Saloon League. He has been active in every effort of a certain coterie of manufacturers to prevent the establishment of any saloons within a mile or so of the Burroughs Adding Machine Company's factory in Detroit, not once but several times.

For many years he was a contributor to the prohibition party, giving from fifty to five hundred dollars per year. This comes to me from a prohibition worker who actually solicited and received from Mr. Boyer these sums. During the past two or three years, however, he declined to help the prohibition party, but gave all his so-called temperance contributions to the Anti-Saloon League. We are informed that in the spring of 1913 he gave to G. W. Morrow a check for $1000.00 for the "national work," and we are also informed that J. Francis Burke and the others who have been in charge of the Anti-Saloon League have at various times been given sums by Mr. Boyer.

Mr. Boyer has no objections to drinking himself. As a matter of fact, when Mr. Manchester and I were on a fishing expedition four or five years ago Mr. Boyer drank from a flask of whiskey which Mr. Manchester and I had with us. But Mr. Boyer does not approve of workingmen drinking. * * *

If this does not convince the brewing company I can furnish some further information which I am gathering now.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR E. GORDON, *Secretary.*

AEG—LMW

Mr. ARTHUR E. GORDON,
1002 Ford Bldg., Detroit, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. GORDON: Thanks for your letter of August 11th, regarding Mr. Joseph Boyer, and we think the information it contains is sufficient.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

JD

[Article on page 1326, sales bulletin for Friday, Aug. 14, 1914. Issued by the sales department of the Burroughs Adding Machine Company in the interests of the Burroughs Selling Organization.]

PERSONAL LIBERTY.

A letter was recently received at the factory from one of our salesmen stating that one of his P. Bs. had given, as a reason for not buying a machine, the fact that an officer of the Burroughs Adding Machine Co. was reported to have contributed to the Anti-Saloon League.

Our reply was simply that the Burroughs Adding Machine Company had made no contribution whatever to the Anti-Saloon League or against it, and could not and would not contribute to either side for the very good reason that its money belongs to its stockholders, and among its stockholders are to be found men holding decided views on both sides of this question as well as other public questions.

Every stockholder, officer and employee of this Company enjoys the fullest measure of Personal Liberty and there is no view of any public question that is

not held by some of the four thousand odd people associated with the Company. It would be absurd for a member of any trade, political party, sect, or religious organization to be influenced either in favor of or against the Burroughs Adding Machine Company by the personal or individual attitude of any of the people in the business.

[Executive committee: Chas. J. Olt, president; Fred Olt, secy. and treas.; Wm. J. Olt, vice president. Associate directors: Edward Olt, Oscar C. Olt. 20 to 34 McGee St. Phones: Home 2164, Bell east, Home 2174, Bell 860.]

THE OLT BREWING COMPANY,
DAYTON, OHIO, *Aug. 15, 1914.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y United States Brewers' Association,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We herewith enclose a copy of an article which appeared in the Aug. 14th, 1914 number of the "Sales Bulletin" of the Burroughs Adding Machine Co. While we must admire their adroitness we cannot consider their explanation as satisfactory, as it savors too much of an endeavor to shield hypocrisy.

We have accordingly advised our inquirers to be on their guard.

Respectfully yours,

THE OLT BREWING CO.,
FRED OLT,
Sec'y. & Treas.

Maj. HUMES. There has been something said about the Cadillac Motor Car Co. You had great difficulty in getting the status of the Cadillac Motor Car Co. in its relation to the General Motors Co. determined, did you not?

Mr. FOX. That is my recollection.

Maj. HUMES. The result was that when you found that one was merely a holding company you gave a clear bill of health to the holding company—the General Motors Co.—and announced to the trade that the Cadillac Co. was unfair, with a view of having patronage withheld from them?

Mr. FOX. I identify all this correspondence.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE DD.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

Confidential. FEBRUARY 21, 1912.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

Mr. W. C. Leland, of the Cadillac Motor Car Company is also aggressively antagonistic, and the entire corporation is reported by the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association to be aiding and abetting the Anti-Saloon League.

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[Michigan State Brewers Association, Detroit, 1002–3–4 Ford Building.]

F—#390 MARCH 6, 1912.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec. U. S. Brewers' Assn.,*
109–111 E. 15th St., New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Your telegram of February 24th came while I was ill, which explains my seeming neglect.

W. C. Leland has a managerial position with the Cadillac Company. He is the son of Henry M. Leland, the general manager of the Company. Henry M. Leland is active in the Anti-Saloon League and has always been very active in any movement against saloons.

The Cadillac Company is embraced in the General Motors Company. Two years ago, when W. C. Durant was at the head of the General Motors Company, he promised to and did induce Leland to keep his mouth shut on the question. Since that time, however, Durant has been forced out of the General Motors and Leland has become active again.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR E. GORDON, *Secretary.*

AEG/LMW

(Copy.)

[The Goebel Brewing Company, Detroit, Mich.]

APRIL 22, 1912.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers Ass'n.,
109–11 East 15th St., New York City.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 12th inst. duly received with enclosures. Last Thursday I had Mr. Carl Morgan, formerly of the Lansdon Electric Truck Company of Newark, N. J., now Sales Manager of the Electric Truck Department of the General Motors, out to dinner with me. I again took up the attitude of the Cadillac Company, and he agreed to investigate the claims of Messrs. Hall & Benson, and report to me later.

I regret that the statement of Mr. Benson as to our local brewers owning Cadillac Cars is only too true; five or six to my knowledge owning Cadillac Cars.

As soon as I hear further from Mr. Morgan you will hear from me again.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) A. GOEBEL, Jr.

AGJr–D

[Olympia Brewing Co., Leopold F. Schmidt, President; Peter G. Schmidt, Superintendent; Frank K. Kenney, Secretary. Manufacturers of the Famous Olympia Beer. Trade Mark Tumwater. "It's the Water." Office: Olympia, Seattle, Tacoma. G. S. Robinson, Mgr., Seattle. Daniel Gamer, Mgr., Tacoma.]

OLYMPIA, WASH., *Nov. 29, 1912.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASSOCIATION,
109 East 15th St., New York.

GENTLEMEN: With reference to your communication of November 20th to Mr. Kenney, our Secretary, regarding the Cadillac Motor Car Co. Last year at the time we were in the market for a car, we took the matter up with the Cadillac people, and they advised us that they had never assisted nor sanctioned any assistance to the Prohibition or Local Option movement. They, however, did not state that Mr. Leland did not give any assistance, nor do we find in the copy of letter which we received from you (enclosed) that Mr. Leland, as the manager of the Cadillac Co., sanctioned anything of this nature, but only gave his personal views. We do not feel that we are getting to the root of the evil by refusing to purchase Cadillac automobiles. It seems to us that by taking the matter up direct with the Cadillac Managing Board of Directors results could be obtained which would be more effective than this; in other words, the muzzling of Mr. Leland in connection with the expression of his views, and signing as manager of the Cadillac Company. One can hardly hold the old man responsible for much because he is becoming childish in his ways, and, fearing death, undoubtedly, has joined the religious cause. We are now, through the agency of the Cadillac Company here, attempting to get into communication with the Managing Board of the Cadillac Co., which, as a matter of fact, happens to be the General Motors Co., and ascertain if they will not take some steps in connection with this. There are, no doubt, a great many people purchasing automobiles from other factories which are owned by the General Motors Co., who control and own the Cadillac Co.

We shall advise you of the results which we might get through this procedure. We have been advised, however, by the State Distributor of the

Cadillac Co. for this state, that at the banquet given to the distributors and large sellers of the Cadillac Motors the prevailing spirit was very far from dry, the banquet starting with cock-tails and winding up with champagne, although Mr. Leland did not indulge, himself. The wet goods were in evidence, that is certain.

Any further information you are able to gather shall be appreciated by us.

Yours truly,

OLYMPIA BREWING COMPANY.
By FRED W. SCHMIDT.

FWS.S

Address all communications regarding this to Olympia Brewing Co., Olympia. Please put this number on your reply: L–14.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

Strictly confidential. FEBRUARY 21ST, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following is submitted to you without prejudcice, for your information:

* * * * * * *

THE CADILLAC MOTOR CAR COMPANY, DETROIT.

Mr. Henry M. Leland, Advisory Manager, and his son Winfred Leland, continue to be bitterly opposed to our industry. The Cadillac Company has been absorbed by the General Motors Company, which is distributing a special catalogue advertising their trucks for brewery use. The heads of the General Motors Company has always been fair and friendly, but it might be well, in dealing with this Company, to protest against the action of the Cadillac people.

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

(Copy.)

Confidential. MAR. 5, 1914.

Mr. AUGUST GOEBEL, Jr.,
The Goebel Brewing Co., Detroit, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. GOEBEL: The New York representative of the Cadillac Motor Car Company, who married the daughter of Gottfried Krueger, the brewer of Newark, New Jersey, is very much concerned over the attitude that we have taken. I understand that he sells 20% of all the cars that the Cadillac Company makes. Evidently, we have at last gotten under the skins of the Cadillac Company, as you will see from the enclosed copy of letter from their general-manager to Mr. Upperce, their New York agent. Mr. Ruppert is anxious to find out, as soon as possible, whether there is any change in the attitude of the Cadillac people, as he was on the point of buying several of their cars. Mr. Upperce is coming to see me soon, about it. Of course, our position is: That while a manufacturer may treat his own men as he pleases, and may himself preach and practice total abstinence, he must not give financial or other assistance to our opponents. It may be perfectly true that the Cadillac Company does not contribute to the Anti-Saloon League, or any other similar organizations, but if the Lelands, who are the managers of the Company, and large stockholders, are using their profits, and their position to finance the Anti-Saloon League, and promote the fight against us, we should not assist them by giving them our business.

Is W. C. Leland active in the prohibition cause, and is his father still helping the Anti-Saloon League? These are the important questions. Of course, if the Cadillac Motor Car Company would write a letter, stating that it is opposed to prohibition, and believes that the License system is the best way of regulating the liquor traffic, we could well afford to "shake hands with them."

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF Enc.

(Copy.)

CHICAGO, *March 12, 1914.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
U. S. Brewers' Ass'n, 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Representatives of the General Motors Truck Company, of Pontiac, Michigan, have called upon me and asked my assistance in removing what they believe to be a boycott of their concern on the part of the brewers, both in Chicago and New York, who have been led to believe that their Company is connected with the Cadillac Company, of which Mr. Leland was formerly the Manager. They claim to have lost about one hundred thousand dollars worth of business in this city alone in consequence of this misapprehension, which they claim has been largely brought about by the action of a competing firm.

The facts, as they present them, are these, and if upon investigation, you should find them to be true, I venture to suggest that our friends in the industry should be informed of them through your office, as nothing is farther from our or their intentions than to do injustice to any one, but rather to seek and cultivate friends wherever we can find them.

The General Motors Truck Company belongs to the General Motors Company, which is a so-called holding company controlling the stock of the following concerns: The Buick Motor Co., The Oakland Motor Co., The Carter Car Co., The Oldsmobile Co., The Cadillac Motor Car Co., The General Motors Truck Co., The Welch Motor Co., The Northway Motor Co., The J. C. Ignition Co.

Each of these companies has its separate identity, and operates independently of the others. But, because of the fact that the General Motors Company also holds the stock of the Cadillac Company, brewers are refusing to buy from the General Motors Truck Co., thus holding this Company responsible for the actions of a man who was formerly the head of another concern, with which it has no connection whatever.

I do not understand that the same discrimination is being shown by brewers against the other companies whose stock the General Motors Company holds. Yet it would seem that if one of these concerns is boycotted on account of being connected with a holding Company that controls the stock of the Cadillac Company, there would be just as much reason to boycott them all.

You probably know more about all this than I do. But, I remember that it was the policy of the National Association to discourage indiscriminate action on the part of individual brewers against other manufacturers whose employees were actively working against us, believing, and I think rightly, that far better results could be obtained by a dispassionate discussion of any grievances we might have on such a score with the heads of the firms in question.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would give this matter serious attention, and let me know what you determine to do. We need all the friends we can obtain, and while I am strongly inclined to smite our enemies hip and thigh wherever I can find them, I certainly believe it to be foolish to injure hundreds of friends merely in order to hit one enemy who may be concealed among those friends.

I know you agree with me on this subject.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) PERCY ANDREAE.

(Copy.)

GENERAL MOTORS TRUCK COMPANY,
Boston, March 13, 1914.

Mr. WALTER A. CARL,
Mgr., Roessle Brewery, 1250 Columbus Ave., Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of March 11th received, and this Branch wants to assure you that this is just the kind of letters that we are very, very glad to receive. Your letter will be forwarded to the President of our company, and we will use every effort from this end of the business to show Mr. Fox that Mr. Leyland and his son are practically not concerned with any policy of the General Motors Company or its subsidiaries.

However, I know that you are willing to be reasonable with us in this matter, and of course thoroughly understand that our stock is listed on the New York Exchange, and it is impossible for this company or any other com-

pany to control the sale of listed stock to prohibitionists, and naturally it will follow, as long as we are in existence and are not a closed corporation, that some of our stock will fall into the hands of those who are adverse to the sale of intoxicants.

I can say positively, however, that it is not the policy of the General Motors Company or any of its subsidiaries, to employ men who let their sentiments get the best of their business judgment. Mr. Leyland and his son, as reported to this Branch at the present time, are simply on the Advisory Board of the Cadillac Company, which is a subsidiary company of the General Motors Company. The Truck Company is as independent of the Cadillac Company, as the Cadillac is of any other pleasure car manufacturer, either controlled by the General Motors Company, or operating with them or with some other interest.

I am acquainted personally with all the men who dictate the policies of the Truck Company, and assure you that in not a single instance can I remember of one who advocates prohibition, and most of them are among the best consumers of your product of all his acquaintances.

I believe that the lettres which we receive from you brewers all help to eliminate our difficulties along this line, and I do not believe that the brewers are distillers, or are narrow-minded enough, in any event to hold the father for the son's sins, and while I hope that you will take this letter in the spirit it is written, I do not believe that you really would turn our company down, due to one or two men's stand, who are only a very small part in our large organization, and I thoroughly believe that your letter is meant to eliminate those men if possible, and to quiet them rather than to let your sentiments get the best of your business judgment, if we have the product that will give you the best proposition for your dollars; for, Mr. Carl, if you do this you are simply working along the same tactics that you accuse Mr. Leyland, for Mr. Leyland is simply letting his sentiments get the best of his business judgment, in my mind, and I am sure that you gentlemen are not going to follow in his footsteps.

Such letters as yours only aid us egotistic part of our organization to eliminate any obstacle that any of our organization may offer to your business, and we assure you that you have our hearty cooperation. I would suggest that you Brewers flood the branches of the Truck Company with just such letters as yours, and I am sure they will have their effect.

However, please understand that at the present time, as stated above, Mr. Leyland and his son have practically nothing to do with our Company other than the stock they own, and this we cannot control.

If you will pardon repetition, I feel sure that the gentlemen in your line of business are not going to allow their sentiments to interfere with dividends of the company, and I thoroughly believe that the real meaning of your letter is simply to eliminate your enemies, more than to turn down the best for your dollars, if you are thoroughly convinced that the General Motors Truck Company can furnish you with such a proposition. However, we do admire the fighting spirit and are sure that it will win; and, as stated above, assure you that you have our hearty endorsement and cooperation.

We are very pleased to advise that your truck was shipped yesterday and we expect it to arrive in Boston in 5–10 days.

Of course, I am not acquainted with Mr. H. F. Fox, but unquestionably he must be a very unprejudiced man, or you would not act upon his advice seemingly as strenuously, but of course you know that a great deal of this talk and influence that Mr. Leyland and his son have is greatly inflated and continually agitated by our competitors, and we hope that you will discount properly such influences, due to competition.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) H. RICHARDS.

Confidential. MARCH 18, 1914.

Mr. AUGUST GOEBEL, Jr.,
351 Rivard Street, Detroit, Michigan.

MY DEAR MR. GOEBEL: I am inclosing letter of March 17th, from Mr. Walter A. Carl, of the Roessle Brewery of Boston, together with copy of letter of March 13th, from the Boston branch of the General Motors Truck Company, of Detroit. I also enclose copy of letter of March 12th, from Mr. Percy

Andreas, with reference to the same matter. We do not want to be unjust with the Cadillac Company, and, of course, it is to our advantage to make strong friends of the General Motors Company, and its various branches. We must, of course, be fair to the General Motors Truck Company, but I think it is advisable that we should push the matter to an issue, in connection with the Cadillac Company. This is the first time that any of the automobile people seem to have felt our displeasure and we want to try to bring them all over to a position of actual sympathy and co-operation with us in our fight against state and nat onal prohibition, if this is possible.

May I ask you again, to be kind enough to give us your latest information on this matter, and the benefit of your views? Would it not be well for you to give the Cadillac Company an opportunity of calling upon you, and squaring themselves?

I enclose, also copy of my reply to Mr. Carl.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD Encs.

[Brewers' Association of Massachusetts, 26 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass. Telephone, 778 Hay, 779 Hay.]

MARCH 20, 1914.

Mr. H. F. Fox,
Secy. United States Brewers' Assoc., 50 Union Sq., New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Mr. Walter A. Carl of the Roessle Brewery, has spoken to me about the attitude of the Leylands, father and son, of the Cadillac Automobile Company, and he has loaned me your letter to him bearing upon this matter under date of March 18th. Mr. Carl feels strongly that members of our Association should bring every pressure possible to bear on the General Motors Car Truck Company to force the Leylands off the Board of the Cadillac Company, or at least to cause a cessation of their activities against our industry, and to this end he has suggested that I induce all the members of our Association who would be apt to use motor trucks to write the local agent of the General Motors Truck Company to the effect that they will purchase no trucks made by that concern until the Leyland matter is straightened out.

I brought this matter to the attent on of Mr. Lee, who feels that he does not care to take definite action on Mr. Carl's suggestion until he learns more about the situation. He would particularly like to learn more about the activities of the Leylands against us, and I think he would also like your opinion as to the wisdom of such a course as that suggested by Mr. Carl.

I note by your letter to Mr. Carl that you are taking the matter up again with Mr. Goebel of Detroit.

Will you kindly inform me as to the latest developments in this matter?

Very truly yours,

HOWARD NOBLE, *Clerk.*

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant.]

MARCH 26, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Goebel of Detroit, who is one of our Trustees, writes me as follows:

"Just a line to let you know that we are busy on the Cadillac matter, but do not care to bother you until something definite has been accomplished. Up to date we have addressed Mr. Leland direct, in a way that we cannot see that he can possibly ignore. He, however, being out of the City at present, we have today received a letter from his Secretary, which is of a rather threatening tone and very impudent. We have the Secretary's past record, and will stir him up on that, awaiting Mr. Leland's return, when we hope to get a direct reply. As soon as we do, will let you hear from me in full. Just for your information, the Secretary is a former Baptist Minister, at which calling he proved a failure; then was a collector and speaker for the Anti-Saloon League, at which he was also a failure; so you see the close connection between Mr. Leland and the Anti-Saloon League.

As soon as I hear further from him, I will let you know.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[General Motors Truck Company, Pontiac, Michigan. Gasoline, Electric, Trucks. "A Truck for Every Purpose."]

MARCH 28, 1914.

Mr. EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
President, United States Brewers' Association, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: We have known for some time of the prejudice existing in the minds of a brewer, here and there, against our truck and Company, because of the alleged temperance views of Mr. H. M. Leland and his son Mr. W. C. Leland of the Cadillac Motor Car Company, but we did not know prior to the receipt, a few days ago, of what purports to be an extract from a circular letter sent out by the United States Brewers' Association to its members, that this prejudice was national in its scope, and that it amounted in reality to a "black list" of our trucks on the part of the Brewers' Association.

While the letter above referred to does not specifically advise members of the Association not to buy "GMC" trucks, yet its intent is undoubtedly to prejudice them against our Company.

As a result, one brewer to whom one of our Branches recently sold a truck, has written the Branch a letter—calling attention to this circular letter and to his conversation with Mr. H. F. Fox, Secretary of the United States Brewers' Association—from which we quote

"No matter how good your trucks are, I shall buy no additional trucks from your concern unless Mr. Fox advises me that this matter has been settled satisfactorily to him. I know one brewer who has held up an order for three trucks for the same reason."

A short time ago Mr. Percy Andreae, President of the National Association of Commerce and Labor—which Association we understand is closely allied to the National Brewers' and Distillers' Associations—made a speech before the Brewers' Association of Chicago in which he took the position that all the brewers and distillers wanted was "fair play."

If this is your position then you must, of course be willing to accord to others what you ask for yourselves. All we ask is "fair play"—we neither ask nor expect favors. We have solicited business from the brewers the same as we have from business concerns in other lines of trade. We have spent a good deal of money and time assisting brewers in working out efficient delivery systems—in helping them to arrive at accurate delivery costs—in making demonstrations and in advertising in their publications. In many instances when we had every reason to believe our proposition was being favorably considered, an invisible barrier has been interposed. We now understand that this barrier was neither price nor quality, but unfounded prejudice against our Company.

When we lose in a fair fight we go down smiling, but we insist that the opposition of your Association is unfair and we base this statement on the following facts:

We are discriminated against, and the members of your organization restrained from buying our goods because of the views of the Lelands, who are in no way connected with our Company. Neither of them are, or ever have been, officials or employes of this Company—and neither of them own any of its stock. They are, however, indirectly connected with the General Motors Company as employes of the Cadillac Motor Car Company, which is as separate and distinct from our Company—though controlled by the same holding company—as is the Brewers' Association.

To make the matter clear, it might be well to explain that the General Motors Company is a sixty million dollar corporation, organized under the laws of New Jersey as a holding company for twenty-four subsidiary companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of automobiles. Each unit has its separate officers, directors and managers—conducts its own affairs—and is separate and distinct from the others in its management and policy.

As corroborative proof of the integrity of this statement I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the General Motors Company's statement and report to stock holders for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1913, issued under date of September 26, 1913, and invite your attention to the printed list of officers on page three and to the list of subsidiary companies on page fifteen.

I am sure that any member of your organization could have ascertained and verified these facts had they taken the trouble to dig into it, which rather forces the belief that the action which led your Association into taking such a position was wrongly conceived and that the thought which inspired those responsible for your organization's attitude was, that perhaps the General

Motors Company might bring pressure to stop public utterance on the part of the Lelands, or deem it advisable—in view of the action taken by your Association—to dismiss them from its employ.

It may be said in defense of your position that no such thought prompted your action—yet according to our information your only objection to our product and Company is the alleged position of the Lelands which you have construed as antagonistic to your interests. If this is true then the elimination of the Lelands would have the effect of removing all objection to our truck and Company.

But you must now realize that, as a holding Company only, the General Motors Company is without power to take such action—even if it desired to do so.

At the present time Mr. H. M. Leland is President of the Society of Automobile Engineers whose standards are universally employed by automobile manufacturers—both pleasure and commercial—gasoline and electric—no automobile or truck could be marketed in this country that was not built to S. A. E. standards.

Mr. Leland, therefore, has as much to do with or say about Packard, White, Pierce-Arrow, Mack, General Vehicle and Baker trucks as about "GMC" trucks, and no more.

We do not believe you could consistently refuse to buy trucks or pleasure cars built to S. A. E. standards because Mr. H. M. Leland is President of the Society that promulgates the standard, yet, the position your organization has taken against us is equally untenable.

Mr. W. C. Leland is now and has been for more than five years a director and member of the executive committee of the Automobile Chamber of Commerce and its predecessor, the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers, to which Association every prominent automobile and truck manufacturer in this country (except Ford) belongs. Therefore, Mr. W. C. Leland is as closely allied to others as to us—and no more so—and you cannot discriminate against us and let the balance go free and maintain your position for "fair play."

Apart from the fact that the Lelands have no connection with this Company, is it good business on your part—in these days of prohibition agitation when friends rather than enemies are needed—to seize upon the personal views of two employees of the Cadillac Motor Car Company and disregard the twenty thousand odd voters on the pay-rolls of the General Motors Company?

While we do not question the right of any man or association to buy from whom they please, we do feel that we have a right, moral and legal, to protest against the influence of your organization being used to restrain such of your members as are convinced that it would be profitable for them to purchase our goods.

Having presented our side of this matter, which we feel is as important from a financial standpoint to the members of your Association as it is to us, we ask the courtesy of an early reply.

Very truly yours,

GENERAL MOTORS TRUCK COMPANY.
By W. L. DAY,
Vice President & General Manager.

WLD–W

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. President, Edward A. Schmidt; Vice Presidents—1st, Gustave Pabst; 2nd, Louis B. Schram; 3rd, John Gardiner; Treasurer, Gustav W. Lembeck; Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant.]

MAR. 30, 1914.

Mr. EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
127 Edward Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: The manager of the General Motors Truck Company, Pontiac, Michigan, has sent me copy of his letter to you of the 28th instant "for my information and consideration."

We have never said anything that could be construed as an attack upon the General Motors Company, or indeed any of its branches, excepting the Cadillac people. I enclose our circular letter of February 21st, which deals with the matter.

I enclose for your consideration copies of my letters of March 4th to Mr. Ruppert, March 5th to Mr. Goebel, March 18th to Mr. Goebel and to Mr. An-

dreae, also copy of letter dated March 24th from Mr. Goebel. You will see from his letter that he is at work on the Cadillac matter; their attitude is perhaps best indicated by the enclosed copy of their letter dated December 13th, 1911, to the Pennsylvania Wholesale Liquor Dealers League.

The brewer to whom the manager of the General Motors Truck Company refers in his letter to you is undoubtedly Mr. Ruppert, who is apparently on very friendly terms with the president of the General Motors Truck Company.

The General Motors Truck Company is a holding company which controls the stock of the following concerns: The Buick Motor Co., The Oakland Motor Co., The Carter Car Co., The Oldsmobile Co., The Cadillac Motor Car Co., The General Motors Truck Co., The Welch Motor Co., The Northway Motor Co., The J. C. Ignition Co.

I understand that the Cadillac is the branch that pays best. On February 17th, 1914, Mr. C. W. Nash, President of the General Motors Company wrote Mr. Ruppert a personal letter in which he promised to give the Cadillac matter his personal attention. I enclose a copy of this also, and will add that I consulted Mr. Ruppert before sending out our circular letter of February 21st, and he requested me to go ahead with it.

This automobile matter has involved a great deal of correspondence, and of course, it would save me a good deal of personal trouble and embarrassment if I could be relieved of such matters entirely. At the same time I think the results have justified the work particularly in these hard times, for it is literally true that one manufacturer after another who has been opposing us has been brought to terms, and in a number of cases has been changed from an opponent to a friend. I have been extremely guarded in my letters and statements, but find that some of our members have sometimes been very indiscreet. The pressure we get from our members to take steps in such cases is considerable. I have had scores of letters from brewers about the Cadillac concern, for example, although on the other hand I know there are a number of brewers who have bought Cadillac cars in spite of the information we have given them.

By way of suggestion, I have drafted a letter to the General Motors Truck Company (please note that this is only one of the subsidiaries of the General Motors Co.) for your consideration.

Very truly, yours,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF/W Encls.-9

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. President, Edward A. Schmidt; Vice Presidents—1st, Gustave Pabst; 2nd, Louis B. Schram; 3rd, John Gardiner; Treasurer, Gustav W. Lembeck; Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant.]

MARCH 31, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, United States Brewers Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I am in receipt of your communication of March 30th, enclosing copies of all the correspondence in connection with the unfriendly attitude of certain automobile manufacturers to our trade, also the copy of letter which is to be my reply to that of Vice President and General Manager Day of The General Motors Truck Co.

I note in your letter that you say "The General Motors Truck Company is the holding company which controls the stock of the following concerns." I think this is a mistake. The General Motors Company is the holding company for these concerns, and it is my impression that our people have confounded the two companies.

As you state, I know of no opposition that could be offered to the products of The General Motors Truck Company, and, therefore, cheerfully authorize you to send the proposed reply to Mr. Day's letter, and also take steps to issue a letter to our Members which will place them in the right light.

I also have your letter of March 30th, stating that Mr. Robert J. Halle, secretary of the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, has called a meeting of the Joint Harmony Committee of Fifteen, which is to be held in the club room of the New Willard Hotel, Washington, April 10th, and note that you expect to attend this meeting. I am sorry that this meeting is to be held in Washington at this time. In my opinion, nothing should be done that will tend to obtrude

our question in any manner there. Any other city would have been preferable. It will be impossible for me to be present.

With regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

EDW. A. SCHMIDT, *President.*

Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

Confidential file.

APRIL 3, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: The General Motors Truck Company of Pontiac, Michigan, has call our attention in courteous terms to the fact that there is an unfounded prejudice against their company on the part of the brewers, because of the opposition of the Lelands of the Cadillac Motor Car Company, to the beer trade.

We are assured that the "General Motors Company is a holding company for twenty-four subsidiary companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of automobiles. Each unit has its separate officers, directors and managers; conducts its own affairs and is separate and distinct from the others in its management and policy."

We believe that the General Motors Truck Company is fair and friendly in its relations to the brewing industry, and is entitled to your consideration upon its merits.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[General Motors Truck Company, Pontiac, Michigan. Gasoline, Electric Trucks. "A Truck for Every Purpose."]

APRIL 6, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewers' Association,
New York City.

DEAR SIR: We thank you sincerely for your letter of the 1st inst. in reply to our letter of March 28, 1914, and for a copy of the circular letter addressed to your members under date of April 2, 1914.

When this matter was brought to our attention in such a way as to give the impression that your Association had considered it of such serious import as to justify you in taking it up with your members, we decided that we were justified in taking it up with you; having every confidence that we would be—as we have been—accorded fair and square treatment by your Association.

I certainly appreciate the promptness with which you fulfilled your promise "to put us in the right light" with your members, and on my next trip to New York—which I hope to make during the present month—should like very much to call on you and go over the matter personally as there are many details connected with the matter that you should know about, which can best be taken up in a personal interview.

Very truly yours,

W. L. DAY,
Vice President & General Manager.

WLD–W
Miss Todd's file.

[General Motors Truck Company, Pontiac, Michigan. Gasoline, Electric Trucks. "A Truck for Every Purpose."]

JUNE 2, 1914.

Mr. H. F. FOX, *Secretary,*
United States Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: We received the following Night Letter this morning from the Capital Electric Company our agents at Salt Lake, Utah:

"Representatives of Schoenhofen Brewing Company of Chicago at Salt Lake in market to buy truck for Salt Lake Branch. Will not consider General Motors account Lelands' temperance views. Suggest you wire Brewers' Association to put us right with Schoenhofen Brewing Company at Chicago."

If you could straighten us out with the Schoenhofen people we would very much appreciate it.

Very truly yours,

W. L. DAY,
General Manager.

WLD–W

JUNE 4, 1914.

Mr. W. L. DAY,
General Manager, General Motors Truck Company, Pontiac, Michigan.

MY DEAR MR. DAY: I have your favor of the 2nd inst. and have wired the Schoenhofen Brewing Company, of Chicago, as follows:

"I am informed that your representative at Salt Lake is in the market to buy motors truck, but will not consider General Motors truck on account of Leland's temperance views. The General Motors Company is very friendly to us, and is in no way responsible for Leland, but is doing its utmost to persuade the Cadillac Company to be reasonable. We believe that the General Motors Company is entitled to favorable consideration."

I trust this will have the desired effect.

Yours very truly,

P. S.—We have written the Schoenhofen Brewing Co. fully.
HFF: JD

[American Antiformin Company, Manufacturing Chemists, Sole Manufacturers & Distributors of "Antiformin" (U. S. Pat. No. 691,671—Trade Mark Reg. in U. S. & Can.), Cleanser—Disinfectant—Sterilizer—Deodorizer. Office 38 Water Street. Telephone, Broad 2160. Hans E. Zobel, Pres. & Treas.; Veronicus G. Meyers, Vice Pres.; Geo. M. Campbell, Secretary. Storehouses: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle; Toronto, Montreal, Canada. Factory: South Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel., 105 South. Cable Address: "Antiformin."]

NEW YORK, *September 22, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, U. S. Brewers' Ass'n., New York City.

DEAR SIR: On many occasions my Brewer friends have called my attention to the fact that I should not have a Cadillac Automobile, because the Cadillac people are very strong Prohibitionists. Some of them have told me that the Cadillac people are so strict, that they have forbidden their employees to take a drink on penalty of dismissal, if they are caught.

Some time ago, I had a talk with Mr. Wm. Krueger, of Newark, on the subject, and Mr. Krueger assured me that there was no truth in the rumor. As you no doubt know, Mr. Uppercue, the President of the Detroit Cadillac Motor Car Company, is married to Mr. Krueger's sister.

Mr. Krueger further stated that he had talked to you on the subject at one time, and if I wanted any definite information regarding the matter, I should write to you.

I am about to sell my present Cadillac Car and buy a new one, but before doing so I would like to hear from you as to what the true conditions are with the Cadillac people on the question of Prohibition.

Trusting that I may be favored with an early reply, and with kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

HANS E. ZOBEL.

HEZ/JS

Make confidential reply and show to Mr. Fox for signature.—G. T.

Confidential. SEPT. 29, 1915.

Mr. HANS E. ZOBEL,
American Antiformin Company, 38 Water St., N. Y. C.

DEAR SIR: On February 21, 1912 we issued a circular letter in which we stated that Mr. W. O. Leeland, of the Cadillac Motor Car Company was aggressively antagonistic, and the the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association

reported that the entire Company was aiding and abetting the Anti Saloon League.

On April 3, 1914 we issued a supplimentary letter with information regarding the General Motors Truck Company. I am enclosing a copy of this circular letter. As far as we know, there has been no change in the attitude of the Cadillac Company itself, but the General Motors Company of which the Cadillac is a part is alright.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

MW.
Todd.

Maj. HUMES. Is not that a fact? You have a recollection of this transaction now, Mr. Fox.

Mr. FOX. I have a very clear recollection of the efforts made by the General Motors Co. to be regarded as friendly, and a rather vague recollection that we were not satisfied with regard to the Cadillac Motor Car Co. because of the fact that, as I recall it, their principal officers, or some of their principal officers, were the leaders of the opposition.

Maj. HUMES. Because the sales manager, Mr. Leland, who had no stock in the company, advocated the temperance cause, you boycotted the corporation, did you not, and you tried to get the General Motors Co. to get rid of Leland, and they advised you they had no control over him, that that was a separate company, and that it had its own independent organization?

Mr. FOX. I see here that it says:

W. C. Leland has a managerial position with the Cadillac Co. He is the son of Henry M. Leland, the general manager of the company. Henry M. Leland is active in the Anti-Saloon League and has always been very active in any movement against saloons.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. FOX. That apparently gives color to it.

Maj. HUMES. As a matter of fact, then, these people were employees. It was not the activity of the corporation itself that caused you affront, but the activity of an individual employee?

Mr. FOX. My impression is that the Lelands were very largely interested in the company, one or other of them, and practically controlled its policy. That was my recollection.

Maj. HUMES. And you did on April 3, 1914, give a clear bill of health to the General Motors Co., however, and distinguished between it and the Cadillac Motor Car Co.?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. The Madison Cooper Co.——

Mr. FOX. I identify it.

Maj. HUMES. That is correspondence from the files of the Brewers' Association?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir. I do not recall it.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE EE.

[Confidential.]

FEB. 8, 1915.

Mr. F. J. NICKERSON,
Secretary American Association of Refrigeration,
431 So. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. NICKERSON: My attention has been called to the editorial on Trade Conventions and Liquor Interests in the February number of "COLD"

published by the Madison Cooper Company of Calcium, N. Y., which is signed by Madison Cooper personally. No doubt you are familiar with the matter, but I think it is one which should receive consideration.

By the way, can you tell me in confidence whether the Madison Cooper Company is an important concern, and what line of people they do business with?

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

[A monthly review of the ice; ice making, refrigerating, cold storage and kindred trades. Ice and refrigeration. Science unites the antipodes. Ice and Refrigeration, Illustrated, Chicago, 431 So. Dearborn Street, Manhattan Building. New York.]

NICKERSON & COLLINS CO., PUBLISHERS,
Chicago, Feb. 10, 1915.

Mr. H. F. Fox,
Secy. United States Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Your favor of the 8th inst. at hand. I had not noticed the article referred to in "Cold" but have now read same with interest.

In reply to your inquiry would state that the Madison Cooper Company is not a very important concern but they do quite a little business, which is mostly in the construction of small cold storage houses equipped with the Madison Cooper Gravity Brine System using ice and salt.

The publication is a house organ and is made possible by the few advertisements which they have secured. Most of those advertising are also doing business with the brewing industry, but it is fair to them to state that probably they do not advertise in the publication for its advertising value, but simply on account of the business that the Madison Cooper Company may give them directly. I do not think that the publication has any particular influence.

Very truly yours,

J. F. NICKERSON.

JFN: S Waller.

[Confidential.]

FEB. 8, 1915.

Mr. G. W. LEMBECK,
Jersey City, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. LEMBECK: Can you get a commercial agency report for me on the Madison Cooper Company, Refrigerating Engineers and Architects, 111 Court Street, Calcium, N. Y.? They publish a magazine called "COLD". In their February number they have attacked our interests, and I want to get a line on them.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

[Please note if name, business and address correspond with your inquiry. Cooper, Madison Co., Refrigerating Engineers & Architects. Calcium, N. Y., Jefferson Co. Madison Cooper, Pres. & Treas.; Wm. Cooper, Vice Pres.; Chas. A. Berger, Secty. November 5th, 1914.]

RECORD.

This business was established in Watertown N. Y. by Madison Cooper. Incorporated under New York State laws in 1905, and six years later the plant was moved to this Village. Business has been continued with a clear record.

STATEMENTS.

The authorized capital is $20,000. $15,000. issued for the business assets, patent rights and good will and the balance sold for cash. The following is a summary of statements furnished since the company moved to this village.

Date.	Assets.	Liabilities.	Net worth.
1911	$42,225.11	$6,513.05	$35,712.06
1912	67,072.83	27,522.71	39,550.12
1913	61,901.55	20,686.01	41,215.54

Under date of Aug. 14, 1914 the President made the following statement, showing the condition of the company at the close of business June 30, 1914:

RESOURCES.

Cash in bank	$1,167.51
Accts. rec	14,123.56
Real estate, Calcium, N. Y	1,253.35
Sidetrack, " " "	529.99
Manufacturing plant	14,873.51
Finished and unfinished material on hand	15,023.07
Tools and fixtures	3,440.39
Patents and good will	13,090.74
	$63,502.12

LIABILITIES.

Bills payable	$7,497.18
Accts. payable	8,318.35
Received on account of unfinished work	3,385.69
Undivided profits	24,300.90
Capital stock	20,000.00
	$63,502.12

GENERAL INFORMATION.

While the above statement is correct it is believed that allowances should be made in determining the actual cash value of the different items. Their plant is practically new and undoubtedly cost the amount claimed, or more, but could not be sold for that sum if forced on the market. The patents and good will are of value only to the company and cannot be called a tangible asset. Banking and other authorities believe that an estimate placing company's responsibility at from $15,000. to $20,000. is reasonable.

A comparison of statements indicates a gradual financial progress but for several years their indebtedness has been rather heavy although it has been reduced somewhat during the year.

Those interested are highly regarded in all respects, the business is under the personal supervision of Mr. M. Cooper who is regarded an expert in this line and has been quite successful.

At the bank the company has been granted such accommodations as have been asked. In the trade have been taking full time, having the confidence of creditors who consider the risk a good one.

TRADE INFORMATION.

1. Sold in Jan. 1914, invoice $800. terms 2% 10 net 30 paid 60 to 90 days slow.
2. Sold during the past summer to the extent of about $25. on terms of 30 days, Payments made in about 60 days.
3. Account has been sold for several years and payments have been very slow.

THE MERCANTILE AGENCY—R. G. DUN & CO.

The information given on this sheet is an answer to an inquiry made by a Subscriber to The Mercantile Agency, who asks for the same AS AN AID, to determine the propriety of giving credit. The information is communicated under the conditions of an agreement signed by the said Subscriber, which expressly stipulates that the said information is obtained by the agents, servants, clerks, attorneys, and employees of the said Subscriber and on his behalf. The said agreement also expressly stipulates that the said Mercantile Agency SHALL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE for any loss caused by the neglect, unfaithfulness, or misconduct of any of the said Subscriber's agents, servants, clerks, attorneys, and employees in procuring, collecting, and communicating or in failing to communicate the said information; and neither the actual verity nor the correctness of the said information is in any manner guaranteed. The agreement further provides that the information thus communicated shall be STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL; shall never be communicated to the persons to whom it refers; and, that all inquiries made shall be confined to the legitimate business of the Subscriber's establishment.

For Commercial Trust Co. of New Jersey, Green St. Branch, No. 10772. 2/11, 1915.

[Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. Confidential.]

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK,
New York, February 27, 1915.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following is submitted for the information of our members:

* * * * * * * *

The Madison Cooper Company, Refrigerating Engineers & Architects, Calcium, Jefferson Co., N. Y.: In the February issue of *Cold*, published by this concern, the following statement is made, editorially: "We are surprised as well as disappointed to read in the report of the annual banquet of the American Society of Refrigerating Engineers, that this society has found it necessary to defend the liquor interests. It was stated that a brewery in the South which cost $275.000 was sold for $30,000, and another which cost $375,000 was sold for $45,000. This, in our opinion, is a result greatly to be desired. We are not prepared to state that this country is ready for national prohibition, but those who are interested in breweries and other properties for the production of malt beverages and spirituous liquors might as well recognize 'the hand writing on the wall' and plan accordingly. All arguments in favor of booze and the drinking habit are of a negative nature only, and none of them can possibly be a direct defense."

Yours very truly.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. The Macey Co.: Is it not a fact that you notified the trade that they were unfair, and afterwards, after getting some assurances, took them off the unfair list?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall the transaction, but the correspondence is identified.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the two bulletins. In 1914 you sent out a bulletin adverse to the concern, and on February 27, 1915, you sent out a correction, and noted it as a correction, did you not?

Mr FOX. Yes; that is correct.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE FF.

For members only—Not for publication. United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Vol. 4. December (1914) Bulletin. No. 2.]

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

In this and future issues our Bulletin will convey information to our members regarding the trend of the anti-alcohol movement, as indicated by articles in special publications and in current books and periodicals. It will report and interpret the serious discussions of all phases of the alcohol and saloon questions, for the purpose of informing and arousing our members to the importance of the issues that confront us.

ALCOHOL AND INDUSTRY.

This is a new slogan for our antagonists and one which is being most effectively used. Clearer and clearer the signs of the times point that this way lies a future battle ground. The Anti-Saloon League has been in existence about 20 years, and until the last year or so has made its whole argument a moral one. Now, taking its cue from such men as Charles Stelzle, John Mitchel, etc., it is shifting its base of opposition to economic grounds. Through co-operation with some big industries it is enabled to circulate its leaflets in factories and has apparently joined hands with the "Safety-First Movement." The passage in many states of Workmen's Compensation laws, which place the burden of proof on the employer instead of on the employee, has made this an easy transition for the League.

The Technical World Magazine of Chicago, Ill., in 1915 is going to run a series of articles on "Why Industry Cannot Afford Alcohol." It makes this announcement under the head lines, "Did Booze Ever Do You Any Good?"

Some time ago this office received a communication from a gentleman, who was to write an article for *The Technical World* on this subject and asked for any data we might give him. We invited him to make use of our library, but he never replied to our letter. The bias of the forthcoming articles can be forecasted.

The Engineering and Mining Journal, New York City, in its issue of November 21st. has an editorial, "Alcoholic Liquor and Mining," commenting upon the fact that two important mining States, Arizona and Colorado, went "dry." It says: "This was no great ground for surprise, the incompatibility of *whisky* with efficient work in mining having long been recognized. Indeed, mine operators in Arizona, Colorado and Montana have lately been emphatic in deploring the evil tendency of the saloon upon the economics of the industry, especially in increasing liability to personal accidents and decreasing working efficiency. The direct waste of resources, the absence of thrift and the high cost of policing are further results to the community that may be traced to alcohol in a more or less degree, chiefly more."

The Steel Works Mixer is published by the employees of the Joliet Steel Mills. In its November number there is an article on the "Safety First Movement" and "Driving Back the Saloon." Several concerns which have gone on record against the saloon are mentioned in the article. At the recent convention of the American Foundrymen's Association a paper was read on this subject; at a meeting of the National Congress on Industrial Safety Held in Chicago in October it was pointed out that not a single member came in defense of drinking.

Mr. E. K. Prichett, of the Macey Co. of Grand Rapids, Mich., states that his company has forbidden the use of alcoholic beverages and has made arrangements with milk companies to have their wagons call at the factories at 10 o'clock every morning.

The Diamond Watch Co. issued an order on June 1st, 1914, that all employees of the company must refrain from using intoxicating liquors and employment would be refused to men known to frequent saloons.

The U. S. Steel Co., of Youngstown, O.; the Pittsbugh Steel Co.; The Lukens Iron and Steel Co., of Coatesville, Pa., have all declared against the saloon. The American Sheet and Tin Plate Co. have prohibited the use of intoxicating beverages by their employees. and the American Car and Foundry Co. have announced that men who frequent saloons will be replaced as soon as possible by those who do not.

WHAT THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION IS DOING.

The United States Brewers' Association is having a thorough investigation made of the relation of Alcohol to Industrial and Railroad Accidents, which will, we believe, disprove completely the extravagant assertions that are being circulated as to the alcohol-cause of such accidents.

ALCOHOL AND RACE BETTERMENT.

The Proceedings of the First National Conference on Race Betterment, held at Battle Creek, Michigan. in January of this year, has just been issued. The purpose of the Conference was to assemble evidence as to the extent to which degenerative tendencies are actively at work in America, and to promote agencies for Race Betterment. Many prominent names are listed in the delegates and members of the Conference, and there is no doubt that it was a thoroughly representative gathering and that quotations and excerpts from Proceedings will be often used by social reformers. It is, therefore, well to note the general trend of the sentiment expressed affecting our own industry.

One important paper was that of Mr. Arthur Hunter, Vice-President Acturial Society of America, and Actuary of the New York Life Insurance Company. His subject was "The Effect of Alcohol on Longevity." Mr. Hunter gives reputable proofs for his conclusions as to the relation of mortality and alcohol. If he is a representative speaker, there is no doubt that insurance companies will be found allied with forces distinctly antagonistic to the liquor industry. He says: "I have been in the actuarial profession for over twenty years, and have had the opportunity of studying, not only the published statistics, but many private investigations. I cannot recall a single large class of men or women using alcohol freely but not immoderately at the date of application for insurance, or who had used it in excess formerly and were now temperate, that

did not have a higher mortality than the normal. While not a total abstainer, I am convinced that it would be immeasurably better for this, or any other country, to have the production and sale of alcoholic liquors abolished if it were practicable. The advantages claimed for alcohol are a small offset, in my judgment, to the evils which proceed from its use and its abuse."

Dr. Henry Smith Williams proposed a constructive measure of reform in his paper, "Alcohol—What Shall We Do About It?" Dr. Williams would put a very high tax on distilled beverages and encourage in all possible ways the sale of light wines and beer as against the heavier beverages. "Alcoholism," he said, "is always an effect. The normal person will not become a drunkard even if liquor ran free from the fountains at the street corners, but the abnormal person, with a lust for alcohol, will get it if he must go through fire and possibly water for it."

Professor Robert Sprague, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass., spoke on the subject of the licensing of light drinks. He had come to feel the significance of this subject after having lived some years in the State of Maine. He believed that the people of Maine were drinking "the worst stuff that has ever been poured into the human system." To license light drinks and adopt some measure which would work for the gradual elimination of strong drinks, would do much, according to Professor Sprague, towards solving the liquor question. He is not a believer in National Prohibition. "I don't believe that if a man out on the Pacific Coast wants to take a glass of beer, I, as a citizen of Massachusetts, have a right to say that he shall not. I believe it is contrary to the very spirit of American liberty."

A SWEDISH COMMITTEE OF FIFTY.

The November number of the *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* has an article by Olaf Kinberg on "Alcohol and Criminality." Dr. Kinberg is professor of psychiarty and medico-legal psychiarty and Director of the City Hospital at Stockholm. His point of investigation is to discover "to what extent crimes committed in a state of alcoholic intoxication should be condoned?" The sources of the article are for the most part taken from the report of the Swedish Medical Society. The forthcoming Year Book of our Association will contain a lengthy resumé of this report.

THE SALOON AND THE "MOVIES."

Commenting editorially on this subject, this same publication notes the decrease of saloons in neighborhoods where moving picture shows are increasing in number. "This would seem to justify the position of those who hold the idea that the saloon is the poor man's club, and that the saloon can only be put permanently out of business by positive 'substitutes' and not by negative legislation."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

This is the title of an article by Ella Seass Stewart, ex-President Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and former Secretary of National American Woman Suffrage Association, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for November. The official position of the author gives especial weight to her thesis. "Suffragists," she writes, "know the futility of hoping to gain either the support or the cessation of hostilities of those who profit in any financial or political manner from the liquor traffic. We know that the center and strength of the anti-woman suffrage army are the liquor traffic and its vicious allies."

Not only do the suffragists believe the liquor interests to be against them, but they repay the compliment in turn, as witness: "The testimony of reliable people in the Western States is to the effect that the efforts to curb saloon power have been put forth largely by women and that here as everywhere the majority of women are against the saloon. In Colorado, California, Oregon and Washington, which have just had campaigns for State-wide prohibition, the work of securing the signatures for the referendum is credited largely to women.

"In Illinois, where women were enfranchised in 1913, it is estimated that over 65 per cent. of women voting at local option elections since that time recorded their votes against the saloon. In the city of Jacksonville, 3,600

of the 4,000 eligible women voted, out of this 3,600 only 654 voted for the saloon."

It is the author's opinion, and it is apparent that she speaks as "one in authority," that the women will vote in the future as they are voting now. She bases her conclusion on the action taken by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which met in Chicago, June, 1914. Without one dissenting voice the convention declared that:

"Since the liquor traffic is responsible for three-fourths of the crime, vice and misery in this country,

"*Be it Resolved*, That the women of the General Federation place themselves on record as opposed to the liquor traffic and in favor of such federal or state laws as will tend to eradicate this evil."

SECRETARY OF STATE BRYAN TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Under the caption of "The Alcoholic Milestone," Mr. Bryan publishes a signed editorial in *The Commoner* of November 22nd, calling upon the Democratic Party to align itself against the rum business of the United States. In this same issue he has an editorial on "The Saloon vs. Woman Suffrage," in which he suggests that the woman suffrage cause suffered defeat in Nebraska at the hands of the liquor interests. "In a little while," he says, "the people will understand WHO are the real forces against woman suffrage, and WHY—and then 'votes for women' will win by an overwhelming majority."

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL ON PROHIBITION.

"The Smiths are Waking Up" is the cheerful title of an article in the December number of *The Ladies' Home Journal*. "The Smiths" have awakened to the fact that "rum is on the run" and National Prohibition is only a few weeks off. "The Smiths" intimate that it's the hard liquors that have caused the trouble, and that the average employer objects to whisky and not to the lighter beverages.

[Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

Ph. Kling Brg. Co., Detroit, wrote in about this.

JAN. 26, 1915.

Confidential.

Mr. G. A. KUSTERER,
Grand Rapids, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. KUSTERER: In our December Bulletin we made the following statement:

"Mr. E. K. Prichett, of the Macey Company, of Grand Rapids, Mich. states that his company has forbidden the use of alcoholic beverages and has made arrangements with milk companies to have their wagons call at the factories at ten o'clock every morning."

on the strength of a newspaper dispatch. The Ph. Kling Brewing Company of Detroit, took the matter up with a representative of The Macey Company, and it brought out the following letter from the President of the Macey Co., under date of January 21st:

"Your letter of the 20th advising us that Mr. Kling is fighting us and our goods because we are antagonistic to the brewing interests, also that we are charged on "reliable information" with notices to that effect posted through our buildings, is received.

"You may say to Mr. Kling or anybody else that the management of The Macey Company does not concern itself with the religion, politics or personal liberty of its employes—those things are none of our concern.

"Some time ago our Secretary was misquoted by a Chicago paper as per enclosed clipping, which one of our employes posted near his work. We of course do not encourage the use of liquor during working hours.

"The executives of this Company are all liberal men in their views and habits as you must know. The writer is for temperance in all things, but is opposed to fads and isms—including the whole prohibition movement, and always has been. Such movements do no good, they injure business and breed hypocrites.

"Let Mr. Kling ask the breweries here where we stand; the whole of his information is positively untrue, unfair and silly."

May I ask if you will be kind enough to give me what information you can on the matter? If we have done any injustice to The Macey Company, we should, of course, correct it at the earliest possible moment.

Awaiting your reply, I am.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

[Grand Rapids Brewing Co., Brewers & Bottlers; Annual capacity 500,000 Barrels. Silver Foam; Export; Pilsener; Alt Nuernberger.]

(Confidential.)

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH., *January 28, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. Fox,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Replying to the Macey Company's attitude on our question which you mention in your letter of January 26th, I can assure you that Mr. Werneke, the President of the Company is very liberal minded in his views, and a great club-man in his home City; in fact to remove all doubts from the minds of anyone regarding his attitude on the prohibition question. The fact that he volunteered to appear at a Joint Session of our last Legislature and speak against the submission of State Wide Prohibition, and I am sorry to say through poor arrangements that were made through Mr. W. C. Manchester the old attorney for the Michigan State Brewers Ass'n., Mr. Wernecke was not given an opportunity to be heard, but all the time was occupied by Mr. Manchester himself and Ex-Secretary of State of Maine, Davis.

I was present at this meeting in Lansing, and Mr. Werneke and myself occupied the same room for the night. Regarding Mr. Pritchard the Secretary and Mr. Tobey the Treasurer of the Company, they are also considered fair minded men, and are not in the habit of mixing up in politics whatsoever. So I think if any injustice has been done this Company through the article which appeared in the Brewers Bulletin, the same should be corrected at once.

I am anxiously awaiting the arrival of a U. S. B. A. organizer for Emmet and Grand Traverse Counties. We are getting a line on all the different counties that are to vote, and I am sure that quite a number of them will want speakers, and literature, and I have informed them to notify me just as soon as possible regarding same. My idea regarding the literature proposition would be this; to have the U. S. B. A. submit the different pamphlets you have on hand to the local committee of the different counties, and have them select the matter which they would think would be most appropriate for their particular locality, and have them furnish you a mailing list for the distribution of the same. I am of the opinion that literature that may be effective in one county would not be appropriate for another, consequently the idea to have the local committee select same looks practical to me.

These ten counties that are now wet if properly handled should remain so, and I am pleased to say that most of the counties that I have heard from they have made an excelent start in organizing for their present campaign.

Please furnish me as soon as possible with the list of speakers that we might draw from and also if Mr. C. Homer Durand could be secured for a few speaches, as he has had considerable experience along these lines with good results in some of the counties that are are again voting on this question.

Awaiting an early reply, I am,

Yours very truly,

G. A. KUSTERER.

GAK-S

[Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK,
New York, February 27, 1915.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following is submitted for the information of our members: The Macey Company (a correction) Grand Rapids, Mich.: In our December

Bulletin we printed a press item to the effect that this company had forbidden the use of alcoholic beverages by its employees. We learn that this statement is unfounded. The President, Mr. Wernecke, volunteered to appear before the Michigan Legislature and speak against the submission of State-wide prohibition, and writes that "the company does not concern itself with the religion, politics or personal liberty of its employees. The executives of this company are all liberal men in their views and habits. The writer is for temperance in all things, but is opposed to fads and isms, including the whole prohibition movement. Such movements do no good; they injure business and breed hypocrites."

* * * * * * *

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. You had the Goodrich Rubber Co. listed as unfair, did you not, until you finally succeeded in getting an adjustment of the matter?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall the particulars, but I identify all this correspondence, sir. I have no doubt it carries that interpretation.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE GG.

[The B. F. Goodrich Company, rubber goods of every description.]

Answered Mar 31 1915 H. F. F.

AKRON, OHIO, *March 15th, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH FOX,
Secy., United States Brewers Ass'n.,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: It has been brought to our attention that our business with the brewers in various sections has suffered because of an impression which is prevalent among them, that this Company gave financial assistance to the recent State Prohibition campaign in Ohio. It is also charged that we were officially antagonistic to the cause of the brewing interests. We wish to go on record, therefore, as protesting that such an impression is absolutely erroneous.

Nothing has ever been done by this Company which could correctly be construed as inimical to the brewing interests. The only way in which we can explain this situation is by the possible confusion of our name with that of another concern whose name is very similar to our own, which may have adopted tactics such as we have been charged with.

It occurred to us in view of the foregoing and the friendly relation which has always existed between this Company and the brewers of the country, that you would have no objection to sending out a circular letter over your signature correcting the wrong impression which prevails in various quarters on this subject.

Thanking you sincerely in advance for anything you may be willing to do in this connection, we are

Very truly yours,

W. O. RUTHERFORD,
Asst. Gen. Sales Manager. The B. F. Goodrich Company.

WOR*S

[Executive Board: Adam Schantz, President, Dayton, O.; G. J. Pilliod, Vice-President, Toledo, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; S. Fishel, Cleveland, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.; Chas. G. Steinle, Delphos, O.; John Unversagt, Columbus, O. Wm. F. Hess, Secretary and Treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Long Distance Telephone, Canal 3182.]

Office copy; please return this copy to the file. Answered Mar. 31, 1915—H. F. F.

THE OHIO BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O., March 22, 1915.

MR. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Replying to your inquiry of March 16th we quote from letter received to-day from party with whom we communicated to secure information concerning the attitude of the Goodrich Tire Company on the liquor question.

"In The B. F. Goodrich Rubber Compnay, we understand that two of the Directors made a contribution of $100.00 each to The Anti-Saloon League. Just at the time the campaign started, we had one of our men go to The Goodrich Company for an interview, and he met Mr. H. E. Joy, General Superintendent of the Company, and had a long interview with him, in which Mr. Joy stated that they were in sympathy with the Wet interests, but that they would be unable to take any stand on account of previous experience, which showed that which way the heads of the Company took sides, the men in the factory would take the opposite. He claimed that they were enjoying a large business from the Brewers and allied interests, and in no way could they take sides with the Drys. This is, of course, an extremely large Company, employing about 15,000 people, and during the campaign we, of course, heard of a good many of their Foremen in their different departments, who were Dry and in fact, had a letter from one of their Foremen, which was sent to your headquarters in Cincinnati, and returned to me, and this was sent to Mr. Joy, who said that in the future, we would hear no more of any sides taken by his men. Of coruse, they have several Directors and as stated before, two of them donated $100.00 each to The Anti-Saloon League.

"In reference to The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company, wish to state that we have information that the President of the Company donated $100.00 to The Anti-Saloon League.

"In reference to The Miller Rubber Company, who also make Tires, wish to state that their management was actively engaged upon the Dry side, and were open and outspoken in favor of Prohibition, notwithstanding the fact that the General Manager's father made most of his money in the saloon business, and owned some buildings in Akron, which at the present time, are occupied for saloon purposes. His reason being that they would be able to speed up their men, and get better efficiency.

"This is practically all the information that I have, and I received my information, in reference to donations made by The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company and The Goodrich Company, from a Director of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company."

I wish to thank you for the twelve copies of your 1914 Year Book which arrived several days ago, and for your trouble in sending a copy of same to Mr. Earl F. Bauer.

Yours very truly,

WM. F. HESS,
Sec'y-Treas.

[Copy.]

THE B. F. GOODRICH COMPANY,
1780–82 Broadway, New York City, March 25, 1915.

Messrs. THE F. & M. SCHAEFER BREWING CO.,
114 East 51st Street, New York City.

DEAR SIRS: We learn from our representative, Mr. McKenna, that you are desirous of knowing our position with regard to our stand on Prohibition.

To combat this agitation there has been effected, as you are well aware, a Manufacturers' and Dealers' League. For your information we wish to advise that we are members of the Ohio Association with headquarters at Cleveland, and have joined the Western Pennsylvania, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia Associations.

It is the belief of this company that the present agitation is not fair or just, and such views have been expressed by the home office of this company to the representative in that district who has promised to oppose any legislation along these lines.

The foregoing, we believe, outlines our attitude and, we trust is what you wished to know.

Very truly yours,

THE B. F. GOODRICH COMPANY,
By [signed] T. A. ASPELL,
Wireless Tire Department.

Confidential file.

[Executive Board: Adam Schantz, President, Dayton, O.; G. J. Pilliod, Vice-President, Toledo, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; S. Fishel, Cleveland, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.: Chas. G. Steinle, Delphos, O.; John Unversagt, Columbus, O. Wm. F. Hess, Secretary and Treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Long Distance Telephone, Canal 3182.]

Answered Mar. 31, 1915—H. F. F.

THE OHIO BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O., March 27, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX.
New York City.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed I hand you copy of a letter from Mr. Gus. F. Burkhardt, containing information requested in your letter of March 23rd. I think the suggestions of Mr. Burkhardt are good ones and might be given some consideration.

Very truly yours,

WM. F. HESS,
Sec'y-Treas.

[Copy.]

THE M. BURKHARDT BREWING CO.,
Akron, Ohio, U. S. A., Mar. 26, 1915.

Mr. WM. F. HESS,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

DEAR WILL: Your letter of yesterday to hand and contents noted. The B. F. Goodrich Company and The B. F. Goodrich Tire Company are one and the same corporation. The company that The B. F. Goodrich Company's letter refers to is evidently The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company.

In my own mind and from what I have heard, I believe that one of the directors of The B. F. Goodrich Company did make a contribution to the anti-saloon league. However, they have denied it through different channels and the only proof that we really have that they did contribute was that someone saw the name of one of the Directors on a subscription list, which was being circulated for funds.

Personally, I feel that the Rubber Companies of Akron have been given enough airing on this question. The Goodyear Company admits their mistake and are willing to do anything reasonable to set themselves right in the minds of the Brewers. What more can you ask?

The B. F. Goodrich Company, through their letters, have shown where they stand, and possibly through misjudgment on the part of one of Directors, one did contribute to the Anti-saloon League, and I believe that the Companies writing as they do, are willing to do right and that we should really drop the matter from further discussion.

I note that The Goodrich Company ask a circular letter to be sent out throughout the trade, to show their standing—I believe this will be a mistake, and be unfair to The Goodyear Company, who have used every endeavor to be square since the last election.

In the letter of The B. F. Goodrich Co., where they state that nothing has ever been done by that Company, which could be correctly be construed as an inimical to the brewing interests, neither was anything done by their Company to show that they were in favr of the brewing interests. So I feel that since the Goodyear Company wants to be fair, and The Goodrich Company claims they are fair, in justice to both, I think the matter ought to be dropped. I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) G. F. BURKHARDT.

[Our slogan: What does the customer think? The B. F. Goodrich Company, 1780–82 Broadway. Rubber Goods of Every Description. In reply refer to WHY–7.]

NEW YORK CITY, *March 30, 1915.*

BERNHEIMER & SCHWARTZ,
Amsterdam Avenue & 128th St., N. Y. City.

DEAR SIR: It has come to our attention that through malicious intent, or lack of knowledge of the facts in the matter, someone has caused a rumor to be

circulated among the Metropolitan brewers to the effect that this Company is in sympathy with the agitation favoring prohibition.

For your information, we wish to advise that we are members of the Ohio Association with headquarters at Cleveland, and have joined the Western Pennsylvania, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia Associations.

We believe that our action in joining your various asssociations is sufficient answer to the question, and we would thank you to refute any statement to the contrary which may come to your attention.

Very truly yours,

THE B. F. GOODRICH COMPANY,
W. H. YULE,
General Manager, New York Office.
Per P.

[Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

MARCH 31, 1915.

Mr. W. O. RUTHERFORD,
The B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 15th, and while we appreciate your position, I do not think it would be advisable to issue such a letter as you propose. We shall, however, be pleased to do anything that we can to correct any prejudice that may exist. May I suggest that you refer any inquiries to us? Will you kindly let me know whether the B. F. Goodrich Company is separate entirely from the Goodrich Rubber Company?

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

Maj. HUMES. The Hudson Motor Car Co. was treated as unfair, and the trade so notified, was it not?

Mr. Fox. Apparently, from this notice.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE HH.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York, February 21st, 1914.

[Strictly confidential.]

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: The following is submitted to you without prejudice, for your information:

Hudson Motor Car Company, Detroit: The recent correspondence with this company speaks for itself.

JANUARY 6TH, 1914.

MR. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, U. S. Brewers' Ass'n., New York City.

DEAR SIR: It has been called to our attention that your Association still has us on the "unfair" list.

We believe that our name was placed on this list quite sometime ago, due possibly to some belief on the part of Mr. J. L. Hudson, former president of the Hudson Company. Mr. Hudson has been dead for a long time, and if we are still on the "unfair" list, we feel that our name should be taken off.

(Signed) E. C. MORSE,
Sales Manager.

JANUARY 13TH, 1914.

MR. E. C. MORSE,
Sales Manager, Hudson Motor Car Company, Detroit, Mich.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 6th inst., and beg to assure you that we do not maintain any "unfair" list. I think, however, it is probable that

your former manager, Mr. J. L. Hudson's connection with the Anti-Saloon League was a matter of unfavorable comment in the Trade Journals that are identified with the brewing industry.

May I suggest that it might be advisable for your company to take some specific action, that we could quote in our Monthly Bulletin to the brewers of the United States? This might take the form of a letter from your Company or President, expressing his views on the attitude of your Company on the prohibition question, for example.

I shall be glad to do anything that I can to help you in the matter, if you will put me in the position to do so.

(Signed) HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

JANUARY 22, 1914.

MR. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, U. S. Brewers' Ass'n., New York City.

DEAR SIR: Replying to yours of the 13th, you are mistaken as regards Mr. Hudson's connection with this Company. He was only a small stockholder, and at no time had any active part in the management of the institution.

So far as the officials of the Hudson Co. are concerned, each man thinks for himself, and the company does not attempt to exercise any influence over the personal opinion of any individual in the organization.

(Signed) R. D. CHAPIN,
President.

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

Maj. HUMES. The Garford Truck Co. was carried by your organization and the trade notified that it was unfair, was it not, until Garford disposed of his interest, and it was taken over by another concern, and then it was restored by you to future favor with the organization?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall the particulars, sir, but I identify all this correspondence.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to your own circular to refresh your recollection. Did you not so inform the trade, that Mr. Garford had disposed of his interest in the company? Your circular, I think, carries a summary of the whole thing, Mr. Fox?

Mr. Fox. That is correct.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE II.

[Copy.]

(Have no data.)

CINCINNATI, O., *Jan. 17, 1913.*

A. J. SUNSTEIN, Esq.,
c/o Thompson Distilling Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR ABE: My attention is called to the fact that the Garford Automobile Co., of Elyria, O., is advertising extensively that their trucks are very popular with the brewing trade.

I am reliably informed that Mr. Garford himself is the leader of the "dry" forces in his county. Will you kindly call this to Mr. Gardiner's attention at the first opportunity?

Very truly yours,

(Signed.) MORRIS.

trol the company are disposed to be fair and friendly, the following letter from the Secretary of The Garford Compay is submitted for your consideration:

THE GARFORD COMPANY,
Elyria, Ohio, U. S. A., February 27, 1914.

"Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y United States Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:—A matter has just been brought to our attention in regard to the connection of Mr. A. L. Garford with The Garford Company.

For your information, The Garford Company was purchased by Mr. J. N. Willys, President of the Willys-Overland Company, and all of the stock owned by Mr. A. L. Garford was turned over to Mr. Willys at the time of the sale.

At present Mr. A. L. Garford does not own one share of stock in the Garford Company and Mr. Willys and the Willys-Overland interests are in complete control of this Company, and Mr. Garford has no financial interest in the Company in any manner whatsover, nor is he in any manner active in the company's business.

We are simply bringing this matter to your attention as we believe you have been misinformed as to the owners of The Garford Company, and wish to have this matter corrected not only to yourself but to all the members of the United States Brewers' Association, of which you are Secretary.

A large number of our dealers the county over are interested in the sale of Garford trucks and a goodly portion of these dealers are financed by the Brewery interests, and as a result, we are very materially interested in having this information in your hands.

Whatever sentiments Mr. A. L. Garford may have on certain subjects, therefore, should have no bearing whatever on this issue as we are simply offering an article to the public backed and guaranteed by our company on its own merits.

We hope you will see the justice of our remarks, and will voice the same in such a manner as to correct the impression already formed by a number of your associates.

Very truly yours,

THE GARFORD COMPANY,
ROYAL R. SCOTT, *Sec'y* (signed)."

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[The R. & L. Company, eastern distributors. J. T. Rainier, president; Paul Lineberger, vice president; Jack A. Rainier, secretary. Garford motor cars and trucks. Willys Knight cars, utility trucks. New York, 1880 Broadway. Boston-Brooklyn. Newark, N. J.]

NEW YORK, *April 7th, 1914.*

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Secretary United States Brewers' Ass'n,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR SIR: I find that some of our friends in the Brewery industry do not appear to have received your circular containing the Willys-Overland Company's letter explaining that Mr. Garford has no connection with the Company bearing his name. Possibly you can locate a few of these circulars in your office and send them to me, so that I could hand them to such brewers as have not yet been set straight on the subject?

Do you think you could find space in your next printed bulletin for a few remarks from you setting forth the Company's position? My idea is that these printed bulletins are more apt to be read than circular letters.

I saw Mr. William Piel the other day and he gave me a hundred of the printed Petitions for the Congressmen and Senators, and we are industriously engaged in getting signatures, and will have these to hand in to you within a short while.

Thanking you for past considerations, I am,

Yours very truly,

R & L COMPANY,
By P. LINEBERGER, *Vice President.*

PNL—SH

[The R & L Company, eastern distributors. J. T. Rainier, president; Paul Lineberger, vice president; Jack A. Rainier, secretary. New York, 1880 Broadway; Boston-Brooklyn; Newark, N. J. Garford motor cars and trucks; Willys utility trucks.]

NEW YORK, *Feb. 24th, 1914.*

ORANGE COUNTY BREWERY,
Middletown, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your favor of the 21st, wish to advise you that we can assure you that there is no member of any of our Companies that is a leader of "dry" forces, in Ohio or any other State. It may be possible that Mr. A. L. Garford, who used to be President of the Garford Company has allied himself with the "drys" but we think this is improbable, as we believe he is a Bull Moose, in fact, he was the Bull Moose Candidate for Governor of Ohio at the last election and was defeated; but Mr. Garford is no longer interested in the Garford Company, the Garford Company being owned and controlled by Mr. John N. Willys, President and owner of the Willys-Overland and other Willys properties.

You can rest assured that our outfit are boosters for the open sale of booze everywhere, as we not only believe in it, but we know that it is good for our business.

Yours very truly,

R & L COMPANY,
By J. T. RAINIER,
President.

JTR-SH

[The three hotels are absolutely fire-proof. The Anthony, Fort Wayne, Ind. 250 rooms, 150 with bath. H. J. Keenan, proprietor; Will A. Black, mgr. The New Burdick, 250 rooms, 150 with bath. The Rickman, 100 rooms. H. J. Keenan, prop., Kalamazoo, Michigan.]

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA,
February 26th, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec., United States Brewers' Assoc. 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I was shown this date your issue of February 21st, where you quote the Garford Co., Mr. A. L. Garford is active in the interests of the Anti-Saloon League in his home county.

I have called up my Company, which is the Willys-Overland Co., of Toledo, O., who own the Garford Motor Co., of Elyria, O., Mr. Garford has no interest in the Garford Co., and has no voice in the management of said Company.

It is to be regretted that you did not investigate this proposition before you circularized this issue. No doubt you have been seen by this time by other representatives of this Company. It is to be hoped that you will be able to right the wrong if any has been done.

Hoping to hear from you, I remain,
Yours truly,

T. J. EDWARDS,
Lima, Ohio.

MAR. 2, 1914.

Mr. ROYAL R. SCOTT,
Secretary, The Garford Co., Elyria, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 27th ult., and thank you for your explanation. I will send a copy of your letter to all the brewers.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE,
New York City, March 5, 1914

To the Brewers of the United States;

In view of the fact that Mr. A. L. Garford has disposed of his interest in the Garford Company, and has no connection with it, and that those who now con-

trol the company are disposed to be fair and friendly, the following letter from the Secretary of The Garford Compay is submitted for your consideration:

THE GARFORD COMPANY,
Elyria, Ohio, U. S. A., February 27, 1914.

"Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y United States Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:—A matter has just been brought to our attention in regard to the connection of Mr. A. L. Garford with The Garford Company.

For your information, The Garford Company was purchased by Mr. J. N. Willys, President of the Willys-Overland Company, and all of the stock owned by Mr. A. L. Garford was turned over to Mr. Willys at the time of the sale.

At present Mr. A. L. Garford does not own one share of stock in the Garford Company and Mr. Willys and the Willys-Overland interests are in complete control of this Company, and Mr. Garford has no financial interest in the Company in any manner whatsoever, nor is he in any manner active in the company's business.

We are simply bringing this matter to your attention as we believe you have been misinformed as to the owners of The Garford Company, and wish to have this matter corrected not only to yourself but to all the members of the United States Brewers' Association, of which you are Secretary.

A large number of our dealers the county over are interested in the sale of Garford trucks and a goodly portion of these dealers are financed by the Brewery interests, and as a result, we are very materially interested in having this information in your hands.

Whatever sentiments Mr. A. L. Garford may have on certain subjects, therefore, should have no bearing whatever on this issue as we are simply offering an article to the public backed and guaranteed by our company on its own merits.

We hope you will see the justice of our remarks, and will voice the same in such a manner as to correct the impression already formed by a number of your associates.

Very truly yours,

THE GARFORD COMPANY,
ROYAL R. SCOTT, *Sec'y* (signed)."

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[The R. & L. Company, eastern distributors. J. T. Rainier, president; Paul Lineberger, vice president; Jack A. Rainier, secretary. Garford motor cars and trucks. Willys Knight cars, utility trucks. New York, 1880 Broadway. Boston-Brooklyn. Newark, N. J.]

NEW YORK, *April 7th, 1914.*

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Secretary United States Brewers' Ass'n,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR SIR: I find that some of our friends in the Brewery industry do not appear to have received your circular containing the Willys-Overland Company's letter explaining that Mr. Garford has no connection with the Company bearing his name. Possibly you can locate a few of these circulars in your office and send them to me, so that I could hand them to such brewers as have not yet been set straight on the subject?

Do you think you could find space in your next printed bulletin for a few remarks from you setting forth the Company's position? My idea is that these printed bulletins are more apt to be read than circular letters.

I saw Mr. William Piel the other day and he gave me a hundred of the printed Petitions for the Congressmen and Senators, and we are industriously engaged in getting signatures, and will have these to hand in to you within a short while.

Thanking you for past considerations, I am,

Yours very truly,

R & L COMPANY,
By P. LINEBERGER, *Vice President.*

PNL—SH

APRIL 8, 1914.

Mr. PAUL LINEBERGER,
V. P. The R & L Company, 1880 Broadway, City.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 7th, and enclose half a dozen copies of the circular letter you mention.

Answering your query about our BULLETIN, our people are so accustomed to getting important communications in the form of circular letters that we find they are apt to give them more attention than they do printed Bulletins.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED Encs.

Maj. HUMES. Is this the correspondence with reference to the Fisk Rubber Co. from your files?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You investigated them?

Mr. FOX. I would have to read through the file to see. I know it is from our files, sir.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE JJ.

MARCH 2, 1915.

MANUFACTURERS & DEALERS LEAGUE,
9 Desbrosses St., New York City.

GENTLEMEN: Can you tell us anything about the Fisk Rubber Tire Company? One of our Members has written in asking as to their stand regarding the liquor question. As their office is in New York, it occurred to us that you might possibly have some information regarding the matter.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

MW.

[A. Schreiber Brewing Co., Buffalo, N. Y. Trade mark registered. Brewers of Manru lager, the "King of bottled beers."]

Answered Mar. 11. H. F. F.

A. SCHREIBER BREWING CO.
662 Fillmore Avenue,
Buffalo, N. Y., March 10, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec. U. S. Brewers Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Replying to your letter of 9th inst., I wish to state that the home address of the Fisk Rubber Company is Chicopee Falls, Mass. I am assured that they are absolutely against our business.

You may think it strange that I am writing so many letters to you, but it is my sincere wish to be thoroughly posted, and I believe we should work hand in hand, because my former experience teaches me that the best weapon to fight the American manufacturer with, is to touch his pocketbook. This generally brings very quick results, and an absolute backdown from the stand they are taking to hurt our interests.

Very truly yours,

A. SCHREIBER.

AS-RJP.

MARCH 11, 1915.

Mr. ANTHONY SCHREIBER,
662 Fillmore Ave., Buffalo, N . Y.

MY DEAR MR. SCHREIBER: Thanks for your letter of the 10th. Please do no hesitate to write me whenever you have anything on your mind. I will get a line on the Fisk Rubber Company as soon as possible.

Appreciating your co-operation, I am,

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/ED

[The Manufacturers and Dealers League of the City and State of New York, 2625 Grand Central Terminal, New York. (Address all communications to 2625 Grand Central Terminal, New York.) Officers: Chas. Zoller, president (Chas. Zoller Co.), 215 East 94th Street, New York; G. L. Savage, vice president (Golden Gate Mfg. Co.), 9 Desbrosses Street, New York; Watson A. Guthrie, treasurer (Edward Ermold Co.), 652 Hudson Street, New York; H. J. Parker, secretary, 2625 Grand Central Terminal, New York. Board of directors: A. Kalthoff, chairman (H. D. Berner & Winterbauer Co.), New York; Chas. Roos, of Aug. Roos' Son, 429 East 91st Street, New York; S. V. Steiner, of S. S. Steiner, 17 Battery Place, New York; W. V. Hirsh, of Hirsh & Schofield, 18 Water Street, New York; Frank Pentlarge, of U. S. Bung Mfg. Co., 50 South 2d Street, Brooklyn; Ferd Goebel, of S. & F. Uhlmann, 17 Battery Place, New York; Theodore Rosenwald (T. Rosenwald & Co.), 116 Broad Street, New York; J. Samuel Smoot (Burns Bros.), 50 Church Street, New York; J. S. Raymond (Buffalo Cereal Co.), F-6 Produce Exchange, New York; A. S. Barritt (Manhattan Rubber Mfg. Co.), 18 Vesey Street, New York; Louis Block, 45 East 42d Street, New York.]

NEW YORK, *March 16th, 1915.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
Mr. H. F. FOX, Sec.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to yours of the 2nd inst., in which you ask if we can tell you anything about the Fisk Rubber Tire Company, as regards their stand on the liquor question, we regret we are unable to do so. We are unable to find from our records that this company is doing business with any brewers whatever in New York State, and as their factory is located at Chicopee Falls, Mass., it is possible that some of the brewers would have more definite knowledge as to their attitude than we.

Regretting our inability to give you the desired information, we are

Yours very truly,

H. J. PARKER, *Secretary.*

HJP/MEB

[Copy. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

SPRINGFIELD, *Mar. 18, 1915.*

Mr. HOWARD NOBLE,
Secy. Brewers' Association of Massachusetts,
26 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: We acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 13th, addressed to Mr. Flanagan, with reference to the attitude of the Fisk Rubber Co. of Chicopee Falls regarding our business.

The writer felt that there was no foundation for the report that the company was unfriendly to our interest, but we have made a very exhaustive investigation and have satisfied ourselves that the company and all the officers, with one exception perhaps, are anything but unfriendly.

The President of the Company, Mr. Dunn, who resides in Boston, and spends only a part of his time at the factory, is a very liberal man. The writer knows personally Mr. Harry Fisk, Treasurer of the Company, the General Manager, Mr. Hearns, and Superintendent, Mr. Jamesom, all of whom are moderate and some time immoderate drinkers, and surely are very liberal men and decidedly favorable to our business.

This also applies to practically all of the other officers and office force of the concern. The one exception is a man named Beers, who is Secretary of the concern, who is reported very narrow in his ideas and an advocate of temperance for many years.

The writer learned to-day however, in a conversation with one of our salesmen he told him that he believed in people drinking beer and did himself occasionally, but was not in favor of the saloon. His influence, however, as far as the company is concerned, is practically nothing, for, while he is Secretary, in this particular instance, it is a small office and does not carry any great responsibility or salary.

One prominent man in the community, with whom we took up this question, laughingly said that in his opinion the officers and office force of the Fisk Rubber Co. consumed more intoxicants than any equal number of men employed by any corporation in the world.

Under the circumstances it occurs to us that the report received by the United States Brewers' Association is unfounded.

Yours very truly,

SPRINGFIELD BREWERIES CO.,
By JAMES A. GIBBONS, *Treasurer.*

Maj. HUMES. The Pass & Seymour Co., of Solvay, N. Y., came under your scrutiny; did it not?

Mr. FOX. I identify this letter. I do not recall it.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE KK.

[Bartels Brewing Co., crown beer and standard stock lager, fine ales and porter. Brewery and bottling works. Annual capacity, 500,000 bbls. Long distance telephone 328. Confidential file. Answer Nov. 19, 1915. H. F. F.]

SYRACUSE, N. Y., *Nov. 18th, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH FOX,
Sec'y United States Brewers Association,
50 Union Square, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We are large users of electrical supplies which are usually bought through the Supply Houses. The Pass & Seymour Co. of Solvay, N. Y. (a suburb of this City) make various clay products which enter into the manufacture of electrical goods. This firm, or rather some of its officers or superintendents, have taken a very active part in Local Option Campaigns against our line of business.

We believe that a large number, if not all Brewers use their goods and it would seem proper that this fact should be brought to their attention through your association with a view of getting them to cease their activities in the matter mentioned above.

Yours very truly,

BARTELS BREWING CO.,
ANDREW HEMMER, *Treasurer.*

AH/V.

No other correspondence give me.—G. L. T.

Maj. HUMES. The Moon Motor Car Co. you investigated with a view of determining whether or not it was fair to your cause, did you not?

Mr. FOX. The correspondence would appear to indicate it. I do not recall it.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE LL.

[Henry Nicolaus, president; Frank J. Forster, first vice pres't; John G. Grone, second vice pres't; C. Norman Jones, secretary & treasurer. Rooms 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, & 707 Wainwright Building.]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *April 6, 1915.*

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Sec. United States Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: I have made inquiries as regards the attitude of the Moon Motor Car Company, of this city, towards our interests, and from all I can hear it only corroborates the enclosed letter written by the firm to the Manager of the Union Brewing Company.

Yours very truly,

C. NORMAN JONES, *Secretary.*

[Moon Motor Car Co., incorporated. Joseph W. Moon, president. Manufacturers of "Moon" high grade automobiles. Office & factory Main & Cornelia Sts. 4400 North. Cable address "Moonmotor."]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *April 5, 1915*

Mr. PHIL SCHEUERMANN,
Union Brewing Company,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIR: In St. Louis we look upon the brewery interests as one of our most substantial industries, and we feel that they are a help and credit to our City.

We have never identified ourselves with any organization decrying these interests, and never will.

Yours very truly,

MOON MOTOR CAR CO.,
S. MCDONALD, *Vice-President.*

SMcD.SP

APRIL 8, 1915.

Mr. R. S. JONES.
U. S. Brewing Company, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR SIR: Referring to your recent inquiry relative to the attitude of the Moon Motor Car Company of St. Louis, I quote below copy of a letter written by their Vice President, under date of April 5th, which explains itself:

"In St. Louis we look upon the brewery interests as one of our most substantial industries, and we feel that they are a help and credit to our City.

"We have never identified ourselves with any organization decrying these interests, and never will."

Very truly yours, *Secretary.*

W.

Maj. HUMES. You also took up the matter of the National Motor Car Co., with a view of determining its attitude toward your industry?

Mr. Fox. Apparently.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE MM.

[Indiana Brewers Association, 1503 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis.]

MAY 7, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I have yours of May 4 regarding the National Motor Car Company of this city and beg to advise that our local members inform us that the National company has always been very fair toward our industry.

Your letter relative to the situation at Gary I have forwarded to the Berghoff Brewing Association at Fort Wayne, as they are interested in that city and will be able to give your accurate information.

Very truly yours,

JAMES C. KELL.

Todd.
Confidential file.

Maj. HUMES. From information received from P. Dempsey & Co., of Boston, Mass., the name of Isaac Prouty & Co., of Spencer, Mass., was included upon the list of unfriendly concerns, was it not?

Mr. Fox. I do not know anything about it. Is it down there?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; there it is, right there.

Mr. Fox. I have no recollection of the matter at all.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE NN.

[P. Dempsey & Co., importers, rectifiers, and wholesale liquor dealers, 117 and 119 Merrimac Street and 18 Lancaster Street, Boston. Eastern agents for Sierra Madre Fruit and Wine Co., Sierra Madre, Cal. Established 1846. George C. Dempsey, P. Keyes, jr. Maryland and Kentucky whiskey sold in bond or tax-paid. Telephone connection.]

BOSTON, MASS., *Mar. 13, 1911.*

Mr. H. V. HUSE,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: Isaac Prouty & Co., of Spencer are shoe manufacturers and active no-license workers.

Very truly yours, G. C. D.

Maj. HUMES. The Red Raven Water Co. was investigated by you, was it not, and from your Pittsburgh correspondents you secured a clear bill of health for them?

Mr. Fox. The letter here seems to indicate it. I recall nothing of it.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE OO.

[Pittsburgh Brewing Co. Trade mark. Telephones, Bell, 1923 Grant; P. & A., 2990 Main. Capital, $19,500,000.00. General offices, Henry W. Oliver Building. C. H. Ridall, president; E. J. Vilsack, vice president; W. P. Heckman, secretary; E. H. Straub, treasurer; A. F. Steiglieder, assistant treasurer; Herman Straub, general superintendent; A. H. Behrenberg, manager sales department.]

Confidential file.

PITTSBURGH BREWING COMPANY,
Pittsburgh, Pa., November 20, 1915.

Mr. H. F. FOX,
Sec'y. United States Brewers Ass'n.,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Somewhat tardy in replying to your inquiry concerning Red Raven Water Co. but was delayed in securing the information.

The Red Raven people so far as we can learn have not contributed to the Anti Saloon League. In fact have not in any way shown any animosity toward our business.

We might mention that they are members of the Manufacturers and Dealers League of this City.

Very truly yours,

PITTSBURGH BREWING COWPANY.
C. H. RIDALL, *President.*

Maj. HUMES. Some question was raised as to the attitude of the Republic Rubber Co., was it not; and you secured a report from the Ohio State Brewers' Association in the shape of a telegram to the following effect:

Republic Rubber O. K. Were with us. We held wet meetings at their plant. Reported on that some time ago.

Is that from your files?

Mr. Fox. That is from our files.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE PP.

Todd.

[Confidential file.]

OCTOBER 29, 1915.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. WM. F. HESS,
22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. HESS: Some time ago we wrote you for information regarding the Republic Tire Company of Youngstown, Ohio. One of our correspondents is anxious to get information about this Company as he is in the market for automobile tires. It has been rumored that the Company is antagonistic to our interests, but we should like to get definite information in the matter if possible.

We shall appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Yours very truly,

MW.

Secretary.

[The Ohio Brewers' Association, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Long distance telephone, Canal 3182. Executive Board: Adam Schantz, president, Dayton, O.; G. J. Pilliod, vice president, Toledo, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; S. Fishel, Cleveland, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.; Chas. G. Steinle, Delphos, O.; John Unverzagt, Columbus, O. Wm. F. Hess, secretary and treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O.]

NOVEMBER 3, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *New York City.*

DEAR MR. FOX: In response to yours of October 29th, beg to advise that we have received the following telegram to-day from our correspondent at Youngstown:

"Republic Rubber OK. Were with us. We held wet meetings at their plant. Reported on that some time ago."

From the wording of the telegram you will observe that we were given a report some time ago, which, in the stress and strain of our recent campaign against statewide prohibition, was lost sight of, and trust the delay has not greatly inconvenienced you.

Yours very truly,

THE OHIO BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
By H.

Confidential file.

[The Ohio Brewers' Association, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O. Long distance telephone, Canal 3182. Executive Board: Adam Schantz, president, Dayton, O.; G. J. Pilliod, vice president, Toledo, O.; John M. Dostal, Bucyrus, O.; S. Fishel, Cleveland, O.; Louis J. Hauck, Cincinnati, O.; Chas. G. Steinle, Delphos, O.; John Unverzagt, Columbus, O. Wm. F. Hess, secretary and treasurer, 22 Garfield Place, Cincinnati, O.]

NOVEMBER 4, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *New York City.*

DEAR MR. FOX: Referring to our correspondence concerning The Republic Rubber Company, Youngstown, Ohio.

To-day we received from The Republic Rubber Company, Youngstown, Ohio, confirmation of Night Letter received this morning, as follows:

"Emil Renner has brought to our attention claim that we are antagonistic to your association and industry. Would say that our company has never taken and will not take any such position. Absolutely no justification for such report."

Yours very truly,

THE OHIO BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
WM. F. HESS, *Sec'y-Treas.*

Confidential file.

Todd. Nov. 9, 1915.

Confidential.

Mr. OLIVER T. REMMERS,
9th & Pestallossi Sts., St. Louis, Mo.

MY DEAR MR. REMMERS: Further supplementing the information sent you the other day regarding the Republic Rubber Tire Company, I am sending you this information which has just come in from one of our correspondents.

"Emil Renner has brought to our attention claim that we are antagonistic to your association and industry. Would say that our company has never taken and will not take any such position. Absolutely no justification for such report."

We are going to have reprints made of Dr. Robert's article in the September "Frau" entitled "Perils of Reform." Shall we send you a quantity of them?

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

MW.
Confidential file.
Todd.

Maj. HUMES. You also, under date of February 21, 1912, notified the membership of your organization with reference to the attitude of Mr. James Horton, of Horton's Ice Cream Co.; did you

Mr. Fox. This is identified.

Maj. HUMES. This is one of your circulars?

Mr. Fox. That is one of our circulars.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE QQ.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111, East 15th Street, New York City.]

FEBRUARY 21, 1912.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: Mr. James Horton, of Horton's Ice Cream Company, has been elected 2nd Vice-President of the New Anti-Saloon League.

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to another circular, dated December 7, 1915, relative to the S. F. Bowser Co.

Mr. Fox. That is identified.

Maj. HUMES. You notified the trade that they were not friendly to your industry, did you not?

Mr. Fox. Apparently.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE RR.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Re S. F. Bowser & Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Confidential. DECEMBER 7TH, 1915.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN:—This is to inform you that the firm of S. F. Bowser & Company of Fort Wayne, Indiana, have taken a decided stand against the interests of our colleagues in Indiana. We are informed that Mr. Bowser recently signed a petition calling for a State Convention for the purpose of inducing the 1917 Legislature to pass State-wide prohibition, and I have before me a photograph of a meeting which Billy Sunday held in the Bowser factory on August 30th, 1915, which was presided over by Mr. S. F. Bowser.

We are also informed that the Bowser Company house organ, known as the "Bowser Boomer" frequently contains articles endorsing prohibition legislation. Recently an article appeared regarding Denver going dry, which stated that since that time business conditions had improved very materially, particularly in their line, by reason of their selling tanks and pumps to pop manufacturers, etc.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. You also directed your activities against the American Sheet & Tin Plate Co. because of their attitude toward social clubs and sideboards?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall this, but this came from our office, signed by the manager of the publicity department. I identify the document.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE SS.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Confidential. APRIL 8, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers Association.

DEAR SIRS: Toward the end of February, the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company notified all of its employees throughout the country, that they must withdraw from fraternal organizations and clubs which maintained sideboards, or cease work in the company's plants. They were also prohibited from endorsing liquor l cense applications.

These orders are so obvious an interference with personal liberty, and imply so improper a condition in fraternal club houses, that the matter was promptly brought to the attention of the Elks, Eagles, Owls, and others. They are now taking action—in a large way—that should produce results.

The latest issue of The Eastern Elk prints an editorial questioning the right of the employer to dictate to the employee as to what he shall or shall not believe; as to how he shall vote, and, as a future possibility, as to what church he may belong to. "Easy it is", the editorial says, "if the men submitted to this dictation, for the Tin Plate company to extend its 'Thou shalt nots' until these employees lose all their rights and liberties for the privilege of slaving away their lives, making sheet steel, or tinning for the stockholders of the company. . . . Have not these men the right to enjoy their clubs as do their employers?"

The Eagles of Kansas City have passed a resolution which declares the action of the Tin Plate Company is an interference with individual liberty, and is an aspersion on the integrity, loyalty and citizenship of the men concerned, even though they may be total abstainers or of temperate habits. They urge all their members, and members of other fraternal bod es, to join in vigorous protest against this unjust order. Copies of this resolution are being sent to twenty-two hundred branches of the Eagles, and they expect unanimous action.

It may be of interest to you to take this matter up in your locality. We shall be glad to assist you in any way possible.

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
By HERBERT S. STONE,
Manager Publicity Department.

Maj. HUMES. You also notified the trade of the unfair attitude of the S. S. Kresge Co., with their chain of 5 and 10 cent stores, because of the presentation of a petition by the president of the company to Congress on the temperance question?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

(The document referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE TT.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

JUNE 15TH, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

The following is for your information:

* * * * * * *

The S. S. Kresge Company, of Detroit. Michigan.

This company operates chains of Five and Ten-cent Stores. Brokers are now trying to sell the stock of this company, and circulars have been sent recently to brewers and others, urging them to subscribe for it. Mr. Samuel Kresge, who is head of the company, is one of the committee from Michigan which went to Washington to present to Congress the petition for National Prohibition, and is a prominent figure in the Anti-Saloon League of Michigan.

The Warner Chemical Company, 141 Broadway, New York.

Mr. L. H. Warner has declined membership in the Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association of New Jersey, stating over his own signature that he is in favor of prohibition and local option.

* * * * * * *

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. You also made an investigation of the United States Steel Corporation, did you not, and even put detectives out to determine their activities and their attitude, and also undertook to get material, because of their order with reference to the use of liquor, that would make material for labor papers, with a view of causing labor annoyance?

Mr. FOX. There is no question about the investigation, but I should say, from the brief survey of the report, that the purpose of it was entirely different; that the purpose of it was perhaps to show that the United States Steel Corporation did not object to the use of beer by its men.

Maj. HUMES: The investigation included very largely the Carnegie Steel Co., did it not?

Mr. FOX. I think it did.

Maj. HUMES. The Carnegie Steel Co. is carried upon the list of unfriendly firms, and was in your file as one of the unfriendly concerns; was it not? If they were friendly, as you said, why is their name on that list?

Mr. FOX. I do not know, sir. As I have told you already, I do not recall anything at all about that list. I do not know where it came from, or who got it up.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE UU.

APRIL 23rd, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I am much obliged for your favor of the 20th inst., with enclosures.

The facts disclosed by the investigation of the order issued at the plants of the U. S. Steel Corporation forbidding the use of liquor by employees would make interesting reading for the labor papers.

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE.
New York, April 20, 1914.

Confidential.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose copy of letter from Mr. Herbert S. Stone, with reference to the Crane Company, which explains itself. This is for your information, and for such action as you deem advisable.

I am also enclosing confidential report covering the investigation we had made relating to the order issued at steel plants forbidding the use of liquor by employees, etc., etc. This is most important, and we shall probably await the meeting of our Board of Trustees before deciding what action to take. It looks as though the U. S. Steel Corporation is backing the Anti-Saloon League.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

ED

NOVEMBER 12TH, 1915.

Memo to Mr. Michelson: Synopsis of talk with Mr. Close, Supt. of Department of Welfare and Safety, United States Steel Corporation.

N. B.: This was a friendly conversation and should never be used in connection with my name.

Mr. Close told me that during the last six or seven years the evolution of safety work in mills had been something like this:

1st. A couple of years where the attention was devoted mainly to the installation of safety devices.

2nd. The period when an esprit du corps was being built up in which SAFETY could be made compatible with TONNAGE. The process was a difficult one and a slow one, but organization triumphed. According to the accounts of foremen and superintendents in whose departments accidents happened, it was an effective method and good results were secured. Recently, however, the last refinement in this process has been reached, and I must say it is a peach.

An arbitrary figure of $2.40 has been attached as a valuation to every man below the rank of foreman in any of the mills. The foreman, we will say, has charge of 100 men. For the last three years, the average number of accidents, calling for hospital treatment sustained by his men, has been 15. That number, 15, is taken as "bogey." If in the coming year he can hold the number down to 10, he has lowered the accident rate ⅓; consequently, he gets ⅓ of 240, or $80. If the number of accidents increased, he is called to account.

There are other refinements in this method which I shall not go into now, but which have to do with the standardization of "bogey" throughout a number of the steel mills.

Additional memo: Mr. Close tells me that safety has now reached a point where he pays no attention to it. It is practically automatic and his whole concern now is with welfare. He intends to bring all towns in which U. S. Steel mills are located, up to a standard of cleanliness and sanitation equal to that which prevails in towns owned by the corporation. He says that first property owners will be approached; second, the power of municipal authorities will be invoked, and third, the State and finally the Federal authorities, if the steel corporation finds it necessary.

[Copy.]

[Proudfoot's Commercial Agency, Suite 1108, Singer Building, New York City. Telephones, Cortland 418, 419.]

JUNE 13/14.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, City.

GENTLEMEN: Aside from the U. S. Steel Corporation individually, they have subsidiary manufacturing companies, as follows:

Carnegie Steel Co.
Union Steel Co.
Illinois Steel Co.
National Tube Co.
American Steel & Wire Co.
American Sheet & Tin Plate Co.
Tennessee Coal, Iron & R. R. Co.
Indiana Steel Co.
De Bardeleben Coal & Iron Co.
Alabama Steel & Shipping Co.
H. C. Frick Coke Co.

Aside from these companies mentioned as manufacturing companies, there are no less than 20 different railroads and steamship lines which they control, besides many coking and coal mining companies.

Please name the companies out of the above list that you desire to get the information you expressed a wish to have.

Yours truly,

PROUDFOOT'S COMMERCIAL AGENCY,
(Signed) I. O. PROUDFOOT.

JUNE 15, 1914.

PROUDFOOT'S COMMERCIAL AGENCY,
Singer Bldg., City.

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your letter of the 13th inst, we should like to get the desired information with reference to the following:

Carnegie Steel Company
Union Steel Company
Illinois Steel Company
National Tube Company
The Lorain Steel Company
American Steel & Wire Co.
American Sheet and Tin Plate Co.
Indiana Steel Co.

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF: JD.

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT.

Relating to the Order Issued At Steel Trust Plants Forbidding The Use of Liquor. Indorsement of Liquor License Applications, Etc.:

On February 25 and 26, 1914, the American Sheet & Tin Plate Company (a component part of the U. S. Steel Corporation) issued an order notifying all employees that they must withdraw from fraternal organizations and clubs maintaining sideboards or cease to work in the company's plants. By this order employees were also prohibited from indorsing liquor license applications. This order was issued at Vandergrift, Kittanning and Leechburg, Pa., but it was understood to apply also to all of the plants of the American Sheet & Tin Plate Company throughout the U. S.

On March 19, 1914, the following notice was issued to all employees of the Carnegie Steel Company in Youngstown, (Ohio) district:

"Hereafter, all promotions of whatever character will be made only from the ranks of those who do not indulge in the use of intoxicating drink. The Heads of Departments and their Foremen will be expected to observe this rule in advancing their men."

(Signed) THOMAS M. McDONALD,
General Sup't, Youngstown District.

Approved, A. C. DURKEY.
Pres. Carnegie Steel Co.

On March 16, 1914, employees of the Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad shops (a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation) at Greenville, Pa., found in their pay envelopes a slip bearing the picture of a keg of beer and a sack of flour. with the query. "Which do you buy?" Recently engineers, conductors and trainmen have been censured for drinking, and two veteran conductors were discharged for drinking.

On April 1, 1914, an order of a similar purport, although worded differently, was issued by the Carnegie Steel Company to all of its plants in the Pittsburg district.

These orders, issued almost simultaneously, tended to prove a definite plan, emanating from some powerful central source.

It may be mentioned at the outset that the town of Vandergrift was laid out by the Apollo Iron and Steel Company, later absorbed by the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, and that since its inception in 1895, the company, in selling lots to its workmen and to storekeepers placed restrictions in all deeds—restrictions still enforced—that no intoxicating liquors should be sold upon the premises for a period of 99 years. The U. S. Steel Corporation is insisting upon the same restrictions in its new town of Fairfield in Alabama.

Considering the orders above referred to, the question presenting itself for investigation was: What is the underlying motive or motives for the summary rules thus promulgated at the different plants?

An investigation at the different plants brought no definite results as regarded a specific solution of this question. Everybody approached seemed so apprehensive of talking, or being seen talking, to a stranger that the thought naturally occurred to the investigator that the men feared the presence of spies, who, reporting them, might cause them to lose their jobs. This fear of consequences is very evident, and it is a fact that the workmen generally

think they have reason to believe that spies are employed. They suspect every stranger.

As for the foreman and other executives their invariable reply was: "Nothing to say. See headquarters."

However, at one place I obtained a clue which, upon investigation, produced the most valuable results.

This tip was: "See Darlington."

I finally ascertained who the Darlington referred to was, and the investigation led me back to New York City.

The Darlington thus mentioned is Dr. Thomas Darlington, former Health Commissioner of the City of New York. For some years he has been Secretary of the Welfare Committee of the American Iron and Steel Institute, the offices of which are at No. 30 Church Street, New York City. Judge Elbert H. Gary, President of the U. S. Steel Corporation, is also president of the American Iron and Steel Institute, on the board of directors of which are Charles M. Schwab and other Steel Trust men. Dr. Darlington has also recently been appointed by Governor Glynn of New York State one of the Commissioners to administer the new Workmen's Compensation Law.

Interviewing Dr. Darlington as a newspaper man with the nominal aim of writing about the welfare work, I incidentally, in the course of the interview, asked questions as to the matter of the stand of the American Iron and Steel Institute on the liquor questions. On this point, Dr. Darlington's replies, summarized, were as follows:

"There are 1,800,000 workers in the steel and allied industries—mines etc.,—under my care. We are making a fight against the use of liquor. But, of course, I personally can't come out openly against the liquor interests. I am president of Tammany Hall which depends largely upon the saloon element for its vote. But privately, as Secretary of the Welfare Committee of the American Iron and Steel Institute, I can and do recommend measures which the U. S. Steel Corporation is carrying out.

"Why the campaign against liquor in our plants? For a number of reasons. One reason is alcohol lessens the effect of co-ordination between hand and brain—it impairs efficiency. It is the greatest evil to workmen. Another reason for our stand is that the use of liquor has a direct bearing upon wages; *if a man is addicted to alcohol he wants more money for the family.* Also, the effect of family life upon a man's efficiency is very great. If he keeps late hours or doesn't get enough sleep or his mind is hazy the next day, he doesn't work efficiently. Alcohol also is responsible for many industrial accidents, and lessens resistance to disease."

When Dr. Darlington was asked whether he had any reliable statistics on the subject of the relation of alcohol to industrial accidents, he admitted that he hadn't any nor had any been published.

When I asked Dr. Darlington what measures would be taken by the U. S. Steel Corporation to keep out pocket peddlers, blind tigers, etc., he replied:—"Our officials (U. S. Steel Corporation employees) are generally the town officials in the newer towns, and we can bring pressure to stop that sort of thing. In the older towns we find ways and means of opposing the granting of licenses."

Dr. Darlington handed me a set of the enclosed batch of leaflets.

These leaflets are issued nominally by the Anti-Saloon League. But the point to be ascertained was: Were they issued indirectly by authority of the U. S. Steel Corporation?

The fact is that they were. This fact I ascertained from Mr. C. L. Close, the Secretary of the Bureau of Safety, Sanitation, Relief and Welfare of the U. S. Steel Corporation. Mr. Close's office is at No. 71 Broadway, New York City, many of the floors of which building are occupied by the various offices of the Steel Trust. From my talk with Mr. Close I ascertained these definite facts:

1. The copy for the enclosed leaflets was submitted to Mr. Close by Mrs. Lillian Burt of the Anti-Saloon League. Mr. Close edited the copy, expunged all references to religion, and cut out certain exaggerated statements. That done, he approved the copy, and it was set up in type as enclosed. Batches containing enormous numbers of these circulars have been, or will be, sent to foremen of all districts with orders to distribute them among the workmen and their families.

2. Judge Gary is intensely irritated over the fact that in the Steel Trust town bearing his name in Indiana, there are 196 saloons crowded in a small

triangular patch, called "The Patch" in the center of the town. This small piece of land was bought up by speculators; just how they managed it Mr. Close did not explain. In the entire remainder of the town there are only two saloons. (No provision was inserted in the Gary charter prohibiting saloons.)

CONCLUSIONS.

From the above definitely ascertained facts, certain conclusions reasonably appear:

1. The U. S. Steel Corporation is supporting the Anti-Saloon League's propaganda.

2. The whole power of the U. S. Steel Corporation—its power over its workers, newspaper publicity, etc.—joined with its financial power, is enlisted in the antiliquor campaign so far as its mill and mining towns and railroads are concerned.

3. Judge Gary is personally irritated over the action of the saloon element in Gary, Ind.

4. But far beyond any personal feeling there appears to be a definite policy on the part of the U. S. Steel Corporation of putting itself forward conspicuously in public opinion as "a moral corporation," thus seeking to counteract the exposures made of conditions among its armies of unskilled workers due to low wages, etc., and the scandals arising from its stockjobbing and other operations. By such a policy it expects to win plaudits from churches, church organizations, temperance societies and the like.

5. Added to the above factors is a definite belief of the part of the corporation that in trying to abolish the use of alcohol, it will minimize the demand for higher wages, and that it will promote efficiency among its workmen. At the same time it is seeking to spread the impression that alcohol is largely responsible for industrial accidents.

These facts are, in brief, the concrete results of my investigation.

Maj. HUMES. Is the firm of Rogers, Peet & Co., clothiers in New York City, a concern from which brewers largely purchase clothes?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I do.

Maj. HUMES. Do you still buy your clothes there?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir. I have an account there.

Maj. HUMES. You notified the trade on November 28, 1911, did you not:

I am also informed that individual members of the firm of Rogers, Peet and Company, clothiers, New York City, are giving financial support to our opponents. All of this is for your information.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

You sent that out?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. After that was sent out, Mr. Cusick, of Scranton, notified you that he had written to them and told them he was through buying clothes from them, did he not; and did not you in reply to that write a letter to Mr. Cusick, acknowledging receipt of his letter, as follows:

I have your letter of the 7th inst. with the copy of your extremely interesting correspondence with Mr. Frank Reap of Messrs. Rogers, Peet and Company. I think that a few more such letters will have Rogers, Peet and Company on the anxious seat. I would suggest that you stand pat now. The obvious answer to Rogers, Peet and Company's letter is that you do not question the right of any man to act according to his convictions, but at the same time you can hardly be expected to furnish ammunition for the enemy's war-chest by trading with a concern some of whose profits find their way into the enemy's camp.

You wrote such a letter?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You then advised Mr. Cusick to withdraw his patronage, whether you withdrew yours or not? You approved of his course?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall the correspondence, but I should say that the object of it was to turn a lot of letters loose on Rogers, Peet & Co. which might have had an influence upon them.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you did withdraw your patronage until there was a change in the firm?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall that. I think I probably did.

Maj. HUMES. But you have just said that you continued your account there.

Mr. Fox. I have an account there now, and I know that for a while I did not buy from them.

Maj. HUMES. You gave a wrong impression by your former answer, then. I had supposed that the business was continuous. I call your attention to your letter dated December 9, 1912, addressed to Rogers, Peet & Co., as follows:

GENTLEMEN: You wrote me some time ago soliciting business. I have not done business with you for some time because I learned that a member of your firm was antagonizing our interests.

I have, however, been informed recently that there has been a change in the personnel of your firm, which may have affected your attitude. If so, I should be glad to hear from you.

Did you write such a letter?

Mr. Fox. I recall it now.

Maj. HUMES. Then you did withhold your patronage for a while?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. As a matter of fact, Rogers, Peet & Co. wrote back and notified you that there had been a change, that their concern had ceased to be a firm and now become a corporation, and that the situation had entirely changed. They advised you to that effect, under date of December 11, 1912, did they not, and was it not that letter that induced you once more to trade with the concern?

Mr. Fox. I think it is extremely probable.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, they had come in line?

Mr. Fox. I guess so. I do not recall. I had forgotten that.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE VV.

[Copy.]

MARCH 28TH, 1910.

Mr. C. W. HALSEY,
Sec. Rogers, Peet & Company, New York City, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: I have been informed that your firm, and the individuals who make up same, are contributing to local option and prohibition causes, and therefore I take the liberty, as an old customer, of asking you to confirm or deny this statement.

Respectfully,

(Signed) G. W. LEMBECK.

[Copy.]

ROGERS PEET AND COMPANY,
842 BROADWAY,
New York, March 28th, 1910.

Mr. GUSTAV W. LEMBECK,
Jersey City, New Jersey.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of the 28th addressed to our Mr. Halsey: As you are doubtless aware we are trading as a firm and not as a corporation. The firm is composed of five men, and there are as many more who as heads of departments are interested in the results of the business.

These men are of different nationalities and differ in their views on politics, religion and temperance just as other men do; but as a firm it has always been our policy to make no public or benevolent contributions, leaving every man free to dispense his personal funds and to express his personal opinion on public and benevolent matters as he sees fit.

Doubtless some member or members of our firm are contributors to local option causes, although we feel sure that none of them are prohibitionists. We think, however, that this should have no bearing on our relations with persons of different views, since it is a matter that does not enter into the conduct of our business.

Yours truly,

(Signed) ROGERS PEET AND COMPANY.

[Answered Aug. 21, 1911. H. F. F.]

GUSTAVE PABST,
Milwaukee, Wis., August 4th, 1911.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I returned home safely and found everything in fine condition. Upon my desk I found a bill from Rogers, Peet & Co., which reminded me of the remark made by Mr. Lembeck, to the effect that one of the firm was reported as having contributed to the opposition.

In this connection, I shall be glad to have you advise me of the result of the investigation you were to make on this subject, as soon as you have concluded same, or have anything of interest to report.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

GUSTAVE PABST.

[Eagle Brewing Co., Lembeck & Betz, Office 173 Ninth St.]

Answered Aug. 21, 1911. H. F. F.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., *8/16/11.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
109 East 15th St., New York City.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 14th inst., with enclosure of a letter from Mr. Gustave Pabst, to hand.

Pursuant to your request I herewith enclose a copy of the letter which I sent to the firm of Messrs. Rogers, Peet & Company, as also the reply made by their Secretary.

I also enclose herewith the letter of Mr. Pabst as you request.

Respectfully,

LEMBECK & BETZ EAGLE BREW'G CO.

GWL–C. Enc–3.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109–111 EAST 15TH STREET,
New York City, November 28, 1911.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

I am also informed that individual members of the firm of Rogers, Peet & Company, Clothiers, New York City, are giving financial support to our opponents. All of this is for your information.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

[Copy.]

DECEMBER 4TH, 1911.

Mr. FRANK REAP,
% Rogers Peet & Co., New York City.

FRIEND FRANK: I have been advised from reliable sources that some of the individual members of the firm of Rogers Peet & Co. are giving financial support to the enemies and opponents of the liquor interests.

I do not see how they figure out that they can afford to take this stand, as the people who are interested directly and indirectly in this business can not conscientiously patronize a firm who is giving financial support to their opponents. I for one can not give them any business under these circumstances, and am sure people like C. P., who receives considerable money from these interests, can not afford to antagonize them in buying goods from people who are directly working against our interests.

I just site this as an instance to show you how far reaching it is, and think it would be well for you to take the matter up with your firm and see what there is to it.

I am in a position to verify the above statement should your firm desire the same verified.

Let me hear from you regarding this at your earliest convenience, and greatly oblige,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) P. F. CUSICK.

PFC/GLG.

[Otto J. Robinson, Prest. P. F. Cusick, Treas. Secy. Capacity 200,000 Bbls. Both Phones.]

Answered Dec. 8, 1911. H. F. F.

THE STANDARD BREWING CO.,
Scranton, Pa., December 7, 1911.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secy., U. S. Brewers Asso., New York City.

DEAR SIR: After receiving your circular the other day regarding Rogers Peet & Co., I wrote Mr. Frank Reap, a townsman of ours who is working there, copy of letter you will find herewith enclosed, also Rogers Peet & Co. reply, both of them explaining themselves.

We thought this was the proper thing to do, and would be glad to hear from you further with comments on the same.

Very truly yours,

STANDARD BREWING CO.
P. F. CUSICK, *Treasurer.*

PFC/GLG.

DECEMBER 8, 1911.

Mr. P. F. CUSICK,
Secretary Standard Brewing Co., Scranton, Pa.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 7th instant with the copy of your extremely interesting correspondence with Mr. Frank Reap of Messrs. Rogers, Peet & Company. I think that a few more such letters will have Rogers, Peet

& Company on the anxious seat. I would suggest that you stand pat now. The obvious answer to Rogers, Peet & Company's letter is that you do not question the right of any man to act according to his convictions, but at the same time you can hardly be expected to furnish ammunition for the enemy's war-chest by trading with a concern, some of whose profits find their way into the enemy's camp.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/BT.

{Cable Address: "Clothier" New York; "Clothier" Paris. Codes used: Western Union, Liebers, A B C 5th Edition. Paris Office, 1 Rue Ambroise Thomas. Boys clothing, carriage liveries, chauffeurs' liveries, choir outfits, clerical clothing, club uniforms, cutaway coats, dressing gowns, dusters, evening dress suits, footwear, frock coats, fur coats, gloves, hats and caps, hosiery, house liveries, men's clothing motor wear, neckwear, outing wear, overcoats, puttees, raincoats, riding clothes, rubber goods, shirts, sporting goods, sweaters and jerseys, toilet articles, traveling goods, tropical clothing, trunks and bags, tuxedo suits, ulsters, umbrellas and canes, underwear, yacht uniforms.]

ROGERS PEET & COMPANY,
842 BROADWAY, AT THIRTEENTH ST.,
New York, March 20, 1912.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Plainfield, N. J.

DEAR SIR: Won't you please remember that I'm at your service for Spring outfitting.

I might add that I'm hoping you may look in soon, for I want to have the pleasure of showing you the new styles while everything is at the freshest.

Respectfully,

GILMOUR F. PARKER.

DEC. 9, 1912.

ROGERS PEET & COMPANY,
842 Broadway, New York City.

GENTLEMEN: You wrote me some time ago soliciting business. I have not done business with you for some time because I learned that a member of your firm was antagonizing our interests.

I have, however, been informed recently that there has been a change in the personel of your firm, which may have affected your attitude. If so, I should be glad to hear from you!

Yours very truly,

Secretary.

HFF/FT

[Rogers Peet Company, 842 Broadway at Thirteenth St.]

NEW YORK, *Dec. 11, 1912.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary United States Brewers' Association,
109 East 15th Street, City.

DEAR SIR: We appreciate your friendly letter of December 9, for we hav known that among the members of your Association there has been some feelin antagonistic to our House.

We have even been told that this firm is "actively engaged in fostering pr hibition movements," whereas it has always been an unbroken rule of the bus ness that as a firm it would make no contributions and take no part in an matters of public or political discussion, for there have always been a numbe of individuals interested—men who differ widely in their views on politics, r ligion and public questions, just as other men do.

It may well be true that some one of those now or formerly interested her has been a contributor to local option causes; indeed, we believe that such the case, but we are quite sure that none of those prominently identified wi the Company are prohibitionists.

The recent change in our form of organization from a partnership to a co poration will make even clearer our position in such matters.

We have never felt that the personal beliefs of any individuals should hav any bearing on the Company's relations with men of different views, especial

when the matters in question are entirely outside the conduct of our business and our relations with our business friends, and we trust that you and your associates find yourselves in accord with this view.

Very truly yours,

ROGERS PEET COMPANY,
CHARLES W. HALSEY,
Secretary & Treasurer.

CWH

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Fox, is it not a fact that the United States Brewers' Association or its membership caused their patronage to be withheld from the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago because when the order from the city administration in Chicago went out for Sunday closing and enforcement of the Sunday law, this hotel, instead of resisting the enforcement of law, said that they would voluntarily and at once adhere to the law? Is not that a fact?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall it, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did not Mr. Edward Landsberg, of Chicago—a member and officer, I believe, of your association, is he not?

Mr. FOX. He is now.

Maj. HUMES. He was in 1915?

Mr. FOX. I think he was then.

Maj. HUMES. Did he not write you this letter under date of May 27, 1915:

MY DEAR MR. FOX: The inclosed article entitled, "No Sunday Bar at Blackstone," which appeared in last Sunday's Chicago Tribune, is perhaps no immediate news to you. My reason for mailing you this is that most of our colleagues in the East while stopping off at Chicago pick the Blackstone Hotel. In my opinion our members should be made cognizant that Tracy C. Drake, president and general manager of the Blackstone Hotel, has never contributed a cent against any "dry" campaign, and, from what information I have in hand from several hotel keepers in Chicago, he is an outright prohibitionist, and in future the "kibosh" should be placed upon the Blackstone Hotel by our members and their friends.

Yours, very truly,

EDWARD LANDSBERG.

You got such a letter, did you not?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Has the patronage of the members of your association at the Blackstone Hotel been the same since that period in 1915?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I have stopped there a number of times. I have met other brewers there.

Maj. HUMES. You had some considerable correspondence with Mr. Drake on the subject, too, did you not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. The immediate cause of that was because the general manager of the Blackstone Hotel consented to obey the laws of the State of Illinois? Is not that true?

Mr. FOX. That may have been the motive of the Chicago people. I had absolutely no sympathy with it; but when they talked about the hotel men being a part of their campaign machinery, and of not getting anything out of the Blackstone Hotel, of course that was a different matter. But on that Sunday question, I think, they were absolutely wrong, and I did not myself cease stopping at the Blackstone Hotel.

Maj. HUMES. Have you discovered that your ethics have on ordinary occasions been the ethics of the association?

Mr. Fox. Unfortunately, no; but they are the ethics of a number of the members of the association.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT FILE WW.

[United States Brewing Co. of Chicago, First National Bank Bldg., Tel., Randolph 382.]

CHICAGO, *May 27, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: The enclosed article entitled "No Sunday Bar at Blackstone" which appeared in last Sunday's Chicago Tribune is perhaps no immediate news to you. My reason for mailing you this is that most of our colleagues in the East while stopping off at Chicago pick the Blackstone Hotel. In my opinion our members should be made cognizant that Tracy C. Drake, President and General Manager of the Blackstone Hotel, has never contributed a cent against any "dry" campaign and from what information I have in hand from several hotel keepers in Chicago, he is an outright prohibitionist and in future the "kibosh" should be placed upon the Blackstone Hotel by our members and their friends.

Yours very truly, EDWARD LANDSBERG.

Encl.

Answered June 1, 1915.—H. F. F.

[The Blackstone, Michigan Boulevard. Owners and managers The Drake Hotel Co., Tracy C. Drake, Pres't, John B. Drake, Vice Pres't. Cable Address: "Blackstone."]

Office Copy. Please Return This Copy to the File.
Answered June 1, 1915. H. F. F.

CHICAGO, *May 29, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
U. S. Brewers Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I have your favor of the 27th inst., and, in reply, would state that the interview mentioned is partially correct, but not completely so. What I said to this reporter in answer to his interrogation as to what I thought about the prohibition movement, was as follows:

The consideration of the liquor question seems to be especially prevalent throughout the entire world at present. Russia has stopped the manufacture of Vodka; France is much more abstemious than formerly, England is in the throes of discussing abuses due to drink, the United States has prohibited the importation of absinthe and the number of States, counties and communities which have gone dry of late years, coupled with the decreasing sale of all wines and liquors, proves that moderation, if not prohibition, is on its way. If any prohibition laws are enacted in Illinois, The Blackstone is prepared to abide by them gracefully and not combatively. The Sunday closing law is on the statute and we have been ready at any time to obey it when enforcement of it was contemplated. Since that time appears to have come, we prefer to submit and close our bar on Sundays rather than be put in the position of fighting a State law on a test case. Someone else can be the goat, we will not be. If the law is declared invalid we will doubtless open our bar again.

The Blackstone, as you will know, Mr. Fox, has always stood for the best standards in everything. The matter of Sunday closing was considered by our Board of Directors, composed of rather level-headed and prominent men and they were a unit in agreeing that this hotel could not afford to oppose a law in the courts which, while it may have been a dead letter for many years, still exists on the statutes of the State. Therefore, we acted independently and I believe very wisely. The prohibition movement, whatever you may say, is in the minds of a lot of people to-day in this world and whatever its direct outcome conditions in the liquor trade are bound to experience, as you indicate, a marked readjustment before very long.

With kind personal regards, believe me

Yours very truly,

TRACY C. DRAKE, *President.*
THE DRAKE HOTEL COMPANY.

Confidential. JUNE 1, 1915.

Mr. EDWARD LANDSBERG, *Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR MR. LANDSBERG: I have your letter of the 27th, and am enclosing copy of letter from Mr. Drake of the Blackstone Hotel of the 29th ult., which is written in reply to my letter of the 27th. I am also enclosing for your information, copy of my letter of to-day to Mr. Drake, which I hope will draw him out further.

Knowing that Mr. Carl Hoster has a high personal regard for Mr. Drake, and has maintained intimate social relations with him, I have put the matter up to Mr. Hoster, and he is writing Mr. Drake also.

We do not want to antagonize the Blackstone unnecessarily, and I think that every effort should be made to win them over to our side. Their attitude on the Sunday question does not seem to me to be of vital consequence, and I think in this regard they are entitled to their own opinion.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

HFF/W

P. S.—Since writing the above I have received a letter from the Manhattan Brewing Co., and am suggesting in my reply that Mr. Meyer put himself in touch with you. I think we must avoid letting other hotel men in Chicago rush us into action on this matter until we are perfectly sure that Mr. Drake and the Blackstone are irretrievably lost to our side.

[The Blackstone, Michigan Boulevard. Owners and managers The Drake Hotel Co., Tracy C. Drake, Pres't, John B. Drake, Vice Pres't. Cable Address: "Blackstone."]

CHICAGO, *June 3, 15.*

Mr. H. F. FOX, *Secy.*
United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I have your letter of the 1st inst. and really feel that you are unnecessarily agitated regarding the matter under discussion. It may be but natural for you to take apparent umbrage at what I have said, but in reality, the part of my interview about prohibition is far superseded in the minds of the people who may have read it by the question under consideration in Chicago, viz.—that of Sunday closing. I have had many expressions and letters from people commending our action in having taken the stand we did and six other hotels have followed our example, leaving only now the Congress, LaSalle and Sherman fighting the Sunday closing law.

No one but yourself has brought up as a criticism of our action any apparent attitude on my part, leading to the supposition that we favor prohibition, as a hotel. We do not favor it, and, naturally, never have. It is part of our business to give people what they wish, and should a vote ever be taken on such a proposition, we would most logically vote against it. We do not at any time, however, wish to be placed in the position of attacking laws that are enacted, and if the overwhelming sentiment of the people produce such laws, we would certainly submit gracefully and adjust our affairs accordingly.

The spread of temperance and prohibition in many districts must be recognized, and you, yourself, acknowledge that it is going to require especial energy to combat the movement, which of late years seems to be creeping gradually over various communities. Our own attitude and stand in this matter have not changed at all since the opening of The Blackstone, except insofar as this present Sunday closing movement is concerned.

Yours very truly,

TRACY C. DRAKE, *President,*
THE DRAKE HOTEL COMPANY.

Maj. HUMES. Now, is it not a fact that independent of the so-called blacklist or boycotting, various State associations maintained their own method of blacklisting—to use a milder term, if you choose—and boycotting unfriendly concerns?

Mr. FOX. I can not answer that question.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to a communication of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, and also one of the Indiana State Brewers' Association, and ask you if that does not evidence the fact that the smaller units of your organization engaged in the same practices?

Mr. FOX. These associations were not units of our association. They were absolutely independent.

Maj. HUMES. Well, they were subsidiary?

Mr. FOX. No; they were not subsidiary. They were absolutely independent organizations, over which we had no control—nothing but a correspondence.

Maj. HUMES. May I ask you, then, Mr. Fox, if it is not a fact that after much discussion a rule was adopted similar to the rule adopted by the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, that a man to be a member of the national association must be a member of the State association, or vice versa?

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. I know it was not that way originally, but I was thinking that recently there had been a rule of that kind promulgated.

Mr. FOX. No. There may have been in some particular State.

Maj. HUMES. I know there has been much agitation in favor of that policy.

Mr. FOX. There may have been in some particular State, but I have no knowledge of it.

Maj. HUMES. We submit a letter from the Pennsylvania State Association calling attention to the antagonistic attitude of the Garlock Packing Co.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:

EXHIBIT FILE XX.

[Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, 1504 Land Title Building, Philadelphia. Chas. F. Ettla, Secretary.]

11-16-11.

WAYNE BREWING COMPANY, *Erie, Pa.*

GENTLEMEN: Kindly be advised that we were misinformed regarding The Garlock Packing Company being antagonistic to our interests, as we find upon investigation that this is not true; and we would ask that you kindly disregard any former communication stating that The Garlock Packing Company were antagonistic to us, as they are not at this time, nor have they ever been. We will appreciate it if you will make it a point to notify the people who do the buying for you not to shut The Garlock Packing Company out, but would suggest that you favor them as you did in the past.

Yours very truly,

PENNSYLVANIA STATE BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
CHAS. F. ETTLA, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. We also submit a letter from the Indiana State Association relative to Amos K. Hollowell.

(The documents referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:

EXHIBIT FILE YY.

[Office Copy. Please Return This Copy to The File.]

Memo. INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *Jan. 25, 1910.*

Special report—Report on Amos K. Hollowell, Pres. Harris Air Pump Co.

I called at the Lombard Bldg. and found that he had moved his office to #1215 State Life Bldg.

Called there and ascertained the fact that he had moved office to the factory bldg., cor. Canal and 10th Sts; that he was out of the city to-day but was expected back this P. M. He resides at cor. of College & 25th, also that he is a member of the Anti-Saloon League Executive Committee.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *Jan. 26, 1910.*

Special report—Report on Amos K. Hollowell, Pres. Harris Air Pump Co. Indianapolis, Ind.

First called Mr. Hollowell up by phone, after having failed to get him at the plant this morning. Was told by him over phone that he could give no information, but went out to the plant to see him in person, and succeeded in talking with him personally.

He told me that he was one of the five members of the Anti-Saloon League Executive Committee; having been elected to that office during the trustees' meeting here on Jan. 4th last. Also that he was not a very active member of the Committee, only meeting with them once a month, as his business interfered with his taking a more active interest.

The pamphlet hereto attached, he said, was the outcome of this meeting of Jan. 4th, which fifty trustees attended, representing the entire state.

He stated further that he really did not know anything about the inner workings of the League, but referred me to Dr. Ballard, Mr. Shumaker, and Dr. Stansfield, who are also members of the Executive Committee, for a more detailed account of their work.

He explained that he thought that in time the entire state would go dry, as they were advancing in great strides with their work, and that seventy-five per cent of the population of the state were now living in dry territory.

He stated that the society is kept up by public subscription, and that the churches throughout the state appoint a certain day upon which the Anti-Saloon speakers take the pulpit, explain the character of their work; the basket is then passed, and all the offerings are turned in to the League.

The district Superintendents are given a salary of $1500 per year; that up to date they have received only about 60% of the money due them; in his estimation he thought that the amount was only about a third of what they ought to receive.

This Executive Committee is sworn to see that the rules laid down in this pamphlet are carried out.

To all members.

GENTLEMEN: It is reported that Amos K. Hollowell, president of the Harris Air Lift Company, is one of the Headquarters Committee of the Anti-Saloon League, and is quite active in their work in the struggle for prohibition. We have sent a representative to see Mr. Hollowell, whose report is attached. The investigation we have made bears out the fact that he is a member of the Anti-Saloon League, and participates in a great deal of their work. The Harris Air Lift Company sells many of its pumps to brewers, and, as our relations should be reciprocal, either Mr. Hollowell should get in line with his patrons, or else they should be able to get their supplies from interests that are friendly to them.

Very truly,

ASSOCIATION OF INDIANA BREWERS.

Thereupon, at 1.10 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee took a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The subcommittee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 2.30 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HUGH F. FOX—Resumed.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, I show you a paper which is marked with the figures 837. In whose handwriting is that?

Mr. Fox. I think that is the handwriting of a Mr. Vance, in our employ.

Senator OVERMAN. Who is Mr. Vance?

Mr. Fox. He is the publicity director. He is our assistant secretary.

Maj. HUMES. You are sure that is his handwriting and it is not yours?

Mr. Fox. It is not mine. I think it is his.

Senator OVERMAN. He is the director of publicity of the Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. Yes. I would not be absolutely certain as to its being his writing, but it looks like his. It is not mine.

Senator OVERMAN. It came from the files of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That is your own private stamp?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What is Mr. Vance's position with your association?

Mr. Fox. He is assistant secretary.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period has he been assistant secretary or publicity manager of your association?

Mr. Fox. I can not recall the exact date, but it was shortly after the *Lusitania* went down, and that must have been about four years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Was he in your employ prior to that time?

Mr. Fox. No. I am not sure that that is not the handwriting of a man named Bevington. The handwriting of Mr. Fox and the handwriting of Mr. Bevington are somewhat alike.

Maj. HUMES. You are sure that it is either Mr. Vance's or Mr. Bevington's handwriting?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Was Mr. Vance in your employ in 1913?

Mr. Fox. No.

Maj. HUMES. This was written in 1913.

Mr. Fox. Then it was not Mr. Vance who wrote it. Mr. Vance came to us after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Our publicity man, Mr. Herbert Stone, went down on the *Lusitania*, and my recollection is that Mr. Vance succeeded him, although not immediately.

Maj. HUMES. Then you say that this is Mr. Bevington's handwriting?

Mr. Fox. It looks like it to me.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the handwriting of the corrections and alterations in a typewritten statement which I now show you and ask in whose handwriting those corrections and alterations are. Is it in your handwriting?

Mr. Fox. No; I do not identify that. That is not the same handwriting as the other one evidently. At least I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. You are sure that this is not Mr. Stone's handwriting, are you?

Mr. Fox. These alterations and corrections look like Mr. Stone's handwriting. I do not recollect his handwriting very well. I presume I have some specimens of it in the office.

Maj. HUMES. Could you furnish us with specimens of the handwriting of Mr. Stone?

Mr. Fox. I think very likely. I would be glad to go through the files and see.

Maj. HUMES. This 837 is an interview of Dr. C. H. Hexamer, the president of the German-American Alliance, and was prepared evidently in your office, was it not, and afterwards published in the German papers in New York and Chicago?

Mr. Fox. No. Is this document which you have just shown me, Maj. Humes, a translation? These are not identical, are they?

Maj. HUMES. Practically so. One is evidently an original, and here is a typewritten copy of the same statement.

Mr. Fox. The reason I ask is because Mr. Bevington is a man who is employed by us to translate anything that we desire translated from the German into the English, and I think this is his handwriting. He does not work in the office, but we send him stuff from time to time that we want translated.

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Fox, you said yesterday that your methods of publication were to send out documents and to purchase books and send them out to different people.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. And all kinds of circulars?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. I find here in your files a book entitled "Crimes of Preachers," which I show you. Did you ever see it before?

Mr. Fox. Yes. We have it, I think, in our library. We have practically everything that we know of that has ever been published which had any direct or indirect bearing upon any phase of the subject published by our opponents or anybody else—practically everything.

Senator OVERMAN. How many copies of that book did you send out?

Mr. Fox. We never sent out any copies of this.

Senator OVERMAN. You just kept it in your library?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. This book is entitled, as I say, "Crimes of Preachers," and I desire to read from the first page the following:

THE TEN PARSONS.

Ten little preachers preaching love divine,
One kissed a servant girl, then there were nine.
Nine little preachers preaching sinners' fate,
One got drunk, then there were eight.
Eight little preachers showing path to heaven,
One seduced a brother's wife, then there were seven.
Seven little preachers exposing Satan's tricks,
One beat his patient wife, then there were six.
Six little preachers preaching Christ alive,
One debauched a little girl, then there were five.
Five little preachers preaching "sin no more,"
One raped a "sister," then there were four.
Four little preachers, pure as they could be,
One raped an eight-year-old, then there were three.
Three little preachers, pity so few,
One murdered his paramour, then there were two.
Two little preachers following the son,
One whipped his child to death, then there was one.
One little preacher in the fold alone,
He committed suicide, then there were none.

Why did you have that book in your library?

Mr. Fox. Really, I do not know.

Senator OVERMAN. Is this the kind of literature that you have there?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. You say this is of interest to your society or association?

Mr. Fox. Oh, no, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. What interest is this to anyone in your association?

Mr. Fox. None whatever. I recall that there was such a scandalous book published, and we have several thousand books in the library. We have allowed anyone who wanted to to have access to that, practically. We often had people from the Anti-Saloon League come—not often, but a number of times—and they were turned loose in the library.

Senator OVERMAN. I can not conceive why you want a book like that in your library. You said you had nothing but books that would interest your association, as I understood you.

Mr. Fox. Oh, no. We had an economic and sociological library, and a library of fiction and all sorts of things. I do not know whether this book was sent to us or how or where we got it.

Senator OVERMAN. Evidently your attention has been called to it before?

Mr. Fox. Probably; yes.

Senator OVERMAN. You seemed to recognize it when I handed it to you?

Mr. Fox. Probably it was sent to us in the hope that we would buy some copies. I do not know.

Senator OVERMAN. Was any general attack made upon the preachers of the country by the association because they stood for prohibition?

Mr. Fox. No, sir; I do not think so.

Senator OVERMAN. By circular or otherwise?

Mr. Fox. Not in my recollection.

Senator NELSON. These preachers here referred to in the extract that Senator Overman has read must evidently have been drunk to have committed those offenses.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, I show you now a paper marked "Exhibit No. 45," and I ask you if that is from the files of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. Evidently it is.

Maj. HUMES. This is a paper noted as "Proposed statement from the president of the National German-American Alliance, 1915." Is that correct—"proposed statement"?

Mr. Fox. That is how it reads.

Maj. HUMES. I have several copies of it here in carbon, at any one of which you may look if you desire to refresh your recollection. The word "proposed" is interlined in handwriting in each instance. It comes from your files, does it?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I also call your attention to another copy of the same "proposed statement." with corrections and interlineations. Does that come from your files also?

Mr. Fox. Evidently; it is so stamped.

Maj. Humes. In whose handwriting are the corrections and alterations?

Mr. Fox. I am afraid that I can not identify that. I do not recall anything about it.

Maj. Humes. Can you not identify the handwriting?

Mr. Fox. I am afraid not, sir.

Maj. Humes. Is it your handwriting?

Mr. Fox. No.

Maj. Humes. Is it Mr. Bevington's?

Mr. Fox. No; I do not think it is.

Maj. Humes. Mr. Vance's?

Mr. Fox. It does not look like the one or the other.

Maj. Humes. Do you say that it is not in their handwriting?

Mr. Fox. It does not look so to me.

Maj. Humes. I now show you another copy of approximately the same article, entitled "Final Revision," with the notation at the top, "Original copy sent to Mr. Feigenspan." Did that come from your files?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. Humes. In whose handwriting is the notice at the top of that?

Mr. Fox. That is in the librarian's handwriting.

Maj. Humes. I show you another statement that seems to cover generally the same subject matter. Does that come from your files?

Mr. Fox. It is so stamped. I judge it does. I take it that that stamp was put on by us, sir.

Maj. Humes. No; this stamp was not put on by you. This is the stamp that was put on by us in my office. You do not know where this came from? This other stamp is your stamp.

Mr. Fox. Then I could not say positively.

Maj. Humes. I know that it came from the files, and I thought possibly that you could identify it yourself.

Mr. Fox. I am not doubting it in the least.

Maj. Humes. Now, is it not apparent to you, and do you not know, that statements were prepared in the office of the United States Brewers' Association for the use of Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. Fox. I have no recollection, and I believe no knowledge, of anything of the kind.

Maj. Humes. I now submit to the committee the first draft of the proposed statement from the president of the National German-American Alliance, 1915, which is marked "Fox Exhibit No. 22," and which bears the figures 837, which is as follows:

Fox Exhibit No. 22. 837

(Confidential file.)

Proposed statement from the president of the National German American Alliance, 1915.

Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.

Dr. C. J. Hexamer, President of the National German-American Alliance desires to make the following statement, which is to be construed neither as an explanation, nor as an apology, but simply as a plain statement of facts, which is of timely interest.

The German-American Alliance, and other German-American organizations have existed for a great many years. They have served the valuable purpose of stimulating the interest of American citizens of German origin in the literature, the art, and the music for which the German race is famous, and which have done so much to enrich the lives of American citizens. Since the first great inrush of German immigrants after 1847, American citizens of German parentage have borne an active and honorable part in the life of this country. The traditions of the Civil War, in which so many Germans fought and died for the extermination of chattel slavery, and for the preservation of the Union, are their exalted traditions. Their history is American history, and so will it be with our descendants. We Germans here have deliberately and voluntarily chosen the United States as our home,—not for mere temporary selfish purposes, but as our permanent abiding place. It is in every sense our chosen adopted country, as it will be the one and only country of our descendants. We are profoundly and passionately attached to American institutions, and were these institutions in jeopardy they would quickly enroll our undivided loyalty.

In the present world crisis, however, this is not an imminent question, and we therefore feel that when our whole hearts are with the German people in their great emergency, we are neither violating any essential of neutrality, nor are we untrue to ourselves in feeling the response of a spontaneous and natural sympathy. We ask the American people to exercise their customary fairness, and accord to us the right to feel as they would feel were they in our position. We further ask, not to be judged by the performances of a few firebrands and trouble-makers of whose acts we do not approve, and which are not only not endorsed by our Organization, but which would never receive other than condemnation. The substantial German-Americans, who constitute by far the great number, uphold the President of the United States, and do not question his course!

I need not point out that we are not the only Organization in this country which has a decided opinion as to the moral right of this country to allow the traffic in munitions with any of the parties to this disastrous war. Opposition has been strongly expressed by purely American publicists and organizations. If the manufacture of "fire-arms" and ammunition was restricted or controlled by the Government of the United States, as, I believe, it will be some day, the sale and export of them to any nation would be a cause of war with all the other nations involved. To the lay mind it seems anomalous that the American Government should be able to prohibit the export of arms to Mexico, and should not be able to prohibit their exportation to other countries; but I want to emphasize this point—that the blowing up of factories is sabotage, which nothing except an actual state of war in the United States could excuse or justify. We do not believe that such acts have been done under the direction of the German Government, or inspired in any way by recognized German authority. If, however, it can be shown that any act of injury to property in the United States, which is contrary to the law of this country, has been either sanctioned or inspired by any of the German or Austrian authorities, those Governments must disavow the acts and repair the damage, and at all events, the guilty parties should be dealt with by the American authorities as common criminals.

I deprecate especially, any effort to inject class or racial distinctions into the politics of this country. In my judgment, it would be disastrous to have the Congress of the United States made up of factions which are held together by racial instincts. We must absolutely abolish nationalist factions and sectional strife in the political affairs of the United States, and any man who undertakes to play upon race feeling for his own personal or political advantage is not doing the German Americans any good, but is, in fact, doing them a great injury.

Confiding fully in the sense of fairness and justice of all of the American people the National German American Alliance undertakes to express its views freely on all debatable questions, and legitimate objects of discussion. In doing this it does not overlook for a second the supreme claims of American citizenship with all the duties that these carry with them to which it gives unreserved precedence.

From U. S. B. A. files.

I shall now read to the committee Fox Exhibit No. 23, also having the number 837 upon it, which contains certain interlineations to

which the witness has referred, and from which the name of Dr. Hexamer has been eliminated.

Senator NELSON. I suggest that that be printed as it is, with the interlineations shown to be printed in different type.

(The paper, marked "Fox Exhibit No. 23," is here printed in full in the record as follows, matter printed in type stricken through indicating matter stricken out in original, and matter printed in italic indicating matter inserted:

FOX EXHIBIT No. 23. 837

(1915).

(From U. S. B. A. files)

~~PROPOSED STATEMENT FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.~~

~~Dr. C. J. Hexamer, President of the National German-American Alliance desires to make the following statement, which is to be construed neither as an explanation, nor as an apology, but simply as a plain statement of facts, which is of timely interest.~~

~~The German-American Alliance, and other~~ German-American organizations have existed for a great many years. They have served the valuable purpose of stimulating the interest of American citizens of German origin in the literature, the art and the music for which the German race is famous, and which have done so much to enrich the lives of American citizens. *Not the least valuable part was that played by them in assisting to assimilate the newcomers from the Fatherland and ~~stimulating them~~ acquainting them with true American ideals.* Since the first great inrush of German immigrants after 1847, American citizens of German parentage have borne an active and honorable part in the life of this country. The traditions of the Civil War, in which so many Germans fought and died for the extermination of chattel slavery, and for the preservation of the Union, are their exalted traditions. Their history is American history, and so will it be with ~~our~~ *the* descendants. ~~We~~ *The* Germans here have deliberately and voluntarily chosen the United States as ~~our~~ *their* home,—not for mere temporary selfish purposes, but as ~~our~~ *their* permanent abiding place. It is in every sense ~~our~~ *their* chosen adopted country, as it ~~will be~~ *is* the one and only country of ~~our~~ *their* descendants. ~~We~~ *They* are profoundly and passionately attached to American institutions, and were these institutions in jeopardy they would quickly enroll our undivided loyalty.

In the present world crisis, however, this is not an imminent question, and ~~we~~ *the German-Americans* therefore feel that when ~~our~~ *their* whole hearts are with the German people in ~~their~~ *a* great emergency, ~~we~~ *they* are neither violating any essential of neutrality, nor are ~~we~~ *they* untrue to ~~ourselves~~ *themselves* in feeling the response of a spontaneous and natural sympathy. ~~We~~ *They* ask the American people to exercise their customary fairness, and accord to ~~us~~ *the German-Americans* the right to feel as they would feel were they in ~~our~~ *a similar* position. ~~We~~ *The German-Americans* further ask, not to be judged by the performances of a few firebrands and troublemakers of whose acts ~~we~~ *they* do not approve, and which are not only not endorsed by ~~our~~ *the principal* Organizations, but which would never receive other than condemnation. The substantial German-Americans, who constitute by far the great number, uphold the President of the United States, and do not question his course!

~~I~~ *It* needs not *to be* pointed out that ~~we are~~ *the German-Americans have* not the only Organization in ~~this country~~ *the United States* which has a decided opinion as to the moral right of this country to allow the traffic in munitions with any of the parties to this disastrous war. Opposition has been strongly expressed by purely American publicists and ~~organizations~~ *associations*. If the manufacture of ~~"~~fire-arms~~"~~ and ammunition was restricted or controlled by the Government of the United States, ~~as, I believe, it will be some day,~~ the sale and export of ~~them~~ *these war supplies* to any ~~nation~~ *belligerent* would be a cause of war with ~~all~~ the other nations ~~involved~~ *at war with it*. To the lay mind it seems anomalous that the ~~American~~ *United States* Government should be able to prohibit the export of arms to Mexico, and should not be able to prohibit their exportation to other countries; but ~~I want to emphasize this point—~~ *the German-American is firm in the view* that the blowing up of factories is sabotage, which nothing except an actual state of war in the United States could excuse or

justify. ~~We do~~ *He does* not believe that such acts have been done under the direction of the German Government, or inspired in any way by recognized German authority. If, however, it can be shown that any act of injury to property in the United States, which is contrary to the law of this country, has been either sanctioned or inspired by any of the German or Austrian authorities, *the German-American will join with all other Americans in demanding that* those Governments ~~must~~ disavow the acts and ~~repair the damage,~~ *make reparation,* ~~and~~ *At* all events, the guilty parties should be dealt with by the American authorities as common criminals.

~~I deprecate especially,~~ *The enlightened German-American deprecates* any effort to inject class or racial distinctions into the politics of this country. ~~In my judgment, it~~ *He sees clearly that it* would be disastrous to have the Congress of the United States made up of factions which are held together by racial instincts. ~~We must absolutely abolish nationalistic actions and sectional strife in the political affairs of the United States, and any~~ *He realizes that any* man who undertakes to play upon race feeling for his own personal or political advantage is not doing the German Americans any good, but is, in fact, doing them a great injury.

~~Confidently in the sense of fairness and justice of all of the American people the National German-American Alliance undertakes to express its views freely on all debatable questions, and legitimate objects of discussion.~~ *In common with all other classes of Americans, with confidence in the fairness and justice of his fellow countrymen and in harmony with the national regard for free speech the German-American has not hesitated to express his views on debatable subjects.* In doing this ~~it~~ *he* does not overlook for a second the supreme claims of American citizenship with all the duties that these carry with them to which ~~it~~ *he* gives unreserved precedence.

Maj. HUMES. I next submit a paper marked "Fox Exhibit No. 24," also taken from the files.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

FOX EXHIBIT No. 24.

Dec., 1915.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

The following statement, which is to be construed neither as an explanation, nor as an apology, but simply as a plain statement of facts, is of timely interest:

German-American organizations have existed for a great many years. They have served the valuable purpose of stimulating the interest of American citizens of German origin in the literature, the art and the music for which the German race is famous and which have done so much to enrich the lives of American citizens. Not the least valuable part was that played by them in assisting to assimilate the newcomers from the Fatherland and acquainting them with true American ideals. Since the first great inrush of German immigrants after 1847, American citizens of German parentage have borne an active and honorable part in the life of this country. The traditions of the Civil War, in which so many Germans fought and died for the extermination of chattel slavery, and for the preservation of the Union, are their exalted traditions. Their history is American history, and so will it be with their descendants. The Germans here have deliberately and voluntarily chosen the United States as their home—not for mere temporary selfish purposes, but as their permanent abiding place. It is in every sense their chosen adopted country, as it is the one and only country of their descendants. They are profoundly and passionately attached to American institutions, and were these institutions in jeopardy they would quickly enroll their undivided loyalty.

In the present world crisis, however, this is not an imminent question, and the German-Americans therefore feel that when their whole hearts are with the German people in a great emergency, they are neither violating any essential of neutrality, nor are they untrue to themselves in feeling the response of a spontaneous and natural sympathy. They ask the American people to exercise their customary fairness, and accord to the German-Americans the right to feel as they would feel were they in a similar position. The German-Americans further ask, not to be judged by the performances of a few firebrands and trouble-makers of whose acts they do not approve, and which are not only not endorsed by the principal organizations, but which would never receive other than condemnation. The substantial German-Americans, who constitute by far

the great number, uphold the President of the United States, and do not question his course!

It needs not to be pointed out that the German-Americans have not the only Organization in the United States which has a decided opinion as to the moral right of this country to allow the traffic in munitions with any of the parties in this disastrous war. Opposition has been strongly expressed by purely American publicists and associations. If the manufacture of "fire-arms" and ammunition was restricted or controlled by the Government of the United States, the sale and export of these war supplies to any belligerent would be a cause of war with the other Nations at war with it. To the lay mind it seems anomalous that the United States Government should be able to prohibit the export of arms to Mexico, and should not be able to prohibit their exportation to other countries; but the German-American is firm in the view that the blowing up of factories is sabotage, which nothing except an actual state of war in the United States could excuse or justify. He does not believe that such acts have been done under the direction of the German Government, or inspired in any way by recognized German authority. If, however, it can be shown that any act of injury to property in the United States, which is contrary to the law of this Country, has been either sanctioned or inspired by any of the German or Austrian authorities, the German-American will join with all other Americans in demanding that those Governments disavow the acts and make reparation. At all events, the guilty parties should be dealt with by the American authorities as common criminals. The enlightened German-American deprecates any effort to inject class or racial distinctions into the politics of this country. He sees clearly that it would be disastrous to have the Congress of the United States made of factions held together by racial instincts. He realizes that any man who undertakes to play upon race feeling for his own personal or political advantage is not doing the German-Americans any good, but is in fact, doing them a great injury.

In common with all other classes of Americans, with confidence in the fairness and justice of his fellow-countrymen, and in harmony with the national regard for free speech, the German-American has not hesitated to express his views on debatable subjects. In doing this he does not overlook for a second the supreme claims of American citizenship with all the duties that these carry with them, to which he gives unreserved precedence.

Maj. HUMES. I next submit "Fox Exhibit No. 25," which the witness has identified, and from which one page seems to be missing, which is the paper having upon it the words "Final Revision" and the words "Original copy sent to Mr. Feigenspan," which latter words the witness identified as being in the handwriting of the librarian.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

FOX EXHIBIT No. 25.

Office copy. Please return this copy to the files.

Dec., 1915.

Original copy sent to Mr. Feigenspan.
Final Revision.

837.

Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.

German-American opinion, regardless of what it may be as to the moral rights of this country to export ammunition to the enemies of Germany, does not stand for the blowing up of factories or the attempted destruction of ships carrying ammunition.

There is only one word to properly characterize this method of warfare. It is "sabotage" and every German-American, worthy of the name, believes that "sabotage" should be punished as a crime against the United States, whether committed in the name of anarchy or in the name of Fatherland.

The German-American does not believe that such acts have been done under the direction, or inspired by either the German or Austrian Governments. It is quite conceivable, however, with communication between Washington and

Berlin interrupted as it is, that a few unscrupulous men have been able to misuse their official power in such a way as that indicated in the daily news reports. If it can be shown that any act of injury to property in the United States has been either sanctiontd or inspired by any of the German or Austrian authorities, then it is up to those Governments to promptly disavow such act and make prompt reparation. And the German-American will stand with the British-American, the French-American and Russo-American to demand such reparation and disavowal.

The German-American, in this great world crisis, has the same human emotions as the French, the British and the Russian-American. His whole heart is with the German people in this terrible struggle. But he is an American first. This is his home; he believes in American traditions and American institutions. That is the reason he has chosen to live in the United States and not in Germany. He does not believe that it is a neutral spirit which permits the whole United States to be turned into one great arsenal for the manufacture of arms for the allies. And he can not understand why the Government that had the power to place an embargo on the shipment of arms to Mexico, has not the power to place an embargo on shipments to England and France.

The history of German-Americans is the history of America. Non Americans, of any extraction, gave their blood in the cause of human liberty more freely than did the German-Americans during the Civil War. Furthermore, German-American societies, which have for many years performed the valuable service of assimilating the new immigrants, constitute the nucleus—not, as has been suggested for army of rebellion—but for an army of defense against any foreign invador who may attempt to land on our shores.

The enlightened German-American asks not to be judgel by the declarations of a few firebrands. He deprecates any effort to inject class or racial distinctions into the politics of this country. He sees clearly that it would be disastrous to have the Congress of the United States made up of factions held together by racial instincts. He realizes that any man who undertakes to play upon race feelings for his own personal or political advantage is not doing the German-Americans any good, but is, in fact, doing them harm.

The substantial German-American who constitute by far the greater number, uphold the President of the United States and do not question his course.

From U. S. B. A. files.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not apparent to you, from these records from the files of your association, that propaganda material for the use of the German-American Alliance and for the use of Dr. Hexamer was being prepared in the office of and by employees of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FOX. I have absolutely no recollection of anything of the kind. I never helped the gentleman. I do not believe I ever had any correspondence with him. I do not recall it, at any rate; and what the origin of that is I do not recollect.

Maj. HUMES. It is apparent that some person with literary inclinations in your office was working at that statement, is it not?

Mr. FOX. I think it bears that implication.

Maj. HUMES. In 1915 Mr. Feigenspan was chairman of the publication committee of the United States Brewers' Association, was he not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. He had charge of the propaganda of the association, did he not?

Mr. FOX. He was in a way responsible for it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not consider it significant that, after looking at this piece of propaganda literature, it was forwarded to your publication committee?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact, Mr. Fox, that within the confines of your own association there was very great activity on the part of many of the individual members, if not on the part of the association itself, in behalf of the German cause and the German propaganda that was being promulgated in this country in 1915 and 1916.

Mr. FOX. This is the first I ever heard of it, sir.

Maj. HUMES. The first you ever heard of it?

Mr. FOX. Absolutely.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever hear the war mentioned at any of your meetings, or about the office when members gathered there?

Mr. FOX. I think it was—my recollection is that it was—a matter that was by common consent discussed very little. I do not know whether that was due to the fact that I am an Englishman, but at any rate you will remember that at that time a great many offices had notices up, "No war talk," and so forth, and we did not have anything of that kind; but I do not recall any discussion. In fact, I should say that there was almost an avoidance of the subject.

Maj. HUMES. And you do not know how this other interview with Dr. Hexamer, of 1913, came to be in your files, in the handwriting of a possible employee of your association?

Mr. FOX. No, sir. I am perfectly willing to do this, however, Major; I am perfectly willing to get you specimens of the handwriting, so far as I can, of everybody who has been in our employ since I had any connection with it.

Maj. HUMES. I will ask that this paper be marked and printed as an exhibit [showing paper to the witness].

(The paper referred to was marked "Fox Exhibit No. 26," and is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

FOX EXHIBIT No. 26.

[Daily Illinois Staats Zeitung, Dec. 26, 1913.]

"DANGER THREATENS FREEDOM."

Dr. Hexamer Complains that the Active Work of the Prohibitionists Has Created a Dangerous Situation—The National Union Appears as the Sole Opponent of the Efforts of the Teetotal Fanatics—The Liberal Element Apathetic.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 24th.*

"The danger of national prohibition is more threatening than the liberal element allows itself to imagine," stated the President of the German-American National Union, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, to-day, on his return from Washington, where he had been active on behalf of the Union in preventing the possible restriction of immigration by the passage of the Burnett educational test provision and in opposing the prohibition amendment.

"I can not understand," Dr. Hexamer continued, "why the people whose business and property would be ruined by the adoption of a prohibition amendment, have not stirred a finger in energetic opposition to the danger.

The only organization that has done anything to prevent the adoption of the prohibition amendment is the German-American National Union. It has sent resolutions of protest and letters as well as telegrams to members of Congress and has thereby at least weakened the effect of the memorials in favor of prohibition with which representatives and Senators have been fairly overwhelmed by their constituents. The addresses for prohibition fill immense chests and mount into the hundreds of thousands, whereas the dispatches and protests so far received from the Directors, the state and branch presidents of the National Union, which must of course, be limited, numerically, must, in

comparison with the flood of prohibitionst demonstrations seek to maintain the balance.

I have ineffectively questioned myself as to what is responsible for this mysterious apathy of the liberal element, and especially of the persons directly interested. Are we rocked in apparent security and not cognizant of the critical condition of the situation?

The fight for prohibition is being carried out along the entire line. Its advocates work and agitate with tireless energy and leave nothing untried in striving for their goal. Every possible means is employed to influence Members of Congress. Even open and disguised threats are not lacking. Destruction of the political career and social ostracism play an important part.

It is asserted in Washington that Secretary of State Bryan is an open advocate of national prohibition, while President Wilson is by no means a determined and convinced opponent of it.

The conservative element, on the opposition of which hitherto the worst prohibition attacks have been shattered, even in the last Congress, was not powerful enough to prevent the passage of the Webb motion, which forbade the shipment of alcoholic drinks from "wet" into "dry" States, over the President's Veto.

At present but few outspoken opponents of prohibition are to be found in Congress. If, however, by a two-thirds majority, one of the amendments is adopted that prohibit traffic in importation and manufacture of alcoholic beverages, the approval by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, which is necessary to render an amendment effective, would not be long delayed.

And then what? Let us not deceive ourselves. It is not painting things too blackly when I most emphatically assert that the fight against prohibition has entered upon the critical period of its history.

What, however, has become of the great organizations of inn-keepers, of wholesale dealers in liquors, of bottlers, of brewers, wine, barley, malt, and hop producers, the bottle manufacturers, the coopers, and the numerous other industries dependent directly or indirectly on the sale and manufacture of alcoholic drinks? Have they nothing to offer in opposition? Have they no friends who, among the representative in Congress, would protest against the prohibition amendments?

Now, the time for action has arrived, longer delay would be directly fatal. On the part of the National Union, now as before, everything possible will be done to prevent the adoption of the amendments or any one of them, but I do not for a moment conceal from myself the gravity of the situation.

I sincerely regret that Richard Bartholdt, of Missouri, is not a candidate for re-election. For twenty-two years, as a born German, he has guarded the interests of his fellow countrymen in Congress. They invariably found in him a man upon whom they could rely. His retirement means a great loss to the liberal cause which it will be hard to replace.

Dr. Hexamer then submitted to your correspondent copies of the resolutions which have been introduced in Congress. The Joint resolution introduced by Sheppard in the Senate, and by Hobson in the House of Representatives, and referred both houses to the Committee on Judiciary.

In order to stir up the liberal element Dr. Hexamer has sent out the following "Call to the Presidents of all our Societies and sub-societies and to all organizations, their branches and sub-societies that are on our side, as well as to all citizens of both sexes who are friendly towards and sympathize with us and to State-presidents:

"Doubtless you have learned through the newspapers that the prohibitionists through Hobson (H. J. R. 168) Sheppard (H. J. R. 88) and Works (S. J. 50) have introduced in the House, as well as in the Senate, at Washington, resolutions which will bring about national prohibition and which are aimed at the complete destruction of the manufacture, absolute prohibition of the sale and suppression of all importation of alcoholic drinks. Monster petitions are being sent to Congress by the prohibitionists, and daily there are sent to members of Congress, innumerable letters and telegrams from all parts of the country, at the instance of prohibitionists and their tools, in order to exert a pressure on our National Legislators.

A similar course must absolutely be followed by the liberal side and this action brooks no delay. The work which has hitherto been done mainly by the German-American National Union must be taken up energetically by the liberal side. We hope that on this occasion all the elements on the liberal side will join issue with us in fighting the efforts of the fanatics and their blind dupes with the same weapons and thus show them what the majority of

our people think of such ill considered and unjust measures which would impose prohibition on the entire country.

I therefore urgently summon you, in the first place, through your State Organization, to secure the adoption of the accompanying resolution in the English language, literally, or a resolution of similar purport, and forward this resolution, properly attested, to each representative in Congress from the respective district, as well as another copy to each Senator from your State, and moreover to forward another copy to each of the following addresses: Hon. Henry D. Clayton, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, and Senator Charles A. Culberson, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, at Washington, D. C. These two Committees now have the prohibition propositions under consideration.

Moreover, I urge upon you emphatically, to agitate and use every endeavor to induce all subordinate societies and separate organizations and through them each individual member, to forward a protest, of the tenor of the resolution adopted by you, to every Representative in the House from the respective districts, and to each of your Senators as well as to the above named committee chairman, and to all friends who sympathize with us as well as protests in the same form that may in every respect afford aid. The Central Bureau of the National Union, is prepared to aid you with material and information, so that our object to make clear to Congress in an overwhelming manner, the demand for liberal laws, and the protest against retrogressive measures aimed at personal liberty may be attained.

The accompanying protest form, translated from the German, reads as follows:

In the name of (name of the society) representing (number) American Citizens, we protest, energetically against H. J. R. 168, S. J. R. 88 and J. R. 50, or similar prohibition measures (name of the President).

For individuals the protest reads: I, the undersigned, an American Citizen, do protest energetically against the H. J. R. 168, S. J. R. 88 and J. R. 50, or similar prohibition measures.

(Signature and Address)

(Signed) MAX HEINRICI.

Maj. HUMES. Was there any relation existing, by contract, agreement or otherwise, between the United States Brewers' Association and the German-American Alliance?

Mr. FOX. The only arrangement that I have any recollection or knowledge of was the arrangement between the Association of Commerce and Labor and the German-American Alliance.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that for a considerable period of time the United States Brewers' Association regularly made a quarterly payment to the German-American Alliance for their support and maintenance?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall it, sir. It might have been done without my knowledge, but I do not recall anything of the kind.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit 867½, it being a financial statement dated September 29, 1913. It came from the files of your association. I will ask you to look at that and see if it refreshes your recollection [handing witness file].

Mr. FOX (after examination). It ought to refresh my recollection, sir, because there are some of my own pencil notations and figures on it, but I am afraid it does not.

Maj. HUMES. As a matter of fact, regardless of your recollection, the records of the association, therefore, show that on the 23d of September, 1911, there was a payment of $2,500 by your association to Mr. Tjarks of the German-American Alliance, does it not?

Mr. FOX. It shows that, apparently. I do not recall who Mr. Tjarks is.

Maj. HUMES. That was before the National Association of Commerce and Labor got organized and under way, was it not? Their

Atlantic City meeting was in October, 1913, was it not, when the National Association was organized?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. So that your association must have been financing the German-American Alliance to some extent, at least, prior to the organization of the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. Fox. I think that is a fair inference, but I do not know who this man Tjarks is.

Maj. HUMES. You never heard of Tjarks?

Mr. Fox. I have heard of him, but I do not recall who he is, in the least.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any knowledge of an arrangement being entered into between the United States Brewers' Association and the German-American Alliance by which the United States Brewers' Association would finance the expenses of the lobbyists of the German-American Alliance in Washington?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You have no personal knowledge of that transaction?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Fox, have you any knowledge of the United States Brewers' Association, by subscription or otherwise, paying the expense of maintaining a lobby during the session of the Connecticut Legislature?

Mr. Fox. I have a rather vague recollection—or perhaps that is almost too strong a word—of an attorney in Connecticut being retained mutually by the Connecticut brewers, and I do not know whether it was our association or the brewers doing business in Connecticut, but it is not any more definite than that.

Maj. HUMES. You would say, would you not, that they had financed a lobby in Connecticut?

Mr. Fox. My memory works a little slowly. If you will just give me a little time——

Maj. HUMES. All right, sir; I do not want to hurry you.

Mr. Fox. I recall having been asked by the Connecticut brewers, at one time, to get together all of the brewers who were doing business in Connecticut, and we gave them our good offices for the purposes of that meeting, and they held the meeting, all the people doing business in Connecticut, in our offices. Now, I do not recall any of the results of that meeting. In fact, I do not think I was present during the meeting.

Maj. HUMES. I call to your attention Exhibit No. 772, and the exhibits following that, Nos. 773, 774, 775, and 776. Refresh your recollection, and then answer the question.

Mr. Fox (after examining exhibits). Yes; it is beginning to come back to me. I see that I was pretty nearly right. This was apparently not a matter of the United States Brewers' Association, but it was a matter of the brewers of New York and of other places doing business with Connecticut.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, the funds were not taken out of the general funds of the association, but a separate fund was raised by a number of brewers, with the help of the association. You conducted the correspondence, or some of it?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In order to raise the necessary money to defray the expense?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. Humes. That was an expenditure, then, over and above the regular and ordinary assessments of the association, was it not?

Mr. Fox. Yes; it was not an association matter.

Maj. Humes. Is it not a fact that many of the funds raised by this association and spent for relief purposes, legislative purposes or otherwise, were raised for a special purpose and were outside of and in addition to the ordinary dues, and the ordinary funds raised by the association?

Mr. Fox. I do not recall any other transaction of the kind, Major. The Connecticut matter probably, according to my recollection, had its origin in this way, that the Connecticut brewers, as I recall, complained that 50 per cent of the entire business of Connecticut was being done by brewers from New York and neighboring States, and they felt that they had some kind of a special claim.

Maj. Humes. Mr. Fox, there was a joint meeting arranged, was there not, of the brewers and distillers, or representatives of the National Liquor Dealers' Association?

Mr. Fox. I recall such a meeting.

Maj. Humes. You called such a meeting, did you not?

Mr. Fox. I do not know whether I called it. I recall that there was such a meeting.

Maj. Humes. Did you not call such a meeting [showing witness paper]?

Mr. Fox (after examining paper). Evidently I did.

Maj. Humes. Yes. Now, was that meeting held?

Mr. Fox. My recollection is that it was.

Maj. Humes. What was the purpose of that meeting?

Mr. Fox. There may have been more than one meeting. The particular meeting which stands out in my mind was called for the purpose of determining whether we were going to split with the distillers entirely or whether we were going to continue to go along with them.

Maj. Humes. Were you at that conference?

Mr. Fox. I was there a part of the time, I believe.

Maj. Humes. Were you not secretary of that conference?

Mr. Fox. Probobly I was.

Maj. Humes. As secretary of the conference were you not there all the time?

Mr. Fox. Oh, not necessarily; but I remember being present during a great deal of discussion.

Maj. Humes. Was there any discussion there of the political activities and political practices of the association?

Mr. Fox. You will have to refresh my memory on that, sir. I do not recollect. One thing that stands out in my memory was this impending split, which was a matter about which there was a very great deal of difference of opinion, and I was one of those who had always felt that it was an entangling alliance.

Maj. Humes. What had been the agreement or the arrangement the dissolution of which was under consideration at that time?

Mr. Fox. That I do not recall. I do not think that was ever under my jurisdiction.

Maj. Humes. Was it not discussed at this joint meeting?

Mr. Fox. Very likely. I think you will have to refresh my memory on it. I have not any doubt that it was.

Maj. HUMES. Has there been any subject more frequently discussed by the members of this association in meeting, both of the trustees, and executive meetings of the association, than the relations that existed between them and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association?

Mr. Fox. That is rather broad, but there has been a great deal of discussion of that.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; and do you mean to say that in all of those discussions you, as an official in those meetings, never acquired a knowledge as to what the agreement was, or as to what the relation was?

Mr. Fox. I remember, in a general way, that there was an understanding that the ratio of expense should be two-thirds to one-third, but it was not a matter that was under my jurisdiction.

Maj. HUMES. It was a matter of common knowledge in your association, was it not?

Mr. Fox. I say it was; yes.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period of time had that agreement existed?

Mr. Fox. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. That the expense should be shared at the rate of two to one?

Mr. Fox. I do not know, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Was it in existence when you came with the association 11 years ago?

Mr. Fox. I do not recollect anything of the kind. In fact, my impression is that the distillers were not organized at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Is the agreement still in vogue?

Mr. Fox. Not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. When was it abrogated?

Mr. Fox. I do not know definitely, but some time ago.

Maj. HUMES. Have you the minutes of the association showing the action?

Mr. Fox. I have no minutes subsequent to those which you have.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that there are no minutes of the United States Brewers' Association, or of the board of trustees, since the time of the investigation and the acquirement of the existing minutes?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You have not kept any minutes?

Mr. Fox. No, sir; we have not kept any minutes.

Maj. HUMES. Has there been any change in the practice of handling the financial accounts of the association?

Mr. Fox. I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. Do your committees still continue to make written reports to the association?

Mr. Fox. Very few of our committees have met in two years or more.

Maj. HUMES. By whom and by what authority are the expenditures of the association made?

Mr. Fox. The only expenditures with which I have any connection are the overhead and publicity expenditures.

Maj. HUMES. Does not the board of trustees have to approve the expenditures made by the various committees?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Does each committee dip into the common fund and expend as much as they please, when they please?

Mr. FOX. I can not answer that question. I think there is some kind of a general understanding. I am not a member of the finance committee.

Maj. HUMES. You are secretary of the board of trustees, are you not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You attend all their meetings?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you attend all of the meetings of the association?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You are not deprived of attending the executive sessions?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. It is a corporation?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that there has been no action taken by the duly accredited officers of this association with reference to the expenditure of funds?

Mr. FOX. The only specific action that I recall was in regard to advertising, and the advertising committee was authorized to expend the money that was raised.

Maj. HUMES. Well, now, let us get to that advertising fund. I show you Fox Exhibit No. 27, and ask you what this is, it having been produced by you in response to the subpœna.

Mr. FOX. This is the amount of money received from the brewers who subscribed to this advertising fund between October, 1917, and June 27, 1918.

Maj. HUMES. And that is the list with the amount of their contributions?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

FOX EXHIBIT No. 27.

Receipts from breweries advertising account.

Oct. 16	Jamestown Brewing Co., Jamestown, N. Y.	$745.29	3 ¢ assessment.
	Genesee Brewing Co., Rochester, N. Y.	2,037.30	
	Bartholomay Brewery, Rochester, N. Y.	7,910.19	
	Beadleston & Woerz, New York, N. Y.	5,667.22	
	Doelger Brewing Co., New York, N. Y.	8,069.11	
	Hupfil's Sons, A., New York, N. Y.	2,343.42	
	Trommer Evergreen Brewery, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,307.79	
	Evans & Sons, C. H., Hudson, N. Y.	1,418.00	
	Liebmann's Sons Brewing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	16,582.00	
	Husck & Co., Peter, Newark, N. J.	4,215.00	
	Krueger Brewing Co., Newark, N. J.	8,205.34	
	Feigenspan, Christian, Newark, N. J.	16,699.95	
	Ballantine & Sons, P., Newark, N. J.	14,171.16	
	Miller Brewing Co., Fred, Milwaukee, Wis.	12,000.00	
	Wiedemann Brewing Co., Newport, Ky.	2,500.00	On account.
	Kewanee Brewing Co., Kewanee, Ill.	293.46	3 ¢ assessment.
	Garden City Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00	Contribution.
	Baltz Brewing Co., J. & P., Philadelphia, Pa.	5,250.00	3 ¢ assessment.
	Rising Sun Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.	524.00	Do.
	Pennsylvania Central Brg. Co., Scranton, Pa.	1,500.00	Contribution.
	Feil Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.	985.53	Advertising, 840.74; current expenses, 140.79.

Receipts from breweries advertising account—Continued.

Oct. 16	Yale Brewing Co., New Haven, Conn	$3,508.57		3,004.62 advertising; 503.95 current expenses.
	India Wharf Brewery, Brooklyn, N. Y	3,496.35		2,996.85 ad. a/c; 499.50 cur. exp. a/c.
	Hilb, Theo. R., York, Pa	830.02		711.45 ad. a/c; 118.57 cur. exp. a/c.
	Finkenauer Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	1,641.71		1,407.18 ad. a/c; 234.53 cur. exp. a/c.
	Prospect Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	2,231.53		1,912.74 ad. a/c 318.79 cur. exp. a/c.
			$125,132.94	
17	Pilsener Brewing Co., Cleveland, Ohio	1,400.00		On account.
	Star Brewing Co., Minster, Ohio	280.00		240.00 ad. a/c; 40.00 c. exp. a/c.
	Schreier Co., The Konrad, Sheboygan, Wis	1,232.40		3 ¢ assessment.
	Berlin Brewing Co., Berlin, Wis	210.00		
	Clearfield Brewing Co., Clearfield, Pa	240.00		
	Peoples Brewing Co., Trenton, N. J	2,724.96		3 ¢ assessment.
	Roessle Brewery, The, Boston, Mass	3,148.72		Do.
	Pittsburgh Brewing Co., Pittsburgh, Pa	29,905.71		25,633.44 advertising; 4,272.27 current expenses.
18	Class & Nachod, Philadelphia, Pa	2,450.00		2,100, ad. a/c; 350 cur. exp. a/c.
	Hoffenriffer & Co., Boston, Mass	3,084.32		2,467.46 ad. a/c; 616.86, cur. exp. a/c.
	North American Brewing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y	4,375.00		3,750, ad. a/c; 625, cur. exp. a/c.
19	Cairo Brewing Co., Cairo, Ill	100.00		
	Hartig, William, Watertown, Wis	225.00		
	Pilsener Brewing Co., Hazleton, Pa	250.00		
	Hupple Brewing Co., J. Chr. G., New York, N. Y.	6,000.00		
	Eckstein Brewing Co., West New Brighton, Staten Island.	2,216.85		
	Brehm & Son, George, Baltimore, Md	1,178.79		
	American Brewing Co., New Orleans, La	2,349.96		
	Poth & Sons, F. A., Philadelphia, Pa	6,895.59		
	Poth & Sons, F. A., Camden, N. J	2,400.48		
	Schemm & Son, Peter, Philadelphia, Pa	786.00		One half.
	Smith Ale Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	841.36		Do.
	Essex County Brewing Co., Newark, N. J	2,533.71		2,171.79 ad. a/c; 361.92 cn. exp. a/c.
	Johnson Brewing Co., Uniontown, Pa	337.32		
	Standard Brewing Co., Rochester, N. Y	437.66		
20	Ruppert, Jacob, New York, N. Y	34,377.66		
			109,981.49	
	Providence Brewing Co., Providence, R. I	3,774.51		
	Harvard Brewing Co., Boston, Mass	6,448.86		
	Bergdall Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	5,801.70		
	Crescent Brewing Co., Mount Pleasant, Pa	1,237.35		
	Pabst Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis	27,129.88		24,000, ad. a/c 3,129.88, cur. exp c/o.
	Erie Brewing Co., Erie, Pa	3,969.53		3,404.45, ad. c/ 567.08, cur. exp c/o.
	Hoerber Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill	1,166.97		1,000.26, ad. c/c 166.71, cur. exp c/o.
	Fallert Brewing Co., New York, N. Y	1,067.60		711.73, ad. c/c 355.87, cur. exp c/o.
	Stegmaier Brewing Co., Wilkes-Barre, Pa	6,000.00		
22	Keeley Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill	4,800.00		
	Blatz Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis	13,500.00		
	United States Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill	13,500.00		
	Rieger & Gretz Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	1,538.31		
	Becker Brg. & Mltg. Co., Ogden, Utah	450.00		
	Anchor Brewing Co., Tarentum, Pa	1,118.60		958.80, ad. c/ 159.80, cur. exp c/o.
	Springfield Breweries Co., Springfield, Mass	12,035.59		10,316.22, ad. c/ 1,719.37, cur. exp c/o.
	Trefz Brewery, Newark, N. J	4,497.00		3,854.55, ad. c/ 642.45, cur. exp c/o.
			108,035.90	

Receipts from breweries advertising account—Continued.

Oct. 23	Gluck Brewing Co., Minneapolis, Minn	$4,088.35		3,504.30, ad. c/o; 584.05, cur. exp. c/o.
	Rubsam & Horrmann, Stapleton, Staten Island, N. Y.	7,241.46		6,206.97, ad. c/o; 1,034.49, cur. exp. c/o.
	Masontown Brewing Co., Masontown, Pa	639.66		
	South Fork Brewing Co., South Fork, Pa	743.55		
24	Radeke Brewing Co., Kankakee, Ill	500.00		
	Hillmann Brewing Co., Waterbury, Conn	3,294.00		
	Rieker Brewery, Lancaster, Pa	250.00		1 ¢ per barrel.
	National Brewing Co., Steelton, Pa	100.00		
	Paterson Brewing & Mltg. Co., Paterson, N. J	2,566.37		
	Susquehanna Brewing Co., Nanticoke, Pa	960.00		
	Narragansett Brewing Company, Providence, R.I.	3,000.00		
	Grenner Brewing Company, Johnstown, Pa	1,000.00		
			$24,383.39	
25	Ehret, George, New York, N. Y	33,793.08		
	Wayne Brewing Co., Erie, Pa	1,169.00		
	Victor Brewing Company, Jeannette, Pa	1,000.00		
	Hamm Brewing Company, St. Paul, Minn	5,000.00		
			40,962.08	
26	Star Brewing Company, Boston, Mass	2,057.37		
	Loewer's Gambrinus Brewery, New York, N. Y.	500.00		
29	Eagle Brewing Company, Waterbury, Conn	1,400.00		1,200.00 Ad. c/o; 200 cur. exp. c/o.
	Ropkins & Company, Hartford, Conn	1,000.00		
	Porter Brewing Company, Joliet, Ill	5,000.00		
	Pilsen Brewing Company, Chicago, Ill	2,400.00		
	Schwarzenbach Brewing Co., Galeton, Pa	363.21		
	New England Brewing Company, Hartford, Conn.	4,500.60		
	Schmidt & Son Brewing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.	3,684.13		One-half 3c. assessment. 1,628.82 Ad. c/o; 271.47 cur. exp. c/o.
	Premier Brewing Company, Philadelphia, Pa	1,900.29		
	Gund Brewing Company, John, La Crosse, Wis	2,000.00		
	Sheridan Brewing Company, Sheridan, Wyo	495.00		
30	Peter Brewing Company, Union Hill, N. J	4,063.95		
	Syracuse Brewers' Exchange, Syracuse, N. Y	6,000.00		
			30,863.95	
31	Bermes Boulevard Brewery, Union Hill, N. J	2,236.38		
	Flower City Brewing Company, Rochester, N. Y.	1,000.00		
	Schoenhager Brewing Company, Chicago, Ill	15,000.00		
	Brownsville Brewing Company, Brownsville, Pa.	803.52		
			19,039.90	
			458,399.65	
	Recapitulation.			
	Advertising assessment	441,486.30		
	One half cent assessment	16,913.35	458,399.65	
Nov. 2	Hinckel Brewing Company, Albany, N. Y	1,800.00		
3	Flock Brewing Company, Williamsport, Pa	595.00		510. Ad. c/o; 85. cur. exp. c/o.
5	Tonawanda Brewing Company, No. Tonawanda, N. Y.	100.00		On account.
	Papee-Giller Co., Inc., Warsaw, Ill	100.00		On account.
	Union Brewing Company, Newark, N. J	1,500.00		On account.
8	Wildermuth Brewing Company, Pomeroy, Ohio	232.82		199.56 ad. c/o; 33.26 cur. exp. c/o.
9	Wiedenmayer, Geo. W., Inc., Newark, N. J	982.30		1c assessment.
			5,310.12	
10	Hensler Brewing Company, Jos., Newark, N. J	6,125.00		
	Republic Brewing Company, Republic, Pa	392.28		
	Schmidt & Sons Brewing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.	3,684.14		
12	Hedrick Brewing Company, Albany, N. Y	571.47		
			10,772.89	
13	Germania Brewery, Altoona, Pa	699.84		
	Donora Brewing Company, Donora, Pa	321.00		
	Home Brewing Company, Shenandoah, Pa	433.41		
	Anthracite Brewing Company, Mt. Carmel, Pa	313.54		
	Fuhrmann & Schmidt, Shamokin, Pa	462.94		
	Yuengling & Son, Pottsville, Pa	531.76		
	Fell Brewing Company, Carbondale, Pa	179.34		
	Keystone Brewing Company, Dunmore, Pa	523.98		
	Standard Brewing Company, Scranton, Pa	1,305.71		
	Glennon's Brewery, Jos., Pittston, Pa	502.38		
	Franklin Brewery, Wilkesbarre, Pa	300.00		
	Pennsylvania Central Brg. Co., Scranton, Pa	1,092.46		
	Columbia Brewing Company, Shenandoah, Pa	385.60		
	Bartels Brewing Company, Wilkesbarre, Pa	947.87		
	Anthracite Beer Company, Scranton, Pa	450.00		
14	Mutual Union Brewing Co., Pittsburg, Pa	2,000.00		
			10,449.83	

Receipts from breweries advertising account—Continued.

Nov. 17	Cold Spring Brewing Company, Lawrence, Mass.	$500.00		
20	Brewmasters' Association, Albany, N. Y.	1,000.00		
	Clausen-Flanagan Brewery, New York, N. Y.	6,600.00		
21	Rieker Brewing Company, Lancaster, Pa.	250.00		1c per barrel.
22	Smith Ale Brewing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.	841.37		Balance 3c assessment.
			$9,191.37	
24	Best Brewing Company, Chicago, Ill.	1,000.00		
26	Dobler Brewing Company, Albany, N. Y.	2,759.07		
	Stanton Brewing Company, Troy, N. Y.	3,450.60		
	Quandt Brewing Company, Troy, N. Y.	1,482.81		
	Fitzgerald Bros. Brewing Co., Troy, N. Y.	2,182.06		
	Bolton's Sons, S., Troy, N. Y.	803.37		
27	Northern Brewing Company, Superior, Wis.	455.00		390.00 ad assessment; 65.00 ½c assessment.
			12,132.33	
	Recapitulation.			
	Advertising Fund	47,673.28		
	½c. Assessment	183.26	47,856.54	
Dec. 3	Beverwyck Brewing Company, Albany, N. Y.	2,700.00		
	Independent Brewing Company, Pittsburg, Pa.	10,000.00		
			12,700.00	
11	Pilsener Brewing Company, Cleveland, Ohio.	1,400.00	1,400.00	
			14,100.00	
1918.				
Jan. 14	U. S. Brewmasters' Association, Albany, N. Y.	1,000.00	1,000.00	Contribution.
22	German Brewing Company, Cumberland, Md.	1,000.00		2c assessment.
30	Ulmer Brewery, William, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3,533.00	4,533.00	3c assessment.
			5,533.00	
Feb. 5	Rahr Sons' Brewing Company, Manitowoc, Wis.	331.74		
7	Doehne, G. L. & C. A., Harrisburg, Pa.	222.09		
13	Cremo Brewing Company, The, New Britain, Conn.	150.00		
	Common Beer Brewers' League, Louisville, Ky.	7,906.74	8,610.57	Advertising c/o 5,271.15: Dues 1917, 2,635.59
May 2	Lake View Brewing Company, Buffalo, N. Y.	500.00		
June 27	Akron Brewing Co., Akron, Ohio	100.00		
	Total		535,099.76	

Maj. HUMES. By what agreement or arrangement was this fund raised?

Mr. Fox. There was, as I recall it, an appeal made at the convention of the Brewers' Association for such a fund, and a number of brewers came forward on the spot and subscribed, and the understanding was that the rest of them should be solicited on the basis of 2 cents a barrel of their output.

Maj. HUMES. When was that done?

Mr. Fox. That was done at the 1917 convention.

Senator OVERMAN. What was the total amount?

Mr. Fox. $535,000.

Senator NELSON. What is the total amount of that list there? That is for two years, is it not?

Maj. HUMES. No; this is just for one year, Senator. The total is $535,099.76.

Senator NELSON. For 1917?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; from October to April. It covers eight months.

Mr. Fox. In other words, nearly all of the money was raised shortly afterwards and a few straggling amounts came in later, so that the last sum, I think, runs to June.

Maj. HUMES. This was purely a voluntary matter? All of the members of the association did not enter into this; did they?

Mr. Fox. No.

Maj. HUMES. What proportion of the membership participated, approximately? I do not mean exactly.

Mr. FOX. Oh, I should say numerically a half, and in volume perhaps two-thirds.

Maj. HUMES. How many members of this association are there?

Mr. FOX. Nominally about 600, but we carry a good many men who do not pay dues.

Senator OVERMAN. Has all of that money been expended?

Mr. FOX. A large part of it has, I believe. That money is in the hands of the chairman of the advertising committee.

Senator OVERMAN. Did it all go in that way, in advertising, as you have described?

Mr. FOX. I believe so.

Maj. HUMES. Who is the chairman of that committee?

Mr. FOX. Mr. James Liebmann, of Brooklyn.

Maj. HUMES. Were these contributions paid directly to him, or were they paid to the association and then turned over to him?

Mr. FOX. They were paid to the association. They were put in the hands of the treasurer, and, as I understand it, the treasurer turned over such moneys as Mr. Liebmann required from time to time. I think the passbook that you have there shows as to that.

Maj. HUMES. Did it go into the general fund, or was there a special account of it?

Mr. FOX. I understand that it went into the general fund.

Maj. HUMES. What are the regular dues of the association at present?

Mr. FOX. A cent a barrel.

Maj. HUMES. What other extra assessments or special assessments have been made during the last year or two?

Mr. FOX. I recollect a special assessment of half a cent a barrel.

Maj. HUMES. When was that made?

Mr. FOX. I think that was made somewhere within the previous year.

Maj. HUMES. In 1917?

Mr. FOX. Yes; in 1916 to 1917.

Maj. HUMES. Were there any other assessments made?

Mr. FOX. Not to my recollection.

Maj. HUMES. During the last two years have there been any payments into the association from the contracts that were entered into in 1913, those five-year contracts?

Mr. FOX. I think that dried up about two years and a half ago or three years ago. We made a settlement with Mr. Andreae and canceled his contract, and I do not think any moneys were received afterward.

Maj. HUMES. How has the National Association of Commerce and Labor been financed since that time?

Mr. FOX. That has been financed by the funds they have raised themselves from the allied trades.

Maj. HUMES. Has there been any contribution from the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. FOX. I think not. I think, on the contrary, that they have paid money to us.

Maj. HUMES. They have become a source of revenue now, have they?

Receipts from breweries advertising account—Continued.

Oct. 16	Yale Brewing Co., New Haven, Conn	$3,508.57		3,004.62 advertising; 503.95 current expenses.
	India Wharf Brewery, Brooklyn, N. Y	3,496.35		2,996.85 ad. a/c; 499.50 cur. exp. a/c.
	Hilb, Theo. R., York, Pa	830.02		711.45 ad. a/c; 118.57 cur. exp. a/c.
	Finkenauer Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	1,641.71		1,407.18 ad. a/c; 234.53 cur. exp. a/c.
	Prospect Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	2,231.53		1,912.74 ad. a/c; 318.79 cur. exp. a/c.
			$125,132.94	
17	Pilsener Brewing Co., Cleveland, Ohio	1,400.00		On account.
	Star Brewing Co., Minster, Ohio	280.00		240.00 ad. a/c; 40.00 c. exp. a/c.
	Schreier Co., The Konrad, Sheboygan, Wis	1,232.40		3 ¢ assessment.
	Berlin Brewing Co., Berlin, Wis	210.00		
	Clearfield Brewing Co., Clearfield, Pa	240.00		
	Peoples Brewing Co., Trenton, N. J	2,724.96		3 ¢ assessment.
	Roessle Brewery, The, Boston, Mass	3,148.72		Do.
	Pittsburgh Brewing Co., Pittsburgh, Pa	29,905.71		25,633.44 advertising; 4,272.27 current expenses.
18	Class & Nachod, Philadelphia, Pa	2,450.00		2,100, ad. a/c; 350 cur. exp. a/c.
	Hoffenriffer & Co., Boston, Mass	3,084.32		2,467.46 ad. a/c; 616.86, cur. exp. a/c.
	North American Brewing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y	4,375.00		3,750, ad. a/c; 625, cur. exp. a/c.
19	Cairo Brewing Co., Cairo, Ill	100.00		
	Hartig, William, Watertown, Wis	225.00		
	Pilsener Brewing Co., Hazleton, Pa	250.00		
	Hupple Brewing Co., J. Chr. G., New York, N. Y.	6,000.00		
	Eckstein Brewing Co., West New Brighton, Staten Island.	2,216.85		
	Brehm & Son, George, Baltimore, Md	1,178.79		
	American Brewing Co., New Orleans, La	2,349.96		
	Poth & Sons, F. A., Philadelphia, Pa	6,895.59		
	Poth & Sons, F. A., Camden, N. J	2,400.48		
	Schemm & Son, Peter, Philadelphia, Pa	786.00		One half.
	Smith Ale Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	841.36		Do.
	Essex County Brewing Co., Newark, N. J	2,533.71		2,171.79 ad. a/c; 361.92 cn. exp. a/c.
	Johnson Brewing Co., Uniontown, Pa	337.32		
	Standard Brewing Co., Rochester, N. Y	437.66		
20	Ruppert, Jacob, New York, N. Y	34,377.66		
			109,981.49	
	Providence Brewing Co., Providence, R. I	3,774.51		
	Harvard Brewing Co., Boston, Mass	6,448.86		
	Bergdall Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	5,801.70		
	Crescent Brewing Co., Mount Pleasant, Pa	1,237.35		
	Pabst Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis	27,129.88		24,000, ad. a/c; 3,129.88, cur. exp. c/o.
	Erie Brewing Co., Erie, Pa	3,969.53		3,404.45, ad. c/a; 567.08, cur. exp. c/o.
	Hoerber Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill	1,166.97		1,000.26, ad. c/a; 166.71, cur. exp. c/o.
	Fallert Brewing Co., New York, N. Y	1,067.60		711.73, ad. c/a; 355.87, cur. exp. c/o.
	Stegmaier Brewing Co., Wilkes-Barre, Pa	6,000.00		
22	Keeley Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill	4,800.00		
	Blatz Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis	13,500.00		
	United States Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill	13,500.00		
	Rieger & Gretz Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa	1,538.31		
	Becker Brg. & Mltg. Co., Ogden, Utah	450.00		
	Anchor Brewing Co., Tarentum, Pa	1,118.60		958.80, ad. c/a; 159.80, cur. exp. c/o.
	Springfield Breweries Co., Springfield, Mass	12,035.59		10,316.22, ad. c/a; 1,719.37, cur. exp. c/o
	Trefz Brewery, Newark, N. J	4,497.00		3,854.55, ad. c/a; 642.45, cur. exp. c/o.
			108,035.90	

Senator OVERMAN. A common practice. Do you know how much was expended in that way?

Mr. FOX. Oh, I should have to guess at that, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Give us an estimate.

Mr. FOX. I think that would vary a great deal from year to year. The last year or so we have been rather quiescent. Before that, it may have amounted to $25,000 or $50,000 a year. It may have amounted to more, for all I know.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, what was the relation that existed between your association and Mr. Proebstle?

Mr. FOX. Mr. McDermott can tell you more about that than I can. Mr. Proebstle is the international secretary of the Brewery Workers' Union, and Mr. Proebstle handled, as I understand it, the publicity matters for his organization.

Maj. HUMES. Was he on the pay roll of your organization?

Mr. FOX. Not to my knowledge. In fact, I am quite sure he was not. I think if Mr. Proebstle had been paid by us, he could not have held his job with the brewery workers for a day.

Maj. HUMES. You said this morning that you had from time to time employed Mr. Bohm.

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And he was representing an organization, was he not? Did he not represent the maltsters?

Mr. FOX. I do not know. I never heard of it.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not through one of those organizations that he was a member of the central labor body of New York?

Mr. FOX. I do not know what craft he represented in that connection. I do not think it was any of our people.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit No. 29, a long list, entitled "Summary of telegram bills sent in by Mr. Proebstle," appearing to be bills from all over the country. What explanation is there of that?

Mr. FOX. Major, there was a joint arrangement for some kind of a joint publicity bureau, or something of that kind, which was conducted here for I do not know how long. I am not sufficiently familiar with it to answer these questions, but I think Mr. McDermott can tell you.

Maj. HUMES. That was an arrangement that was carried on through the labor committee, was it not?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. This same labor committee that we have been discussing?

Mr. FOX. No; I think it was carried on through the organization bureau, not the labor committee.

Maj. HUMES. What is the committee of allied interests?

Mr. FOX. I do not think there is any such committee now. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. It ceased to exist since April 26, then. There is a bill from them on April 26.

Mr. FOX. Oh, yes; I recall it. There is a local committee in New York of allied interests, and the only thing I have had to do with them is to buy some copies of an article in the North American Review for which they were responsible. I see that the chairman of that is a hotel man.

(The paper referred to is not printed in this record.)

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Fox, what is the working arrangement at the present time between the National Association of Commerce and Labor and your organization?

Mr. FOX. The Association of Commerce and Labor at the present time, as I understand it—I am not a member of the committee—is a collecting agency, and the understanding is that their finance committee will pay us from time to time for publicity matters. I think we have received this year—I think the records there show it—somethink like $20,000 from the Association of Commerce and Labor for bills that we have sent them.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to this letter from the National Association of Commerce and Labor, addressed to yourself, April 20, 1918:

Beg leave to enclose herewith check amounting to $4542.11 covering the following invoices:
Rothacker Film Manufacturing Company, $1,911.20.
North American Review, $1,913.
Burr Printing House, $453.80.
Mail and Express, Job Printing, $135.
Boyd City Dispatch, $129.11.

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Why were they sending you a remittance in connection with those invoices?

Mr. FOX. Those were all publicity matters which we sent to them, and their finance committee passed upon them as being properly within the scope of their work, and they remitted accordingly.

Maj. HUMES. At whose instance were the bills contracted?

Mr. FOX. At ours.

Maj. HUMES. At your instance?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What activities do the National Association of Commerce and Labor carry on upon their own responsibility in connection with which they expend money?

Mr. FOX. I can not answer that question sir. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Who is Mr. Lilienthal, the president?

Mr. FOX. He is the man who manages it.

Maj. HUMES. What is his business?

Mr. FOX. He is employed by the Association of Commerce and Labor to manage it.

Maj. HUMES. What is this Labor's Emergency Liberty League?

Mr. FOX. That is this Proebstle thing that I was just referring to. I had forgotten the name of it.

Maj. HUMES. I see it says: "Labor's Emergency Liberty League, Washington, D. C."

Mr. FOX. My impression—this is subject to correction by my associate—is that the arrangement with that organization was that the employers were to pay 50 per cent and the workmen to pay 50 per cent of the cost of their operations.

Maj. HUMES. This is a report made by that organization to you?

Mr. FOX. Yes; evidently.

Maj. HUMES. Was that made to you in order that you might reimburse them for 50 per cent of the expenditure?

Mr. FOX. I do not recall, sir; but I know that reports were sent in.

Maj. HUMES. How does it come to be in your possession?

Mr. Fox. We had a man named Moffett who represented us in this matter, and all of these bills I think were O. K'd by him, and then either amounts paid on account or else half the amount paid, I do not know exactly how, by the treasurer.

Maj. Humes. What I asked you was how this came in your hands and what were you going to do with it, or what are you going to do with it? How is the matter handled?

Mr. Fox. I know that the accounts have been settled up. That is all I can tell you.

Maj. Humes. Who settled them?

Mr. Fox. They were settled up by the treasurer on the O. K. of Mr. Moffett, and after his O. K., I think I O. K'd it.

Maj. Humes. Who is Mr. Moffett?

Mr. Fox. Mr. Moffett is our labor man. I think you will find the record of those in Mr. Liebmann's advertising account.

Maj. Humes. Mr. Moffett is a man on your pay rolls, is he?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. Humes. What is his business outside of being employed by you?

Mr. Fox. Wait a minute; just let me conclude for a minute. I think those bills were paid by Mr. Liebmann out of his advertising account, and I think you will find in his advertising account the receipts. I think he told me that the receipts were there.

Maj. Humes. Who is Mr. Charles Gehring?

Mr. Fox. Mr. Gehring is the editor of the Hotel Review and the "live wire" of the hotel business.

Maj. Humes. What is the American Hotel Protective Association?

Mr. Fox. I think that is their national organization, or one of their national organizations.

Maj. Humes. When was it organized?

Mr. Fox. I do not know.

Maj. Humes. Is it something of very recent organization?

Mr. Fox. I rather think it is.

Maj. Humes. Something that has been organized recently? Have you assisted in financing these activities?

Mr. Fox. We have financed Mr. Gehring.

Maj. Humes. You financed him?

Mr. Fox. Yes. That is, we entered into an arrangement with Mr. Gehring to try—well, there were two things. One was to try to interest hotel people in an organization of their own and the other was to try to convert hotel people to the beer and light wine idea.

Maj. Hume. You paid Mr. Gehring $2,000 at one time?

Mr. Fox. I think we paid him altogether $3,000.

Senator Wolcott. Mr. Fox, have the wine people a national organization?

Mr. Fox. They have of a sort. I do not think it is very active. I think their national organization is rather nominal, but I think they have a strong California organization.

Senator Wolcott. At one time certainly the beer people and the strong-drink liquor people had a community of interest in the matter of finances, at least?

Mr. Fox. Yes, yes.

Senator Wolcott. And also in the matter of propaganda, I think?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was there ever any such community of interest recognized as existing between the beer people and the wine people?

Mr. FOX. Oh, yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did the National Association of Brewers have available for use to any extent funds contributed by the wine people?

Mr. FOX. I do not think the wine people ever had any funds to amount to anything, except, as I say, their California association had for local purposes.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, in your advertising did you ever advertise in "The Masses"?

Mr. FOX. Not to my recollection.

Major HUMES. That was to handle through an agency, I suppose? [Exhibiting paper to witness.]

Mr. FOX. I do not know anything about it, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, I want to come back to this joint harmony committee meeting. You attended that meeting, and you organized a joint harmony committee, did you not?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Representing the brewers, the wholesalers, and the retailers?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And has not that arrangement been carried on right up to the present time?

Mr. FOX. It died almost before it was born, that thing did. It petered right out.

Maj. HUMES. It is maintained in some of the States still, is it not?

Mr. FOX. I should think very likely, but I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. That meeting decided to continue the arrangements that had existed, by which the dealers were to pay one-third and the brewers two-thirds, did it not?

Mr. FOX. You are not referring to the joint harmony meeting?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. That is, it was agreed there that each one would report back to its organization in favor of a continuance of that. No; I mean this joint conference, the first that was held, before you got to the joint harmony meeting. It followed.

Mr. FOX. I do not recollect that, sir. You will have to refresh my memory on that.

Maj. HUMES. You have not kept any minutes of the association since the spring of 1916?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any records showing the amount of the assessment that is levied by the several State associations?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. The assessments that are levied by State associations are very much larger than those levied by the national association, are they not?

Mr. FOX. My general impression is that the assessments of the State associations are either very much larger or very much smaller, according to exigencies. For instance, if they have a State-wide prohibition fight on they may make a very heavy assessment; but I think some of the other associations have a very small assessment.

Maj. HUMES. Have you not had the experience of members of your association asking to be excused from dues for a given year because of the enormous State assessment that they had to pay?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. Humes. Do you not know of instances where they have collected as high as 20 cents a barrel for the State association?

Mr. Fox. I could not give particular instances, but I believe that that is true. I think that is a matter of common knowledge.

Maj. Humes. What is the amount of the regular dues and assessments of the New York State association?

Mr. Fox. I do not know, sir.

Maj. Humes. Are you not sufficiently in touch with the State association in your own State to know what they are doing?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. Humes. Do you not keep the record of the activities of the several State associations?

Mr. Fox. Only so far as they may publish advertising matter, etc.

Maj. Humes. Have you not any record of these matters in your office for your information?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. Humes. Do you not think it is rather dangerous for officials with such faulty memories as yours and some others to depend entirely upon your memory for your activities?

Mr. Fox. That is a matter of opinion, sir. I have never found that it embarrassed me in my work.

Maj. Humes. In other words, the work that you were carrying on was of such a nature that it was very desirable to forget promptly what had occurred the day before?

Mr. Fox. Oh, no. My work is of a hand-to-mouth character.

Maj. Humes. Is the expenditure of a million dollars a year a hand-to-mouth work?

Mr. Fox. I do not expend a million dollars a year, sir.

Maj. Humes. Are not you the secretary of a corporation that spends frequently a million dollars in a year?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. Humes. You have not even the minutes of your trustees' meetings?

Mr. Fox. I have no minutes at all. Major, you say "frequently." I only recall one year in our history when we had a million dollars a year or anything approaching it.

Maj. Humes. How much did you have last year?

Mr. Fox. About $200,000.

Maj. Humes. You had $537,000 for advertising alone?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. Humes. How much more did you have?

Mr. Fox. About $200,000.

Maj. Humes. About $200,000?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. Humes. Where did that come from?

Mr. Fox. From dues.

Maj. Humes. What were your dues?

Mr. Fox. A cent a barrel.

Maj. Humes. What is the barrelage of your total membership?

Mr. Fox. It is rather hard to figure it now, because of the various restriction orders of the last year. We used to figure that we represented 60 per cent of the industry. We have had a number of

resignations, etc.; and I doubt if to-day we represent more than 30 or 40 per cent.

Maj. HUMES. You testified a few moments ago that this advertising sheet represented about 50 per cent numerically, and about two-thirds in volume.

Mr. FOX. Not of the industry; of our members.

Maj. HUMES. Oh, that it represented that portion of your membership?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And that represents 2 cents a barrel?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you raised $537,000 from two-thirds of the capacity on the 2-cent basis? Then, on that basis, what would it be at 1 cent on the total capacity? It is unfortunate you have not any books to show what the receipts were, or we would not have to figure this out in this way.

Mr. FOX. Those are our total receipts. Now, I told you I was guessing at the output, but I can figure it. (After making computation.) That would figure out between 16,000,000 and 17,000,000 barrels.

Maj. HUMES. Between 16,000,000 and 17,000,000 barrels?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In 1913 the 3-cent contracts that you had, aggregated over 25,000,000 barrels, and they did not represent your total membership, did they?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any record to show what the total barrelage of your membership is?

Mr. FOX. The total barrelage of our membership is represented by the dues. Those are the dues on the basis of a cent a barrel.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, does each member fix the amount of his own dues, or do you keep a record of their barrelage to know how much they owe you?

Mr. FOX. We issue a card to them when we send out a notice of the dues in the spring, asking them to send that in with their check, giving their barrelage; and that is returned to them in the form of a receipt. The amount of dues then is based on a cent a barrel on their barrelage. As I say, the restriction orders of the past year, the restriction orders on output and on materials, and on coal, etc., I think probably have reduced the output of the beer business to-day from over 60,000,000 barrels to less than 40,000,000.

Maj. HUMES. Do I understand you to say that this list included in Exhibit 47 of the receipts on the advertising account includes all of the money that has been received?

Mr. FOX. Absolutely, and the dues.

Maj. HUMES. And the dues?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Then what is this record, this membership record, showing current dues?

Mr. FOX. The membership record is carried over from year to year to show what our membership is. At the end of the year—that is, on the 31st of March, when our fiscal year ends—we carry this along so as to have a membership record. This is our membership record.

Maj. HUMES. Is not this an entry of the dues that were paid?

Mr. FOX. Yes. As the dues are paid, they are entered on here.

Maj. HUMES. Is not that in addition to this?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Will you show me how the items on one embrace the items on the other?

Mr. FOX. That is advertising. If you will hand me the dues——

Maj. HUMES. That is what I am talking about. You say this advertising list includes dues and everything else.

Mr. FOX. Oh, no, I do not.

Maj. HUMES. That is what you testified to a minute ago. I am just trying to straighten that out.

Mr. FOX. I said "and the dues"—the advertising and the dues. The advertising is $535,000, and I think the dues total something like $200,000.

Maj. HUMES. Now I will get to it. Your advertising, based on a 2-cent assessment, amounts to $535,000?

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. If the advertising contributors embraced all of the members of your association, the 1-cent dues would be half of $535,000, or about $265,000?

Mr. FOX. Yes; but you will notice that the advertising account we began to collect in 1916 and the dues were begun to be collected in 1918.

Maj. HUMES. How is that?

Mr. FOX. The advertising account was started in October, 1917, and is, therefore, based on the output of the men who had subscribed for the preceding revenue year, ending June 30, 1916. The dues were of April 1, which was when our fiscal year begins, April 1, 1918, and were basel upon the sales for 12 months ending March 31, 1918.

Maj. HUMES. And this represents only about 60 per cent of the production of that period. How do you reconcile the figures?

Mr. FOX. You mean the advertising?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. FOX. The advertising is purely a voluntary matter.

Maj. HUMES. That is not the question. You say that it represents 60 per cent of the output?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Therefore, the barrelage from the membership is very much larger than the barrelage as represented here.

Mr. FOX. I may have been wrong in that estimate. You will notice that some of those are contributions from some men who are willing to contribute to the advertising fund, but who were not members of the association apparently, contributed in a lump sum.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any written contracts covering this fund?

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. For the fund that you arranged for in 1913 you had written contracts entered into for a period of five years?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were those contracts all abrogated prior to maturity?

Mr. Fox. Yes. I do not think there was any official action taken, but it was understood they had passed out of existence.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any financial record showing the receipts and the expenditures of the United States Brewers' Association at any time during the time that you have been an officer of the association?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Has there ever been such a record kept?

Mr. Fox. I do not believe there has been. If so, it would not have been in my charge.

Maj. HUMES. Who is the present treasurer of the association?

Mr. Fox. Peter Doelger, of New York.

Maj. HUMES. Who is the present president?

Mr. Fox. Mr. Feigenspan.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Liebmann is chairman of the publication committee?

Mr. Fox. No; the advertising committee.

Maj. HUMES. Is that a new committee that has been organized?

Mr. Fox. Yes; that is a special committee organized to handle this advertising.

Maj. HUMES. What is the duty of the publication committee?

Mr. Fox. The publication committee is very largely inactive. I put up to Mr. Poth matters of general policy and he turns down a very large number of things.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you have practical charge and almost absolute charge of all of the executive affairs of this association?

Mr. Fox. No. I have charge of the office and general charge of publicity.

Maj. HUMES. Just what are your duties?

Mr. Fox. I am entirely an office man. My duty is, first of all, to boost the membership, and maintain correspondence with the members, maintain correspondence with the various departments in Washington, and I am at the present time the secretary of our war service committee and my duty is to keep general oversight over publicity matters and the library.

Senator OVERMAN. What departments have you in Washington?

Mr. Fox. We have no department in Washington. The only representative we have in Washington is our counsel, Mr. Crain.

Senator NELSON. Have you no other representatives here than your counsel?

Mr. Fox. No.

Senator NELSON. And never have had?

Mr. Fox. Not to my recollection, not in my time that I know anything about.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not one of your duties to become affiliated with just as many organizations as possible?

Mr. Fox. No; I would not say that was my duty at all. It was a matter that I considered was desirable.

Maj. HUMES. A good asset?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How many organizations of various kinds do you belong to?

Mr. Fox. I think before I went with the brewers I probably belonged to about 15 or 20, and I suppose now that I belong to over 40.

Maj. HUMES. Literary, scientific and educational, and civic organizations of different kinds.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you are more or less active in all of them?

Mr. Fox. No; a very large proportion of them I belong to for the purpose of getting their reports. The only way in which you can get their reports is to be a member.

Maj. HUMES. And for keeping in touch with all of their activities?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that when a gentleman came over here from Europe to investigate conditions in this country, and especially industrial accidents and efficiency, you took him in tow and practically took him over and dominated his report.

Mr. Fox. No.

Maj. HUMES. You remember the incident?

Mr. Fox. I remember meeting such a gentleman and giving him any information that I could.

Maj. HUMES. And did you not write a letter to Mr. Andreae rather boasting of what you had diplomatically accomplished?

Mr. Fox. I may have, but I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. And the report of this gentleman was rather satisfactory, was it not?

Mr. Fox. As I recall it.

Maj. HUMES. And was published, and you made it a point to get it into all of the libraries?

Mr. Fox. That is my recollection.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you have any method of circularizing Congress?

Mr. Fox. I think that we circularized Congress and legislatures generally on anything that we thought might be particularly interesting from a legislative standpoint.

Senator OVERMAN. Legislatures and Congress?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. What was your method of doing that? Did you send out from your headquarters or did you get people to write to Congress?

Mr. Fox. Under our method, recently at least, we have mailing lists, which either we furnished ourselves or were furnished by a mailing agency. I think the last year or so has been practically handled by the mailing agency known as Boyd's Dispatch, and we simply turned over reports in bulk to them and had them sent out.

Senator OVERMAN. Were they sent direct from your office or to Congressmen from their different districts and States?

Mr. Fox. They were sent from New York.

Senator OVERMAN. You had no method by which you had individuals in different districts write to Congress?

Mr. Fox. You mean on pending legislation?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. Fox. Oh, I think that in the Federal prohibition bill, for instance, we asked our members individually to busy themselves and have a number of letters sent to Congressmen.

Senator OVERMAN. And telegrams?

Mr. Fox. And telegrams.

Senator OVERMAN. Were these telegrams couched in the same language, or did you have different kinds of telegrams sent? Was there a formal telegram gotten up by your association?

Mr. Fox. No; I do not think so. Of course, it would be highly desirable to have as much variation as possible in the telegrams; but that, I think, very rarely occurs.

Senator NELSON. Did you get others besides members of your association to write and send telegrams to Members of Congress or to State legislatures?

Mr. Fox. Friends and sympathizers that could be obtained to send such letters.

Senator NELSON. Who would pay for those telegrams?

Mr. Fox. As a rule they paid for them themselves. I think the only time last year that we got a bill was from some man in Cleveland. He sent us quite a bill.

Senator NELSON. Did you not carry on a kind of correspondence bureau under your auspices?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator NELSON. A correspondence bureau with legislators and public officials?

Mr. Fox. I do not think we had correspondence except very occasional correspondence of that sort. Of course, I had a great deal of business correspondence with the departments here, but I do not think we had any correspondence with others.

Senator NELSON. I refer to what you would call educational correspondence.

Mr. Fox. Yes. Of course, if any fellow gave us an opening we took advantage of it and wrote to him, but I do not think we got very many such openings.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you send many pamphlets to Congressmen?

Mr. Fox. I guess so. You will understand that I was in charge of a large office with a number of clerks, and we had a shipping department for that sort of thing. I could not answer of my own personal knowledge, but I think probably a good many.

Senator NELSON. You publish a kind of annual book, do you not, or report?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Partly of a statistical character and partly of a literary character?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator NELSON. And you have sent them to Congressmen?

Mr. Fox. We have sent them, I think, to every Member of Congress, and I think we circulated about 30,000 copies of them.

Senator NELSON. I know that I have received a copy of that book for at least two years, if not longer.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Among all those pamphlets and books in your extensive library I find here another book which is very astonishing to me, for I never have before heard of such a thing. It is a blue book giving the names of women in certain red-light districts. Why

did you have that sort of a book on your table? I see that it is marked "Office copy."

Mr. Fox. May I see that, sir?

Senator NELSON. And here is another of the same kind.

Senator OVERMAN. Describing the women and what sort of houses they keep?

Mr. Fox. Yes; this was an infamous publication that was gotten out by some liquor house in New Orleans years ago. My recollection is that I saw the names of one or two reputable concerns advertising in it, and I wrote them and called their attention to the abominable character of the book. That is the only recollection that I have of that.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Chairman, we could go on with the exhibits that we have here for several days with Mr. Fox, but I think the rest of the exhibits largely speak for themselves, and when they are presented they will cover the ground probably more thoroughly than would the memory of Mr. Fox if we undertook to continue the oral examination.

Mr. Fox. I am perfectly willing to put myself entirely in your hands, Maj. Humes, in that respect, and to assume that everything that you put in is authentic and comes from our records. May I just say in regard to that abominable publication to which Senator Overman has just called my attention, that our library contains upon its shelves a large number of books, some 2,000 or 3,000 books. This sort of stuff is not upon our shelves. That evidently was taken from these index files.

Maj. HUMES. How do you account for the advertisement of Pabst in it?

Mr. Fox. That is a very old document, and as I say, my recollection is that the reason I had that at all was because my attention was called to the advertisement of the gentleman whom you mentioned.

Senator OVERMAN. I see that this is a tenth edition of that book

Mr. Fox. I think that is a pretty old, obsolete history in New Orleans.

Senator WOLCOTT. If I understand you, in some way which you can not recall, your attention was called to the advertisements of people that you considered reputable houses in this book of abominable character, and you got hold of the book for the purpose of picking out the people you wanted to write to and calling their attention to the fact that their advertisement was in there. Is that the idea?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were not preserving the book for any value it might have to the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. Fox. No. Still you can imagine that with several hundred thousand documents on hand we can not perhaps keep a very close scrutiny of all the material, as we ought to.

Senator WOLCOTT. I understand that. You merely had the book for the purpose of checking up who the advertisers were, for you to notify?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Fox, I show you here a bundle of exhibits that were arranged from your files, in my office. They are your files, or

files of the National Association of Commerce and Labor. I ask you whether or not those records as far as they appear to come from the files of the United States Brewers' Association are their files and a part of their files?

Mr. FOX. Yes. I should think the same answer might go for the Association of Commerce and Labor. Some of those Association of Commerce and Labor things I think came from our files.

Maj. HUMES. Very few of them. Are these the minutes of the United States Brewers' Association which I show you?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. You can put those in as exhibits, but not for the record.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; that is my idea. Some of them I desire to ultimately call to the attention of the committee. I ask you the same question with reference to this envelope containing miscellaneous records, purporting to be from your files, which I shall mark "Exhibit No. 1000."

Mr. FOX (after examination). Yes; those are evidently from our files.

Maj. HUMES. I also show you an envelope which I shall mark "Exhibit No. 1001," being various reports purporting to come from the files of the United States Brewers' Association. Do they so come?

Mr. FOX (after examination). Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to three bank pass books, one on the Germania Bank, one on the Northwestern Bank, and on the Commercial Trust Co. of New Jersey, and I ask you if those are the pass books of the association?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know anything about these surveys?

Mr. FOX. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you want those bank pass books to be among the exhibits?

Maj. HUMES. Those are the old pass books. Mr. Fox had produced the ones to date. Those are prior to 1916.

Senator WOLCOTT. I wondered if you wanted them in as exhibits.

Mr. FOX. No.

Maj. HUMES. No; we do not want to put the bank books in, but we want to be able to offer a summary from them gotten up by some one who has made the calculation. These other bank books which I show you are the current bank pass books?

Mr. FOX. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Have you any more witnesses you desire to examine?

Maj. HUMES. I think this is all with this witness. I have another witness who is very anxious to get away.

Mr. FOX. I understand that you will notify me if you desire me again?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN GARDINER.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner, you live in Philadelphia?

Mr. GARDINER. I do.

Maj. HUMES. How long have you been an officer of the United States Brewers' Association, approximately?

Mr. GARDINER. I suppose I was an officer for 10 years, possibly 12 or 13.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period were you the chairman of the organization committee?

Mr. GARDINER. About five years.

Maj. HUMES. Over what period?

Mr. GARDINER. About 1911 to 1916.

Maj. HUMES. During what period of time were you an officer of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. I was president of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association from the time of its organization until it went out of existence in 1917.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to tell me that the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association is out of existence?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; the one I was president of, but a new one was organized.

Maj. HUMES. It still bears the name Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, does it not?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. So as not to confuse the issue, let us get back to the United States Brewers' Association. Will you state what the purpose of the organization bureau of the United States Brewers' Association was?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. Its purpose was to take charge of the contests that arose on the wet and dry question from the wet side, and for that purpose they adopted every legitimate course that we could think of to endeavor to arouse public sentiment in our favor.

Maj. HUMES. Will you explain just how you operated?

Mr. GARDINER. When a contest came up in a State, of course there were always two sides to it, the wets and the drys. The drys usually brought on the contest. The opponents to that were those who were opposed to a dry condition. Then we would circularize the State, hold public meetings, employ speakers, use the newspapers for the purpose as I have stated of endeavoring to create public sentiment favorable to the wet side.

Maj. HUMES. What was your method of organization in a State when you went into a State?

Mr. GARDINER. That was largely in the hands of a local committee—the wet committee—and we would go over the field with them and determine what methods were best to be employed and how deeply to employ them, and then the matter was left in the hands of the local committee for its action and operation.

Maj. HUMES. What working agreement did your committee have, or your association, with the wholesale liquor dealers?

Mr. GARDINER. They had a working agreement there by which they paid one-third of the cost of any particular campaign, and we paid two-thirds; that is, one to two.

Maj. HUMES. How was your organization committee financed?

Mr. GARDINER. The organization committee was financed by the United States Brewers' Association; that is, that part of it that the brewers assumed.

Maj. HUMES. Was the money that was used to finance the organization bureau paid from the treasury of the association or was it subscribed directly by the members of the association through the organization bureau?

Mr. GARDINER. No; my understanding is that was subscribed from the treasury of the association.

Maj. HUMES. Did the organization bureau ever undertake, in addition to the resources that it had from the Brewers' Association, to raise funds in the several States and localities in which they were interested?

Mr. GARDINER. Not that I recall.

Maj. HUMES. They depended upon the local committees for the raising of funds locally?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How was the money that was paid to the organization committee or expended by them placed in their hands? Did you have a separate bank account, a separate fund that you called on?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I would get checks from the association. I did not have any books of my own.

Maj. HUMES. When you wanted funds for the purposes of your bureau you called on the association for the money?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And they turned it over to you?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Were the bills of your expenditures delivered to the association or did they take your word for the expenditures and give you the money?

Mr. GARDINER. They took my word for it.

Maj. HUMES. During what years was this practice adhered to?

Mr. GARDINER. I should say 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914. I think 1914 was the last year that I had any active connection with it. We always felt, Major, that we were within our rights in making these contests. We were endeavoring as Senator King said yesterday, to save ourselves from annihilation. During the operation of that work we became aware of the fact that in doing what we were doing we were violating a law. You know, sir, how that was brought to our attention. When it was brought to our attention we stopped immediately, so far as I am concerned, and I have not turned a hand since.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner, did you have a treasurer of your organization bureau?

Mr. GARDINER. No; not that I recall, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you maintain a bank account of the funds that came into your possession?

Mr. GARDINER. No.

Maj. HUMES. Can you give us an idea of how much came into your hands in each of these several years, and was expended through your bureau?

Mr. GARDINER. I could not. I have been thinking over that for the last two days since I have been here, and I imagine that in those

years I have referred to, the organization bureau expended probably from $400,000 to $500,000.

Maj. HUMES. How much, for instance, did they spend in 1914, the year that the dues were approximately $1,000,000—the assessment? How much of that was spent by the organization bureau?

Mr. GARDINER. I would say probably $100,000.

Maj. HUMES. Can you tell us in what State that money wes expended?

Mr. GARDINER. No.

Maj. HUMES. In 1914? Just to get a survey of the activities, Mr. Gardiner——

Mr. GARDINER. I understand, sir; but my connection with the association was more of a supervisory character. I was not brought into close personal contact with the details. I relied upon Mr. McDermott, who was my assistant in the matter, and who, no doubt, could answer the question more intelligently than I.

Maj. HUMES. Were you a party to any arrangement at any time with the German-American Alliance?

Mr. GARDINER. Never, that I recall.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not present at a conference in the city of Philadelphia that was attended by Mr. Keller and Mr. Tjarks and Mr. Hexamer and possibly Mr. Timm, and yourself?

Mr. GARDINER. What year was that, sir?

Maj. HUMES. I think that was in the fall of 1913.

Mr. GARDINER. I may have been.

Maj. HUMES. Possibly November or December?

Mr. GARDINER. It may have been. I may have been there.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not remember that occurrence, when it was arranged that Mr. Keller should organize a political bureau in the German-American Alliance, to be financed by Mr. Andreae?

Mr. GARDINER. I was just going to say that my recollection is that Mr. Keller was connected up with Mr. Andreae, and not with me.

Maj. HUMES. But in the first instance, I understood—it is my understanding that you were present at the conference in Philadelphia where the arrangements were made for this activity.

Mr. GARDINER. I may have been, but I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. You know Dr. Hexamer?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you meet him frequently?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, no; but I have known him for years. I have known Dr. Hexamer probably 20 years. He was in the insurance business in Philadelphia.

Maj. HUMES. You and he were very good friend, I presume?

Mr. GARDINER. Well, we had a pleasant acquaintance. I met him occasionally, always accidentally—rarely by appointment.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever yourself—your organization bureau, or did you ever—know of the United States Brewers' Association contributing money directly to the German-American Alliance prior to Mr. Andreae's arrangement with them?

Mr. GARDINER. Not that I recall.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the United States Brewers' Association, for a considerable period of time, paid them $2,500 quarterly to finance their organization and to keep it alive?

Mr. GARDINER. That may be the case, Major, but I do not recall it. If it were done, I imagine it was done for the purpose of getting the benefit of the officials of the German-American Alliance to stir up feeling in a State, or one State or another, where there was such a fight as I have described on tap.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in 1914 the activities of your bureau included Texas and Iowa and Virginia and Florida?

Mr. GARDINER. It is very likely.

Maj. HUMES. And Maine?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. I do recall the year.

Maj. HUMES. And Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that we were in Illinois, Indiana, or Ohio.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that Mr. Andreae was in there, did you not?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, well, we never went along with Mr. Andreae at all.

Maj. HUMES. Did not you and Mr. Andreae enter into partnership agreements?

Mr. GARDINER. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. In financing——

Mr. GARDINER. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not remember an arrangement that was entered into between Mr. Andreae and Mr. Sunstein and yourself for financing the campaign in Iowa?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not recall it. Do you know what year that was, Major?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir; I will show you some of your correspondence, to refresh your recollection.

Mr. GARDINER. I will be very glad to see it.

Maj. HUMES. To further refresh your recollection while we are looking up these exhibits, do you not remember that an agreement was made by which you were to contribute $12,500, Mr. Sunstein $12,500, and Mr. Andreae from his funds, $12,500, in the Iowa fight?

Mr. GARDINER. It may be; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I will show you Exhibits Nos. 509 to 530, most of them pertaining to the transaction, to refresh your recollection.

Mr. GARDINER (after examining papers). This is in 1914. Two of theses letters are mine.

Maj. HUMES. Now, what do you say, since your recollection is refreshed, with reference to the agreement in the State of Iowa?

Mr. GARDINER. I should say it was made.

Maj. HUMES. As I have outlined?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you forwarded to Mr. Andreae your share and the share of Mr. Sunstein in the bill, and he forwarded it with his share to the people in Iowa?

Mr. GARDINER. I judge so; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. How did you secure the funds from Mr. Sunstein?

Mr. GARDINER. I suppose he sent it to me by check.

Maj. HUMES. He sent you a check?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. I do not recall it, however.

Maj. HUMES. The record indicates that each time you sent a check—for each of three times you sent a check—for about $8,200, or two-thirds of $12,500, including yours and Mr. Sunstein's?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. On what account was that check drawn?

Mr. GARDINER. That was a United States Brewers' Association check, I judge. It was not my check.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that Mr. Sunstein's funds were deposited in the accounts of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not mean——

Maj. HUMES. (continuing). And then reimbursed?

Mr. GARDINER. I think that is very likely; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Who was the treasurer, at that time, of the United Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall..

Maj. HUMES. Was it not Mr. Schmidt at that time?

Mr. GARDINER. No; probably Mr. Huepfel, although I do not know the date, or what year he was treasurer.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever interest yourself in individual Congressmen?

Mr. GARDINER. Never.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to Exhibit No. 726, with reference to the election of a Congressman in the State of Illinois, and ask you if that is your letter and if you were not interested in that contest [handing witness exhibit]?

Mr. GARDINER (after examination). Yes, this is my letter; but I do not recall the situation. I do not recall the circumstances. Who was Mr. Edmund B. Lord? I do not recall him.

Maj. HUMES. You are the man who is vouching for him in that correspondence. That is not my letter.

Mr. GARDINER. I have no doubt I knew him at the time I wrote this letter, but upon my word, I do not recall him now.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not go into Virginia that same year?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj HUMES. Have you any idea how much you expended in the State of Virginia?

Mr. GARDINER. I have not.

Maj. HUMES. Was it a considerable sum?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not think it was so very much.

Maj. HUMES. But you did spend some money down there, did you?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you go into Maine?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That year?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; Mr. McDermott was up there a lot. I was up once, I think.

Maj. HUMES. And you had a number of your men up there making a survey of the State, did you not?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think so.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not in Virginia have an agreement with the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association that there they were to defray half of the expense and you half?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that. I thought that the proportion was always one to two. It may have been that there are letters there stating that, and if so, of course, it is correct.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to a letter signed by yourself, Exhibit No. 801, to Mr. Andreae. I read an extract from that letter as follows:

Mr. Gibson and I conferred in Richmond the other day about the participation of your bureau in the Virginia campaign and he asked me if I thought a survey would be necessary in the State. I told him that I did not think so, although I confessed my inability to decide that matter from a practical understanding of the survey work, but I added that I would like the Andreae bureau to take part in the campaign with us, lending us its cooperation in the direction of utilizing the factors that have so far been nationalized in accordance with the understanding you and I had on this subject when the matter was discussed at our Chicago meeting.

Now, what was it that had been nationalized?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall.

Maj. HUMES. At the Chicago meeting, between you and Andreae?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that. It was probably at the time—I think it was in Chicago when the arrangement concerning Iowa was made, and probably there were some general facts taken into consideration there.

Maj. HUMES. A survey was made down there by Mr. Andreae, was there not?

Mr. GARDINER. Down in Virginia?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think it was; although I had forgotten it. This is back four years, you know.

Maj. HUMES. And you further say in this letter:

I therefore suggested to Mr. Gibson, in view of its probable cost, that every element of expense that could be cut out, would be a great advantage and I hoped the assistance of your bureau could be secured without cost to the general fund.

What general fund were you referring to?

Mr. GARDINER. I was referring to the general fund participated in by Mr. Sunstein, representing the distillers, and myself, as representing the brewers; that we wanted to keep the drafts on that fund as low as possible.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the United States Brewers' Association made an appropriation to you each year of so much, and you had that much to utilize and use?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall as to that, major, but I think this, that if you did make such an appropriation it was more or less elastic. If I could possibly get along with less, I did it, but if I had to have more, I got it.

Maj. HUMES You go on to say here:

One-half of the cost, whatever it may be, must be borne by Mr. Sunstein and myself out of our general fund and it seems to me that the burden we are already under is so great that any easement of it will be a decided advantage to the general cause.

What did you mean by "our general fund," referring to yourself and Mr. Sunstein?

Mr. GARDINER. As I say, I think that was the general fund to which he contributed one-third and I contributed two-thirds.

Maj. HUMES. The Virginia people were to pay one-half?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I judge so from that.

Maj. HUMES. And you were to pay the other half?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. That was the common practice, was it not, getting people locally to pay one-half of the expense and you to pay the other half?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; when we could get them to do it, but frequently we could not; more frequently than otherwise.

Maj. HUMES. Did they not frequently raise more money locally for political campaigns than the United States Association contributed?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think that was the case in most instances; but of course there were exceptions to it.

Maj. HUMES. You discussed going into Kansas that year, did you not?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not think we ever thought of going into Kansas.

Maj. HUMES. Was not that matter up?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not think so. I do not think we would have been crazy enough to think of that.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not write to Mr. Andreae on May 14, 1914?

On my return from a visit to Virginia I find your letter of the 11th instant with the inclosed letter of Mr. Kander, appealing for support in a contemplated campaign in Kansas. I have no doubt an investigation would disclose the possibilities attending a campaign of the character indicated by Mr. Kander, but in view of the financial condition in which I am at present surrounded, it is impossible for me to take on any new assignments. I therefore return Mr. Kander's letter inclosed herein.

And then you go on and discuss the Virginia campaign.

After that did not Mr. Andreae make a preliminary survey out in Kansas?

Mr. GARDINER. He very likely did. I do not know as to that. But I know that I never seriously thought of going into Kansas, because I thought it would be absolutely futile.

Maj. HUMES. What were your activities in Texas that year?

Mr. GARDINER. The activities in Texas were, I think, not direct. We made contributions there. I remember that I was down there once, and I do not think I ever went back. I went over to Galveston from New Orleans.

Maj. HUMES. A good deal of money was spent there, was it not?

Mr. GARDINER. There must have been, by the Texas people. My recollection is that our contributions were not very heavy.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Julius Moersch, of Minnesota?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I have known him a long time.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that he attended a conference in Philadelphia between you and Hexamer and the rest?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think it very likely he did so.

Maj. HUMES. Does not that refresh your recollection?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think it was in Hexamer's office.

Maj. HUMES. What year was that?

Mr. GARDINER. 1913.

Maj. HUMES. November or December, 1913?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; 1913. I wanted, Major, to be particular about the year, because there has been no connection with any German or German Alliance since the United States entered into the war.

Maj. HUMES. You knew, did you not, though, that Mr. Andreae's relation was continuing?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I was never in touch or communication with Mr. Andreae, except as those letters indicate. I occasionally saw him in Philadelphia. He sometimes called me up when he came to Philadelphia, and there were other times when he was there that he did not. More frequently the latter.

Maj. HUMES. Who were the men that were on the pay roll of your bureau?

Mr. GARDINER. Well, Mr. McDermott handled all of that matter, and I think there was Mr. Thompson, and I really do not recall their names.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Rau?

Mr. GARDINER. That was a long while ago. I do not recall his name, even.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. GARDINER. He afterwards went with the Malthouse outfit.

Maj. HUMES. You employed speakers, too, did you?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. In disbursing the funds that came into your possession, one way of disbursement was to pay them to the committees of the local brewers of the retail liquor dealers?

Mr. GARDINER. Usually we communicated with the local brewers.

Maj. HUMES. That is, I mean the wet committee in a State under operation was either presided over by a brewer, or he was an important man on the committee, and you put your money in through him?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you also put money in the State by way of direct contributions to political committees?

Mr. GARDINER. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You always maintained your own organization?

Mr. GARDINER. Absolutely so, so far as I recall.

Maj. HUMES. What were the elements, when you went into a State, that you organized and brought together under one control?

Mr. GARDINER. We usually did not organize those, major. As I recall, they were organized by the men themselves; and they would say: "Here, there is going to be a contest here, and we stand a chance of winning it, and we want you to help us. A, B, C. D, and E are members of our committee," and they would describe them to us. "They are men of reliability and responsibility." There was usually a lawyer on the committee to see that the bounds of prudence were not overstepped.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not the practice for you to make your contributions through this lawyer? Was not that the usual practice?

Mr. GARDINER. No.

Maj. HUMES. Did not the local brewers' association usually employ a lawyer who was practically the campaign manager?

Mr. GARDINER. That may be the case; yes. I do not recall.

Maj. HUMES. To your recollection, was not that true in almost every State campaign that you went into?

Mr. GARDINER. My thought was, when I spoke just now, that they were brewers that were on the committee.

Maj. HUMES. Well, brewers were on the committee; but were not most of your financial connections with the attorneys for the local association?

Mr. GARDINER. They have been, but I do not recall.

Maj. HUMES. That was true in Iowa, was it not?

Mr. GARDINER. It was true in Iowa; yes.

Maj. HUMES. It was true in Texas, was it not?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not remember how the disposition of it was made in Texas. I would not have recalled in Iowa, except that you showed me that letter.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not really, when you went into a State, take general supervision of the organization work of the campaign, in order to follow out any general plan that you had found to work successfully as a result of your experience?

Mr. GARDINER. We recommended it to the committee, and they followed, I think, unless they had a better plan.

Maj. HUMES. And they had to adopt your plan of campaign, or a plan that was satisfactory to you, or you did not contribute?

Mr. GARDINER. Exactly.

Maj. HUMES. The result was that your organization dominated the method of campaign in each State that you went into?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; although we did not feel that it was domination in that way. We thought we were acting in the best interests of everybody concerned.

Maj. HUMES. Did you contribute money directly to candidates?

Mr. GARDINER. We did not.

Maj. HUMES. You made it a point to carry on your activities separate and independent from political committees and individual candidates, except in so far as your organization cooperated with a political committee or with a candidate's campaign?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I judge so; I think so.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner, is it not a fact that in campaigns you and your force sought pledges and promises from candidates prior to election?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not recall any, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You made it a point to find out what the candidate was for, what he represented, and how he would stand on various questions; did you not?

Mr. GARDINER. We would not make contributions, of course, to a dry candidate; but my testimony has just been that we did not make contributions to candidates, as I understand it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, in these States that you went into, investigate all of the candidates, and prepare a list of candidates that you would support?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall anything of the kind, Major. My though is that we went into those States entirely on the wet-and-dry issue.

Maj. HUMES. Let me ask you one question directly. In Texas, for instance, was not your fight very largely for an individual candidate?

Mr. GARDINER. No. I do not even know who the individual candidate was. You mean the governor?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember the Ferguson-Ball fight? When those names are mentioned, does it refresh your recollection?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I recall. I was going to say "Ferguson," although I do not remember at all contributing in that campaign—I mean, Ferguson's campaign. My memory is that we contributed in a wet-and-dry campaign in Texas.

Maj. HUMES. Was not the issue the election of a governor, and its relation to the wet-and-dry issue?

Mr. GARDINER. It may have been, but I do not recall it. Mr. McDermott would know more about that then I.

Maj. HUMES. For instance, in the State of Iowa did not the local committee that you were assisting to finance prepare a schedule of the candidates for every office to be elected in the State, and in every senatorial and legislative district, and was not that list prepared by the State organization with which you were cooperating?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that.

Maj. HUMES. And was not that list subsequently sent from Iowa to Chicago, to Mr. Andreae's bureau, and by him delivered to Mr. Keller, with instructions that that was the list of candidates that the German-American Alliance was to support?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that at all.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to Exhibit No. 237, a letter from Mr. Andreae to Mr. Joseph Keller, dated May 19, 1914:

DEAR MR. KELLER: I am today in receipt from Mr. Thuenen, of the inclosed list of candidates who are to be supported by the German-American Alliance, which I forward to you for your information.

And attached to it is a list of candidates for every office in the State. Do you mean to say that you had no knowledge that that practice was carried on?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not say that, but I do say that I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. To get to a subject nearer home, then, Mr. Gardiner, is it not a fact that, in your dual capacity as chairman of the organization committee or bureau and as president of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, it has been the common practice to prepare a list of candidates for all of the offices to be elected in the several elections, and that list is sent out by the organization of the State Brewers' Association down through the local organizations for the purpose of promoting the cause that you were contending for?

Mr. GARDINER. Of course in Pennsylvania the contest there was always on the question of local option, and the State association probably was interested in those candidates.

Maj. HUMES. Was the local option question involved in congressional and senatorial elections?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not recall going into congressional elections at all, even in Pennsylvania.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that in 1914 there was prepared by the organization of which the State Brewers' Association was a part a complete schedule of all of the candidates for every office to be

elected, and that that was submitted through the organization for support?

Mr. GARDINER. You mean through the Republican organization?

Maj. HUMES. I am speaking about through the organization of which the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association was a part. I have accepted your statement that instead of working through a political organization, you organized your own organization in a political unit.

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. In the States outside of those that you have mentioned we did that. In Pennsylvania I did not take any particularly active part. I was usually away; and while, as I say, it may be true that the State association was interested in candidates there, my memory is at fault on it, and I do not recall the fact.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know, as a matter of fact, that in every election the organization which the State Brewers' Association is a part of, and which it helps to finance, prepares that schedule of candidates?

Mr. GARDINER. They may.

Maj. HUMES. You have seen those lists, Mr. Gardiner?

Mr. GARDINER. In Pennsylvania?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Mr. GARDINER. Well, probably I have. I do not recall them.

Maj. HUMES. It is a matter of common knowledge, is it not?

Mr. GARDINER. Very likely.

Maj. HUMES. And it is also a matter of common knowledge, is it not—it is a matter within your knowledge—that those lists are made up as a result of a conference between the representatives of the State Brewers' Association and certain politicians?

Mr. GARDINER. It may be.

Maj. HUMES. For instance, were you not present at a conference in 1914 in the office of the State Brewers' Association, or one of the adjoining rooms? I believe the Philadelphia Lager Beer Association had offices in connection with the office of the State Brewers' Association there, did they not?

Mr. GARDINER. They used the same offices.

Maj. HUMES. But in that general suite of offices, there was a conference between certain representatives of the brewing interests and certain representatives of political organizations, party organizations?

Mr. GARDINER. There may have been; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. At which candidates were selected?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. And that in making the selection it was agreed that certain men from both parties in certain districts should be supported?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, well, I think that was always the case.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that at that meeting there were selected a certain number of Republicans and a certain number of Democrats who were to be supported by your organization?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that, sir. I do not dispute it, but I really do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner, what is the assessment of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know. It has been so long since we made any that I do not know. I think it was probably a cent or two cents a barrel when we used to have them.

Maj. HUMES. To refresh your recollection, I show you Gardiner Exhibit 1, and ask you if that is the schedule of assessments of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association for 1914 and 1915?

Mr. GARDINER. There was a committee appointed who drew up this schedule, but I do not know whether it was put into effect, Major. I think the rule——

Maj. HUMES. To refresh your recollection, that is a schedule that was furnished me by Mr. Ettla.

Mr. GARDINER. Then it is.

Maj. HUMES. We are safe in assuming that it is correct, then; are we not?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, perfectly.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Ettla was secretary of the State association; was he not?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. He is emeritus now.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

GARDINER EXHIBIT No. 1.

SCHEDULE OF BASIS OF DUES OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

First	20,000	bbls.	or part thereof,	2¢	per bbl.
Next	30,000	bbls.	" " "	2½¢	" "
"	50,000	bbls.	" " "	3¢	" "
"	75,000	bbls.	" " "	3½¢	" "
"	100,000	bbls.	" " "	4¢	" "
"	125,000	bbls.	" " "	and over 5¢	per bbl.

Maj. HUMES. How much did you raise each year in the Pennsylvania State Association?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You were the president of the association.

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; but I was usually away, and I did not take any active part in those financial campaigns.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that your plan of organization in Pennsylvania was to organize first the State Brewers' Association and the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association united in the State at large? You have always been in alliance there; have you not?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not think so. We had nothing whatever to do with organizing the liquor associations in Pennsylvania.

Maj. HUMES. I say, you are cooperating.

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, yes; yes.

Maj. HUMES. But you unite for the purpose of a campaign. Then you organize the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association; do you not?

Mr. GARDINER. There is such an association.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not through the retail liquor dealers' association that you carry the organization into every political division of the State?

Mr. GARDINER. Probably.

Maj. HUMES. They handle the matter in each county?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What portion of the funds expended in Pennsylvania did the State Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association contribute?

Mr. GARDINER. I have not the least idea, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner, were you not the one dependable man in Pennsylvania in whose personal honesty everybody was satisfied to rest the cause?

Mr. GARDINER. Well, I hope so.

Maj. HUMES. And who was trusted with everything of a financial nature?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I did not have much to do with the financial operations there, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that because all of the elements in Pennsylvania felt that none of the funds would stick in your pockets as they passed through——.

Mr. GARDINER. They never did.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). You were more largely depended upon than anyone else?

Mr. GARDINER. It may be.

Maj. HUMES. And do you not know more about these activities in Pennsylvania than any other one man?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Who does know more than you?

Mr. GARDINER. I should think Ettla would know a great deal more than I.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that the elements in Pennsylvania that were working together trusted and confided in Charlie Ettla as they confided in you?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; to a large extent they did.

Maj. HUMES. How was the organization of the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association carried on?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know. I never had anything to do with the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association.

Maj. HUMES. Was there not an alliance between the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, as represented by Neil Bonner, the State Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, and the State Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. No; not that I recall. In my time we always worked separately.

Senator OVERMAN. You always worked separately, but to a common end?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, yes; to a common end. Neil Bonner, Major, is a very peculiar man, and they tell me he is pretty hard to get along with.

Maj. HUMES. Was not he really one of the most dependable field men, however, in 1914?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know. He never made any reports to me as to what was going on.

Maj. HUMES. Were you present at the conference where the general harmony committee was organized, and in which Neil Bonner represented the National Federation of Retail Liquor Dealers?

Mr. GARDINER. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You know that there was such a meeting?

Mr. GARDINER. I heard so. I was not present.

Maj. HUMES. Did you know that he represented the national body of retail liquor dealers in that joint harmony committee? Did you not know that?

Mr. GARDINER. I knew that he represented something; I did not know what.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, Mr. Bonner was to the retail liquor dealers what Mr. Sunstein was to the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, and what you were to the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; absolutely.

Maj. HUMES. That is a fact, is it not?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think so.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a photograph of a letter which closes: "Keep this communication confidential. Fraternally yours, Neil Bonner."

It is dated September 10, 1914. Have you ever seen that?

Mr. GARDINER (after examining letter). No, Major; I do not recall this particular letter, but I think I have seen a hundred or more like it. I do not mean of that particular brand, but along that character, probably. Neil is great on writing and sending out those letters.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

GARDINER EXHIBIT No. 2.

[Pennsylvania Federation of Liquor Dealers. Office of president Neil Bonner 22nd & Carpenter Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. Officers: Neil Bonner, President; T. J. O'Connor, 1st Vice President; Al. Florig, 2nd Vice President; H. M. Bright, Secretary; Daniel Taylor, Treasurer; George W. Boyd, Organizer. Trustees: Charles S. Black, Pittsburgh; John J. Mahoney, Chester; Geo. Mahaney, Sharpsville; Thomas F. Watson, Philadelphia; F. W. Ebel, Harrisburg; John P. McFadden, South Bethlehem; Richard McCormick, Pittsburgh; P. H. Keefe, Pittsburgh; John P. Reilly, Altoona; P. J. Mulholland, Pottsville; A. J. Twarowski, Nanticoke; M. S. Geary, Smithport.]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *September 10th, 1914.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am addressing you this letter trusting that you will consider it as strictly confidential, and will immediately become active among your patrons, by requesting them to register their names as a voting citizen next Tuesday, September 15th. Unless they register they will be unable to vote in November.

You must fully realize that the coming election in November means more to every liquor dealer, regardless of the fact of his being a retailer, wholesaler, or brewer, than it ever has in the history of Pennsylvania.

Our enemies are well organized, and are about to make a determined effort to elect members to the coming legislature who will support their bills in favor of local option, anti-treating, holiday closing, and other measures, all or any of which, if passed, will practically mean the loss of hundreds of dollars monthly and yearly to every one of us. To some of our fellow dealers, it will mean that they will lose their license privilege, and in such instance, who knows where they will apply for a new license, perhaps across the street from where you are located now.

You cannot help reading the papers and realizing that there are but two candidates now for the office of Governor. If Vance McCormick, the Democratic nominee, wins the fight, your license will not be in force many more years.

We must also assist in the re-election of Senator Penrose.

For once in our business life, we are forced to defend our homes and business. Will you help us by urging your patrons to register.

Write out a notice and place it on your mirrors or back of your bar, calling the attention of every customer to the fact that he should register Tuesday, September 15th, without fail.

You can do much to help us out of our trouble if you will do so.

Keep this communication confidential.

Fraternally yours,

NEIL BONNER.

Maj. HUMES. Was not that done in cooperation with the other two organizations that were part of the triumvirate?

Mr. GARDINER. Not with our association; no, sir. I think that was entirely independent.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that your association in 1914 raised approximately $300,000?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. That was used in that year, and was not that about the amount that you raised and used this year?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, no.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in the year 1914 you raised and disbursed for political purposes in Pennsylvania $294,114.49?

Mr. GARDINER. Not that I know of. They may have done it, but I do not know of it.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to your bank account in the Northwestern National Bank, and ask you if that was not the amount that you collected that year. I will state that these are totals that have been made up, the additions. If you want to add them yourself, you can do so.

Mr. GARDINER. Not at all, if you have done it.

Maj. HUMES. Does it surprise you any—to get this on the record briefly—to know that your association collected in Pennsylvania in 1910 the sum of $121,275; in 1911 $104,209; in 1912 $179,191; in 1913 $146,554; in 1914 $294,114.49, and in 1915 $196,754?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; it does.

Maj. HUMES. Does that surprise you any?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; it does. I did not know that they did it.

Maj. HUMES. And you were the president of the association?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Have the dues been reduced? Are they less in the new association than they were in the old association?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know what the dues are in the new association, because I did not attend its meeting or reorganization or have anything to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner, you say that the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, of which you were president, went out of business in 1916?

Mr. GARDINER. 1917. They dragged along for a year without any meeting or anything else.

Maj. HUMES. Well, they went out of business about the time that the cases in the western district of Pennsylvania came up for final disposition?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. They went out of business because of the assurance and the promise that was given to the court at the time of sentence that they would desist from the practices of the past?

Mr. GARDINER. Positively; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you have not been connected with them since?

Mr. GARDINER. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. But the other individual brewers, many of whom were defendants in that case, immediately after the disbanding of that organization started a new organization by the same name? Is that correct?

Mr. GARDINER. That is correct. Now, I will tell you why they did it, Major. Our attorneys received from you a statement that if we were going to have an organization, an association, it must be incorporated, as the United States Brewers' Association was; and we put it up to our lawyers, and they said it was impossible to incorporate an association whose members were corporations, and we told our attorneys to submit that to you, and I understand that he did it.

Maj. HUMES. I never heard of that. The fact remains, then, that in an effort to make it appear that the defendants in that case had kept their promise to the court the association was dissolved, and a new association with the same name, that was not handicapped by any promises to the court, was organized? Is that correct?

Mr. GARDINER. That is correct; but, Major, before dealing harshly on that matter, I should like to consult with the attorney who gave us that information. He is a man whom you know.

Maj. HUMES. It is only a question of the facts. I know that the promise was made, as you say, to the court. Why did not you join this new association, Mr. Gardiner?

Mr. GARDINER. Because I am all through with this work, sir—positively all through.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not because, among other things, you proposed to keep the word that you gave to the court through your attorney?

Mr. GARDINER. Well, I would not like to say that the other men who joined were not equally high-minded.

Maj. HUMES. I am not asking that. I am asking you your reason.

Mr. GARDINER. I would not join the association.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know of any financial records of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association showing receipts or expenditures of money, except those books that are before you?

Mr. GARDINER. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. All the rest have been destroyed, have they?

Mr. GARDINER. That was what we testified to in Pittsburgh. I believe.

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Mr. GARDINER. That was the treasurer's testimony, which I relied on. I did not destroy them myself.

Maj. HUMES. And your practice, I believe, was at the end of every month—so you stated at that time, and so your treasurer stated—that at the end of each month, when the bank-book was balanced, the checks and the check stubs were destroyed?

Mr. GARDINER. That is right.

Maj. HUMES. Why was that practice adhered to?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know. We always did it.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not an unusual business practice?

Mr. GARDINER. No; they had been doing it there for years.

Maj. HUMES. You do not do it in your own business, do you, Mr. Gardiner?

Mr. GARDINER. No.

Maj. HUMES. And Mr. Schmidt does not do it in his own business, does he?

Mr. GARDINER. I could not say as to that; presumably not.

Maj. HUMES. You know his character as a business man sufficiently well to be able to answer that, I think, on general principles.

Mr. GARDINER. I would say no, but I have no positive knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. Then why, when he was responsible for a fund of approximately $300,000, would he follow that practice?

Mr. GARDINER. I could not tell you that.

Maj. HUMES. You also know that the allegation of the United States Brewers' Association is that they followed that practice; do you not?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think it was referred to here yesterday; was it not?

Maj. HUMES. I think so.

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Why was that necessary?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know, sir. I never have been an officer of that association, other than its president from 1905 to 1907, and I have been vice president since.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that expenditures made by the United States Brewers' Association by every department, except those made by you personally, have been criticized or questioned in some way from time to time at the meetings?

Mr. GARDINER. No; I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. Are not the minutes full or criticism of expenditures?

Mr. GARDINER. They have no minutes. They did not have in that association, Major, any minutes.

Maj. HUMES. In what association?

Mr. GARDINER. In the Pennsylvania association.

Maj. HUMES. Oh! I am speaking of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, yes—I do not know as to that, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Why did not the Pennsylvania State Association keep any minues?

Mr. GARDINER. Well, you recollect that I testified to that in Pittsburgh. I have no objection to repeating it here. We never kept minutes in that association, from the time of its organization. At each meeting of the board, or of the association, the secretary made his notes of the proceedings, and subsequently they were filled in, written out in full; and they were kept until the subsequent meeting, when they were read and destroyed. You recollect that was my testimony in Pittsburg, possibly.

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir; I remember that very well. Why was it necessary, as soon as the minutes were read, to destroy them?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know, except that it was the custom we had adopted.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner, was it not because the activities of the association were entirely political in their nature, and it was better policy to preserve no record of the transactions? Is not that a fact?

Mr. GARDINER. Possibly I can not answer that, because there were other things that occurred at those meetings than political discussions, and they were all treated the same way. They all received the same treatment.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that there was no other real purpose of the Pennsylvania State Association or of any of the State associations, for that matter, than political activities?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, no; that is not a fact, Major. There are a great many things undertaken and carried into effect by those State associations.

Maj. HUMES. What has ever been carried into effect by the one of which you were president, for instance?

Mr. GARDINER. Well, we took up this question of labor; and there is an awful lot of manipulation there with the labor people up and down the line, one way or the other, that required the attention of poor old Charlie Ettla until he got too old to attend to it, and then they would take younger men and put them into it, and endeavor to straighten out difficulties and arrange better understandings between the men and their employers. Now, I do not mean with regard to their votes, or anything of that kind, because you never had to bother with anything like that in Pennsylvania, but to smooth out any misunderstandings that occurred with those men on labor conditions, hours of labor, rates, and matters like that, which are now largely attended to by the unions. They come in now and tell us what we must pay and what hours we must have. [Laughter.]

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember the matter being brought up in your association as to the number of aliens in this country, and of an organized effort being made to get them naturalized, in order to increase the voting power, on the theory that the aliens would be more likely to be favorable to the cause that you were advocating?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir. An old friend of yours was interested in that to a large extent.

Maj. HUMES. Who is that?

Mr. GARDINER. Jim Mulvihill.

Maj. HUMES. Oh, yes; he was the chairman of the committee. Now, there was a committee appointed by your State association consisting of James P. Mulvhill, George Edel, Mr. Cusick of Scranton, Mr. Fuhrman of Shamokin, and Adam Scheidt of Norristown, to take charge of that?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you organized offices in Philadelphia, Scranton, and Pittsburgh, did you not?

Mr. GARDINER. Not in Philadelphia.

Maj. HUMES. Your local organization had an office?

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, yes; they would meet there occasionally, but there was not much done in Philadelphia.

Maj. HUMES. You were getting into the mining region more especially?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. Philadelphia was looked after by the downtown organization, not ours.

Maj. HUMES. And the purpose of this committee was to get these foreigners naturalized?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. So as to increase their voting power?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you figured you could make two or three hundred thousand votes in that way?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. Jim said he would do better than that, I think.

Maj. HUMES. An arrangement was entered into by which these offices that you opened were given the appearance and the earmark of labor offices? Is not that true?

Mr. GARDINER. Well, I do not know. I never was in one of their offices. I never saw one.

Maj. HUMES. You know the way the thing was worked? You know the policy of it?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes, sir; just as you state it.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not also a fact that an arrangement was made with active labor leaders to allow the use of their names on the doors of these offices, to try to persuade the foreigners that—

Mr. GARDINER. That it was all right.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). That you were trying to bring into the fold, that labor was trying to help them?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And that was the camouflage that was used?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is that still in operation?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not believe it is. I do not think it is, but I do not know positively.

Maj. HUMES. It was costly. Was it successful?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes. Cusick said that he was very successful in his department, and Jim always maintained that it was a good thing, and so did George Edel. Personally, I do not know anything about its operation except what those men stated.

Maj. HUMES. With reference to the funds of the United Brewers' Association, how was this money that was used by your bureau placed in your hands?

Mr. GARDINER. Through checks of the association.

Maj. HUMES. The association would give you a check for a given amount?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Who would deliver it to you?

Mr. GARDINER. It would come by mail.

Maj. HUMES. Would the check be made payable to you?

Mr. GARDINER. No, made payable to the man for whom it was intended.

Maj. HUMES. Is that the way you always handled it?

Mr. GARDINER. To the best of my recollection, yes. It is some time since I had any transactions of that kind.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not true that one of the common practices, while Mr. Schmidt was the treasurer, was to have Mr. Brockmeier turn the currency over to you?

Mr. GARDINER. No, I don't think so; I think it was in checks.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Brockmeier really took care of this matter for Mr. Schmidt, did he not?

Mr. GARDINER. I judge he did. The checks were made out by him; those I received of Mr. Schmidt.

Maj. HUMES. And the principal amount of the funds collected by the United States Brewers' Association was expended either through your organization or, during its life, through Mr. Andreae's organization?

Mr. GARDINER. No, the funds that were intended for me were separate and distinct from those intended for Mr. Andreae, but they would come from the same general source.

Maj. HUMES. What I mean to say is this: The major portion of the funds that were collected by the United States Brewers' Association were expended through either your organization or Mr. Andreae's organization?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; I think so.

Maj. HUMES. And is it not a fact that a very much larger fund was raised by the brewers' association of each State than was raised by the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. GARDINER. I think that is positively incorrect. That is my only answer to that. I can not conceive of a State association raising more money than the national association.

Maj. HUMES. I am speaking about the proportionate amount, the number of cents per barrel assessment. In the State that was ordinarily higher than in the national association.

Mr. GARDINER. I know 10 or 12 years ago in a western State they told me the assessment to save that State was made on the brewers at 50 cents a barrel, but it did not save the State.

Maj. HUMES. You also know there were several States where the State assessment was 20 cents a barrel?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not recall that. I heard you mention that to-day.

Maj. HUMES. I say that because that figure has been called to my attention coming from some correspondence of various States. You would not consider that unusual?

Mr. GARDINER. No; not in a desperate fight.

Maj. HUMES. The State associations collected a larger assessment than the United States Association?

Mr. GARDINER. Yes; per barrel, but, of course, the sum total was not larger. I remember that in that 50-cent case, two brewers, both of them old men, when told that the assessments would have to be made at that rate, or they would be ruined, said they could not do it. One man said, "I can not do it, it is impossible; I could not raise the money." Another gentleman there went over to him and put his arm around his shoulder and said, "Yes, you can, you give me your note and I shall put up the money for you."

Maj. HUMES. Of course the aggregate amount raised by the brewers' associations in all of the States would be very much larger than the aggregate amount raised by the United States Brewers' Association.

Mr. GARDINER. Oh, yes; if assessments like that prevailed, but they were most unusual, and in that case, in this particular State that I refer to, there were very, very few brewers.

Senator OVERMAN. What State was that?

Mr. GARDINER. Nebraska. There were probably three or four or five breweries. Of course they are all closed now.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the Nebraska brewers organized outside of the State so as to cover up their activities?

Mr. GARDINER. I do not know as to that, but I was in Omaha and heard that incident that I have just related, but I do not know how their fight was conducted. We had nothing to do with it. They conducted it alone.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Chairman, the situation with reference to Mr. Gardiner is just as it was with Mr. Fox. We could go on indefinitely with these matters, but the matters that we have inquired about are largely matters of record, and unless there is some particular line of inquiry, I think we are through.

Senator OVERMAN. The committee has no questions to ask.

Maj. HUMES. Very well; that is all.

Senator OVERMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until half-past 10 to-morrow morning.

(Accordingly, at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, November 21, 1918, at 10:30 o'clock a. m.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., in room 226, Senate Office Building, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), and Nelson.

Senator OVERMAN. Maj. Humes, you may proceed. The other members of the committee will doubtless be in in a few moments.

Maj. HUMES. I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, as completing the testimony of Mr. Feigenspan, that the letter addressed to you showing the percentage upon assessments in New Jersey be inserted in the record and printed in connection with his testimony.

Senator OVERMAN. That will be put in its proper place with regard to his testimony on that matter.

(The letter is printed in Mr. Feigenspan's testimony, ante, as Feigenspan Exhibit No. 2.)

Maj. HUMES. This letter shows that the assessments in New Jersey for the year 1915 were 2 cents a barrel, and the dues one-half cent a barrel; that the total amount collected was $82,182.42.

In 1916 the dues amounted to one-half cent a barrel and there were assessments of 1.1 cents per barrel, making a total collection of $48.402.20.

In 1917 there were dues collected of one-half cent per barrel, and assessments of 1½ cents a barrel, making a total of $64,686.20.

In 1918 there was an assessment of 2 cents per barrel, no dues being collected for the year, the aggregate assessment amounting to $58.206.22.

Senator OVERMAN. That is in addition, now, as he said, to the assessments and collections by the national association.

Maj. HUMES. There is no connection between the collections and assessments of the National and the State associations. This is entirely separate and apart.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to submit the minutes of an executive session of the United States Brewers' Association held at Atlantic City, N. J., at the Shelburne Hotel, October 3, 1913, and especially to call attention to the speech made at that time by Mr. Percy Andreae.

Senator OVERMAN. He was the man whom they had in charge of this association of commerce and labor?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. I call that to your attention in connection with the subsequent meeting held on the same day, at which the National Association of Commerce and Labor was organized, and Mr. Andreae's speech gives a rather comprehensive outline of the things that they had in mind at that time.

Senator OVERMAN. Is it a long speech?

Maj. HUMES. About 20 pages.

Senator OVERMAN. Can you not put it in the record and state what it is?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. I suggest that it just be submitted and printed in the record. I also submit, with a view of showing the bringing together of the different elements, the retailers and the wholesalers, the speech on the same occasion of Mr. Farley, the president of the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association. I want to call attention to two or three extracts from the speech of Mr. Andreae, so that you will understand the connection of it with other testimony. I read from it as follows:

Now, gentlemen, at the desire and at the request of those whom you choose to represent you on the national committee of brewers acting in conjunction with the Trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association, I have agreed to place my time and my services at the disposal of the industry for the purpose of inaugurating a movement of the kind I have indicated. I am frank to tell you that the main condition which I have stipulated in accepting the task entrusted to me was that I must have an entirely free hand, and not be subject to the interference or the dictation of boards or committees.

I read further as follows:

Gentlemen, I believe that among those of you who know me there are none who need my assurance on this one point; namely, that if the plan referred to contained one single feature which could not bear exposure in the full light of day, I would not be its author (applause) nor would I undertake under any circumstances to share in the responsibility or the work attaching to it. I believe, and have always believed, that a just cause can only win by just means, and that no cause that requires improper means to win with has any right to win at all. (Applause.) But I am going to ask you to consider with me, from the purely practical point of view, what hope there would be for the success of an undertaking such as is now in contemplation, an undertaking fraught with many delicate features, and involving alliances, which the slightest misconstruction or misconception of our intentions would place in jeopardy. If I were obliged to herald all details concerning it to the world at large, which I would certainly be doing if I confided them to the knowledge of several hundred men.

Then further:

We hear the constant cry from the professional politician: "Get the liquor question out of politics." Do you really believe he means it? Why, gentlemen, this question in its political aspect is one of the main sources from which the politician derives his sinews of war in politics. And why? Because we brewers supply them, and make it a paramount object to the politician to keep the prohibition movement alive. I say make that question expensive to him instead of profitable, and you will see how soon his tactics will change.

Senator OVERMAN. I see here in this printed speech he says:

There are, roughly, five hundred congressional districts in the United States, and I venture to say that of these there are very few in which the Anti-Saloon League has not perfected an organization for the purpose of supporting candidates who favor its cause, and opposing candidates who do not favor it. In how many districts have we and our friends even the merest rudiments of such an organization?

He says again:

Sentiment alone, however, is useless, unless it knows how to express itself at the polls.

Proceed, Major.

Maj. HUMES (reading):

Gentlemen, these friends of ours, and I mean by "these friends" certain important organizations that are in principle friendly to us, take this view of our attitude towards them, and in stating that view I am offering no opinion of my own regarding its justice or injustice, but merely recording the facts. They say we flatter ourselves that we hold them in the hollow of our hand; that we expect them to rush to our aid at our mere command, when the need arises, and that in the interim we leave them to shift for themselves, on the assumption that they need no support and encouragement from us, because they are with us and ready to fight for us anyway. In other words, they claim that we call for their army to come to our aid, when the enemy is upon us, and in time of peace we contribute nothing, or next to nothing, in effort or means, to maintain that army and increase its efficiency. Yet this army, with the proper support and encouragement, could not only be doubled and trebled in numbers, but, with the adequate means and methods, could be so organized that its efficiency as an active force at the polls, working under systematic direction, would be increased tenfold.

Gentlemen, within a month of that incident and the wholesome lesson it brought home to me, the most important department of our league in Ohio was inaugurated, namely, the department which has in charge the investigation of the local political conditions throughout the State, with the possibilities of party alignment and the searching examination into the character and records and the public and private associations and affiliations of every candidate for office. It is due entirely to the work of this department and to the implicit confidence of the rank and file of our organization in the unerring accuracy of that work, that Ohio has today a legislature, which, in spite of a large majority of its counties being still "dry" under the county option law, is almost as overwhelmingly liberal as five years ago it was overwhelmingly dry.

This work, and the systematic organization that requires to be maintained in every county and senatorial district of the State to render it effective at election time, is the most expensive part of the entire Ohio organization, and when I tell you that the allied industries in that State have in the past five years spent nearly a million dollars in building up and perfecting this organization, and that they do not regret one penny of the vast sum thus expended, you will readily conceive that the results obtained by the organization have been valuable.

Now, is there any need for me to explain the application of all this to our contemplated national organization? I blame no man for the fact, which is notorious, that two men out of every three who are returned to Congress will vote for prohibition mesures, whenever a prohibition measures comes up for deliberation upon the floor of Congress. But I do say this, that it is unreasonable for us to expect the man or the men whom we have placed in charge of our interests in Washington to save us from Congressional prohibitory legislation, so long as we permit the Anti-Saloon League to elect our Representatives in the Congress.

Gentlemen, here is the one argument in favor of organization, and organization at any cost, which overshadows every other argument that could be offered. It is this position of imminent danger which confronts our industry in Washington, a position into which we have drifted, from one cause, and one cause only: The lack of such organization in the past. As has been pointed out to you in another place, the passage by the Congress of the United States of the Hobson resolution to amend the Federal Constitution so as to prohibit forever the manufacture, sale, and importation of alcoholic beverages in this country will involve our industries for all time to come in a struggle to prevent at least thirteen out of the forty-eight States of the Union from ratifying that resolution.

It is, of course, this last bulwark of our rights and liberties that we must first proceed to strengthen at any cost, by organizing in enough States to prevent the ratification of such a resolution by the necessary three-fourths of the legislatures of the country. But, while we are accomplishing this task, it would surely be the height of folly if, in the face the bitter lessons of the past, we failed at the same time to strengthen our position in that important outer fortification of ours, the utter neglect of which has brought us to the desperate condition we find ourselves in today. I means the Congress at Washington.

There are roughly five hundred congressional districts in the United States, and I venture to say that of these there are very few in which the Anti-Saloon League has perfected an organization for the purpose of supporting candidates who favor its cause, and opposing candidates who do not favor it. In how many such districts have we and our friends even the merest rudiments of such an organization? In practically none. Is it then to be wondered at that two-thirds of the Members of Congress are ready to obey the behests of the Anti-Saloon League, and that even the remaining one-third regard us as hopelessly weak and inefficient, and therefore unworthy of consideration.

Yet I assent confidently, that in a large majority of those districts the real sentiment of the voters is in two cases out of three in favor of liberal measures. Sentiment alone, however, is useless, unless it knows how to express itself at the polls. And, in order to impart that knowledge to the multitude of our friends, it is first necessary that we obtain it ourselves. To acquire that knowledge, and apply it in practice through your organization, requires a corps of trained experts. I will accept no hearsay reports. Every fact must be ascertained and every personality investigated on the ground itself, and in addition we must have the record of urban and rural populations in each district, showing the proportion of the so-called foreign element; the character of the saloon element, with the names of those fitted to lead and direct the others in election work; the strength of the labor organizations and their affiliations, whose interest is enlisted by our friends in the labor movement for the sake of the hundreds of thousands of our brothers whose livelihood is threatened by prohibition. In short, there is work here, if it is to be done systematically and effectively, for a very large staff of capable and experienced men, and when they have completed it, and we have dissected and tabulated it, and planned our fight in each district on the foundation it gives us, then our real work only commences, and every organization affiliated with us, including labor bodies, liberty leagues, alliances of so-called foreign citizens, saloo keepers' associations and others, is called upon to send out its representatives who, with the knowledge imparted to them from our headquarters proceed under our direction to rally their forces at the polls and there bring our labors to their final conclusion.

I also call particular attention to the following:

If I asked you to state who are the best, the strongest, and the staunchest friends our industry possesses in this country, you would give me only one correct answer. They are the millions and millions of falsely described foreign citizens, to whom American in reality owes as much of her greatness to-day as she does to the descendants of her original settlers, and, gentlemen, certainly a goodly portion of her enlightenment and her intellectual supremacy. Do you realize that the greatest disaster that could overtake our industries to-day would be the loss or the gradual disappearance of those broad ideals of life, that passionate love of personal freedom, that sturdy spirit of individual independence, and that hatred of cant and hypocrisy, which these millions and millions of men of German, Austrian, Bohemian, Swiss, or other descent, or which their fathers before them, brought over with them from the old country? What keeps those ideals, that love of liberty, that independent spirit, and that hatred of hypocritical pretense alive in these people? One thing, and one only. The language in which they learned to formulate their views of life and their ideals of manhood and citizenship. What is the main influence that keeps that citizenship. What is the main influence that keeps that language alive in our country, and transmits it from generation to generation? It is the foreign press.

Gentlemen, I tell you that the death of every foreign newspaper in this country, with few solitary exceptions, means the removal of a stone in the foundation upon which our industry is based. And how many of them are gradually going under, not for lack of readers, but for lack of those means which every newspaper requires in order to maintain and increase its circulation: The income from its advertising columns?

Don't starve the foreign press, but feed it, help it, support it, wherever you find it and however small you find it, to the very utmost limit of your means and powers. I am not asking this of you as a sacrifice, because it is no sacrifice. You will profit by it twofold. For doesn't a man seek such channel of advertisement as reach those who are likely to buy his product, rather than those who are not likely to buy it? Advertising is paid for in exact proportion to the circulation of the advertising medium. When you advertise in a

English paper, you reach a reading public of which probably only 50 or 60 per cent are ever likely to respond to your advertisement. When you advertise in a foreign-language paper, you reach a reading public, of which nearly a hundred per cent are likely purchasers of your product. In the one case you get 50 or 60 cents on the dollar invested as a return. In the other case you get 100 cents. Is there a question of which is best as a mere business proposition?

Senator OVERMAN. I suggest that you include the whole of those minutes in this record.

Maj. HUMES. Very well.

(The manuscript from which the foregoing extracts are quoted is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 63.

Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.

MINUTES OF AN EXECUTIVE SESSION OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION, HELD IN ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., AT THE SHELBURNE HOTEL, OCTOBER 3, 1913, AT 3 P. M.

From U. S. B. A. files.

The meeting was called to order by the President of the Association, Colonel Ruppert, Jr.

The PRESIDENT. The first speaker of the afternoon will be Mr. Andreae, who will now address you. (Applause.)

Mr. ANDREAE. Mr. President and Gentlemen, I believe I shall be acting in accordance with the desire of all present here today if, in addressing you, I dispense with all formal preamble and plunge at once into the subject which is uppermost in the minds of everyone of us.

That subject is the proposed organization of the liberal elements in this country against those who have banded themselves together for the purpose of depriving these liberal elements of their right to the free exercise of their own judgment, and to the enjoyment of those things which, in that judgment, they are privileged and fitted to enjoy. For, let it be understood that the so-called liquor question is not, nor has it ever been, a question of the right of the brewers, distillers and wine-growers of the country to sell their product to the thirty or forty odd million of their fellow-citizens who desire to buy it. This, like most other things connected with this fanatical movement, is a mere hypocritical subterfuge, designed to deceive the multitude. The question, on the contrary, is whether the thirty or forty million citizens of this country whom we serve with our product shall have the right to the opportunity of buying that product. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, these citizens are the consumers of our product, and as the consumers of our product, they are the only judges of whether the industry which they have made what it is today is a legitimate and desirable one or not. Now, gentlemen, when we are combatting the forces of these people, we are not only trying to save our own commercial existence, but we are fighting the battle for the hundreds of thousands of those who are dependent upon our industry for their daily bread and butter.

It is this fact which, in view of the threatened wholesale destruction of our business, renders it not only a matter of expediency, but a matter of actual obligation for us to take the initiative in rallying around us the millions and millions of those who have made our industry what it is today.

Now, gentlemen, at the desire and at the request of those whom you choose to represent you on the national committee of brewers acting in conjunction with the Trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association, I have agreed to place my time and my services at the disposal of the industry for the purpose of inaugurating a movement of the kind I have indicated. I am frank to tell you that the main condition which I stipulated in accepting the task entrusted to me was that I must have an entirely free hand, and not be subject to the interference or the dictation of boards or committees.

This may sound arrogant and dictatorial, but I can assure you that it is neither. Nor does it mean that I think I am all-wise, and require no counsel

and advice. Far from it. I merely reserve the right to choose my own advisers and counsellors, and no one who realizes the character and the magnitude of the work I have undertaken will believe that it could be accomplished under any other conditions. An army—and it is an army, if you please, that is to be called into existence—must have a leader, and to trammel that leader with restrictions, and curtail his authority, would not only cripple the leader himself, but destroy the efficiency of his army by nullifying its confidence in him and his ability to lead it. If the leader blunders and fails, remove him and select another, but while he *is* the leader—of your creation, of course—let friend and foe alike know that he speaks with unquestioned authority, and that his word is subject to no one's revision. (Applause.)

Now, I have been asked at the various meetings of our joint National Committee—and I dare say the same question is in the minds of many of the gentlemen present here today, what are the specific details of the plan I propose to pursue in order to accomplish the purpose I have in view? It has been intimated to me, indeed, in certain quarters that unless these details are supplied broadcast, some brewers will refuse to contribute their share to the necessary defense fund.

Gentlemen, I believe that among those of you who know me there are none who need my assurance on this one point; namely, that, if the plan referred to contained one single feature which could not bear exposure in the full light of day, I would not be its author (Applause) nor would I undertake under any circumstances to share in the responsibility or the work attaching to it. I believe, and have always believed, that a just cause can only win by just means, and that no cause that requires improper means to win with has any right to win at all. (Applause). But I am going to ask you to consider with me, from the purely practical point of view, what hope there would be for the success of an undertaking such as is now in contemplation, an undertaking fraught with many delicate features, and involving alliances, which the slightest misconstruction or misconception of our intentions would place in jeopardy, if I were obliged to herald all details concerning it to the world at large, which I would certainly be doing if I confided them to the knowledge of several hundred men.

I want to tell you gentlemen that we have far more to fear from the cowardice of some of our friends than we have to fear from the aggressiveness of our enemies, (applause), and it is we ourselves who are mainly responsible for the cowardice of many of those who are our friends. You will not misinterpret my frankness in saying this. To be afraid to speak the truth, for fear of giving offense at an important juncture like the present one, would be fatal.

Let any man here present cast his eye over our past history, and ask himself what has been the main source of our troubles. He will find only one true answer to the question. It is the unfortunate policy we have pursued in the past, both individually and collectively, of feeding our enemies and starving our friends. Ask any man engaged in political affairs,—and how many are there in this country who are not either directly or indirectly so engaged?—which pays best: to be the enemy of the brewer, or to be his friend. In nine cases out of ten, if the man is honest, his answer will be that it is most expedient to pose as the brewer's enemy, because to be his enemy means to be coaxed and wheeled by the brewer, and patted on the back by the prohibitionist, whilst, to be his friend, means only too frequently to be neglected and treated with indifference by the brewer, and hounded and persecuted by the prohibitionist; in brief, because the brewer will rather spend his time and his efforts in the vain endeavor to win over his thousands of enemies than devote that time and those efforts toward organization and protecting his millios of friends.

We hear the constant cry from the professional politician: "Get the liquor question out of politics." Do you really believe he means it? Why, gentlemen, this question in its political aspect is one of the main sources from which the plitician derives his sinews of war in politics. And why? Because we brewers supply them, and make it a paramount object to the politician to keep the prohibition movement alive. I say make that question expensive to him instead of profitable, and you will see how soon his tactics will change.

These are not mere notions, which I have evolved out of my inner consciousness. They are true echoes of the sentiments of those very friends of our to whom I have referred, and it would surprise, and I think pain, some of you to hear, as I have heard, the expressions of bitterness and utter scepticism of our good sense and our good faith on the part of the the leaders among those

friends, whose efforts on our behalf in the past have been either ignored entirely, or forgotten in our blind rush to appease and mollify those whose efforts have been directed against us.

Nor is my reference to these facts here a digression from the subject I started to discuss; namely, the specific details of the plan of organization which I have in view. It has, on the contrary, the most important bearing on that subject.

Gentlemen, these friends of ours, and I mean by "these friends" certain important organizations that are in principle friendly to us, take this view of our attitude towards them, and in stating that view I am offering no opinion of my own regarding its justice or injustice but merely voicing the facts, [illegible] say we flatter ourselves that we hold them in the hollow of our hand; that we expect them to rush to our aid at our mere command, when the need arises, and that in the interim we leave them to shift for themselves, on the assumption that they need no support and encouragement from us, because they are with us and ready to fight for us anyway. In other words, they claim that we call for their army to come to our aid, when the enemy is upon us, and in time of peace we contribute nothing, or next to nothing, in effort or means, to maintain that army and increase its efficiency. Yet this army, with the proper support and encouragement, could not only be doubled and trebled in numbers, but, with adequate means and methods, could be so organized that its efficiency as an active force at the polls, working under systematic direction, would be increased tenfold.

Gentlemen, there can be no more doubt of the truth of this fact than there is doubt of the fact that I am standing here and addressing you. And if this were the only direction in which my energies, and the efforts of those working with me, were to be spent, the result would go a long way towards reversing the situation in the country as between ourselves and the prohibitionists. But it is merely one of many, and even if I went into the most specific of details regarding the method of building up and sustaining the already existing organizations that stand ready and willing to place their fighting material in the field in our cause, I should only have told you one half, and by far the smaller half, of what waits to be done in order to accomplish our end. For what can the most perfect and extensive organization avail us, without the means, the knowledge, and the directing force that are requisite to move it in the field?

Let me illustrate this point by a concrete example. I was conferring quite recently with the head of a certain organization, which numbers its members by the millions. It is recognized as one of the most powerful in numbers, and one of the most determined in sentiment among the organizations of the country, and incidentally I may say that the very basic principle of the organization is the principle of personal liberty. In the course of our conversation I put the following question to this gentleman. "Is it not a fact," I asked him, "that, in spite of the number of your members, and in spite of their enthusiastic allegiance to the cause for which your organization stands, not ten per cent of those members possess sufficient knowledge of the attitude of candidates for office towards that cause to enable them to vote for the right man when election time comes? And does not the reason for this lie in the further fact that you do not possess the means and the method of acquiring that detailed knowledge at headquarters, and, even if you did posses it, that you lack the means and method of communicating it to your individual members throughout the country, and thus enabling them to vote for the man who favors their cause, and against the man whose record shows that he opposes it, instead of vice versa?"

His answer was this: "You are right, in all but your estimate of the percentage of our members who have sufficient knowledge of the records of candidates for office to vote for the right man at election. That percentage is unfortunately not ten per cent, but scarcely five."

I then enquired whether, with the proper means and system of organization, such as I had outlined to him, that percentage could not be raised to fifty per cent, whereupon he answered with great emphasis: "I will guarantee one hundred per cent." (Applause)

Gentlemen, I know that he is right. And herein lies the pith and marrow of the work that really confronts us. Forming an orgainzation, strong in numbers, powerful in sentiment, and enthusiastic in purpose, is one thing. Making that organization effective in the only place where it can really prove effective, namely at the polls, is quite another thing.

Let me once more illustrate my meaning by an actual concrete experience, for I am giving you experiences here, not propounding mere theories.

During the first year of our campaign in Ohio I used to address many meetings of the Personal Liberty League and other kindred associations throughout the state, on which occasions I naturally dilated upon the merits of our cause, and discoursed, as eloquently as I knew how, upon the principles of personal liberty and other cognate subjects. Once when I had sat down, feeling fairly well satisfied with my performance, a man in the audience rose and said: "What's the use of shooting this personal liberty stuff at us? We know all about that, or we wouldn't be here. *Tell us whom to vote for*, and we'll do the rest." (Applause)

When the meeting was over, I sought out this man, and asked him whether he expected me to be better informed about the character and leanings of candidates in his own district than he was himself. His answer was terse and blunt. "You bet I do," he said. "How should I know who's right and who ain't? They all talk right to us, when they want our votes, and when they're elected they go back on us. We'll vote for the right man quick enough, *if you'll find out and tell us who he is.* If you can't, this organization may as well close up shop, for it will never amount to more than a gab-fest." (Applause.)

Gentlemen, within a month of that incident and the wholesome lesson it brought home to me, the most important department of our League in Ohio was inaugurated, namely the department which has in charge the investigation of local political conditions throughout the state, with their possibilities of party alignment, and the searching examination into the character and records and the public and private associations and affiliations of every candidate for office. It is due entirely to the work of this department, and to the implicit confidence of the rank and file of our organization in the unerring accuracy of that work, that Ohio has today a legislature, which, in spite of a large majority of its counties being still "dry" under the county option law, is almost as overwhelmingly liberal as five years ago it was overwhelmingly dry.

This work, and the systematic organization that requires to be maintained in every county and senatorial district of the state to render it effective at election time, is the most expensive part of the entire Ohio organization, and when I tell you that the allied industries in that state have in the past five years spent nearl a million dollars in building up and perfecting this organization, and that they do not regret one penny of the vast sum thus expended, you will readily conceive that the results obtained by the organization must have been valuable.

Now, is there any need for me to explain the application of all this to our contemplated national organization? I blame no man for the fact, which is notorious, that two men out of every three who are returned to Congress will vote for prohibition measures, whenever a prohibition measure comes up for deliberation upon the floor of Congress. But I do say this, that it is unreasonable for us to expect the man or the men whom we have placed in charge of our interests in Washington to save us from congressional prohibitory legislation, as long as we permit the Anti-Saloon League to elect our representatives in the Congress. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, here is the one argument in favor of organization, and organization at any cost, which overshadows every other argument that could be offered. It is this position of imminent danger which confronts our industry in Washington, a position into which we have drifted, from one cause, and one cause only: the lack of such organization in the past. As has been pointed out to you in another place, the passage by the Congress of the United States of the Hobson resolution to amend the Federal constitution so as to prohibit forever the manufacture, sale, and importation of alcoholic beverages in this country will involve our industry for all time to come in a struggle to prevent at least thirteen out of the forty-eight States of the Union from ratifying that resolution.

It is, of course, this last bulwark of our rights and liberties that we must first proceed to strengthen at any cost, by organizing in enough States to prevent the ratification of such a resolution by the necessary three-fourths of the legislature of the country. But, while we are accomplishing this task, it would surely be the height of folly if, in face of the bitter lessons of the past, we failed at the same time to strengthen our position in that important outer fortification of ours, the utter neglect of which has brought us to the desperate condition we find ourselves in to-day. I mean the Congress at Washington.

There are roughly 500 congressional districts in the United States, and I venture to say that of these there are very few in which the Anti-Saloon League

has not perfected an organization for the purpose of supporting candidates who favor its cause, and opposing candidates who do not favor it. In how many such districts have we and our friends even the merest rudiments of such an organization? In practically none. Is it then to be wondered at that two-thirds of the members of Congress are ready to obey the behests of the Anti-Saloon League, and that even the remaining one-third regard us as hopelessly weak and inefficient, and therefore unworthy of consideration?

Yet I assert confidently that in a large majority of those districts the real sentiment of the voters is in two cases out of three in favor of liberal measures. Sentiment, alone, however, is useless, unless it knows how to express itself at the polls. And, in order to impart that knowledge to the multitude of our friends, it is first necessary that we obtain it ourselves. To acquire that knowledge, and apply it in practice through your organization, requires a corps of trained experts. I will accept no hearsay reports. Every fact must be ascertained and every personality investigated on the ground itself, and in addition we must have the record of urban and rural populations in each district, showing the proportion of the so-called foreign element; the character of the saloon element, with the names of those fitted to lead and direct the others in election work; the strength of the labor organizations and their affiliations, whose interest is enlisted by our friends in the labor movement for the sake of the hundred of thousands of their brothers, whose livelihood is threatened by prohibition. In short, there is work here, if it is to be done systematically and effectively, for a very large staff of capable and experienced men, and when they have completed it, and we have dissected and tabulated it, and planned our fight in each district on the foundation it gives us, then our real work only commences, and every organization affiliated with us, including labor bodies, liberty leagues, alliances of so-called foreign citizens, saloonkeepers' associations, and others, is called upon to send out its representatives, who, with the knowledge imparted to them from our headquarters, proceed under our direction to rally their forces at the polls and there bring our labors to their final conclusion.

Gentlemen, there is in my opinion nothing that can save our industry from annihilation at the hands of our organized enemy excepting systematic work of this kind, and without it the strongest and most enthusiastic organization of our friends would be ineffective and amount, as my blunt but shrewd friend of the Ohio Personal Liberty League expressed it, to nothing more than a gab-fest.

Moreover, the value of this work to the industry in each State wherein it is accomplished will be very appreciable. For it is impossible to obtain and use, as I have described, the political knowledge concerning congressional districts in any State without at the same time acquiring the same data concerning the counties and senatorial districts of that State, for the simple reason that a congressional district is made up of representative and senatorial districts, and you cannot know the conditions of the larger unit without ascertaining those of the smaller units of which it is composed. It will therefore merely remain with the interests in each particular State to put to practical use the knowledge obtained concerning those smaller units, in order to accomplish within their State what we have accomplished in Ohio. They will find that nearly half the expense of organizing within the State for that purpose has thus been taken off their hands by the national organization.

Our Ohio friends are fully alive to this fact, and in signing the agreement to contribute the three cents a barrel to the national work, they figured, and figured rightly, that this national work will result in considerably lessening the future expense of maintaining their State organization.

Gentlemen, I so often refer to Ohio that I feel almost the need of apologizing for doing so. But there are others outside of Ohio who can testify to the efficacy of Ohio's plan of campaign. Our workers have recently been active in the State of Iowa, where they went at the request of the Iowa brewers. We have only scratched the surface of the ground in that State, and it would be folly for me to make any claim regarding what can ultimately be accomplished there. But I know what our friends in Iowa think of our methods, so far as they have seen them in practice, and I hope one or the other of the gentlemen from Iowa will presently give you their opinion on the subject.

I think I am at liberty also to state that the brewers of the Dominion of Canada, who have studied our Ohio methods, have recently decided to organize on identically the same lines, and have asked for the permanent services of

one of our leading workers, whom we sent there at their request to instruct them in the details of our work, and whom they have now decided to place in charge of their organization, and I may say that they have raised a sum, to be expended under his direction, which in proportion far exceeds that which the brewers of this country are asked to contribute to the defense of our American industry.

It took time, gentlemen, and bitter experience before we learned in our individual States that a certain percentage of our earnings required to be spent annually in the defense of our general business. (Applause.) Are we to await those same bitter experiences nationally before we decide to insure our industry against nation-wide destruction, which is surely coming if we remain idle, and fail to be warned in time of the approaching storm? We are practically all agreed that it is about to burst upon us, and if it cost the industry 6 or even 10 cents a barrel per annum to finance a plan of organization that will ward off the complete annihilation which it threatens, it would be cheap at the price. (Applause.) It is in the carrying out of such a plan that lies the only salvation of all we have invested in our business today. And I say—and say it emphatically—that no one in our industry who respects himself, who takes pride in his business, and who values the opinion in which he is held by his fellow-brewers and his customers, should hold back and refuse to pay his share in the common treasury toward the fund which will save him all he possesses, if anything at all can save it. (Applause.) To say that he can not afford it, is to say that he has nothing to save. To say that he does not believe in the necessity of combatting our foes in this thorough and radical manner, is to confess to an ignorance and a blindness to obvious facts which are almost too shocking to be conceivable. To say, lastly, that he won't contribute his share because he knows others will provide the means, and he will get the benefit for nothing, is to admit—well, my vocabulary fails to supply me with terms adequate to express my sentiments in his regard. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, forgive me, if I express myself thus strongly. I am not presuming—God forbid that I should—to tell any one of you that I know his own business better than he does. But I do presume to say that there is no valid reason why any brewer can refuse to share with his colleagues the cost of saving the industry he lives on, excepting one, and that one reason is that he does not believe in or approve of the method of procedure suggested. But if *that* is his reason, it is duty to suggest a plan that is better, one that is more effective, and one that is more certain to accomplish what we seek to accomplish. If he cannot do that, I have no cause to apologize to him for what I have said. (Applause.)

Now, I do not pretend that I have given you more than the roughest outline of the plan of campaign I propose to pursue. It would be physically impossible, even if it were politic, for me to elaborate upon all the manifold details that are comprised in this plan, and explain how they are to be handled. But there are a few further points on which I wish to touch here, because it is important that you should know them.

The first is that no work of the kind I have described can be successfully accomplished without the cooperation of the orgnizations in the States in which it is undertaken, and that no such work should be undertaken in any State without the consent of and a full understanding with the brewing industry located in that state. Moreover, the aid of the national organization should be extended to every State in which the industry desires to organize on similar lines within the State itself, the only proviso being that the expense of such organization within the State—and I consider that there is nothing of graver importance—must be borne by the local industry.

The second point is that of finance. I have asked that all funds to be used for these purposes be held by a Treasurer, and that not one cent of those funds be required to pass through my hands, but that they be disbursed according to my directions, and that vouchers for all expenditures be kept and submitted for audit to such an auditing committee as your Board may see fit to appoint.

These, of course, are details of a more or less formal nature. There are others, however, of a more far-reaching kind, in the carrying out of which I must ask, and I feel sure I shall receive, the loyal assistance of every one of you, and, with your permission, I am going to dwell upon these at somewhat greater length.

If I asked you to state who are the best, the strongest, and the staunchest friends our industry possesses in this country, you could give me only one cor-

rect answer. They are the millions and millions of falsely described foreign citizens, to whom America in reality owes as much of her greatness today as she does to the descendants of her original settlers, (applause), and, gentlemen, certainly a goodly portion of her enlightenment and her intellectual supremacy. Do you realize that the greatest disaster that could overtake our industry today would be the loss or the gradual disappearance of those broad ideals of life, that passionate love of personal freedom, that sturdy spirit of individual independence, and that hatred of cant and hypocrisy, which these millions and millions of men of German, Austrian, Bohemian, Swiss, or other descent, or which their fathers before them, brought over with them from the old country? What keeps those ideals, that love of liberty, that independent spirit, and that hatred of hypocritical pretense alive in these people? One thing, and one only. The language in which they learned to formulate their views of life and their ideals of manhood and citizenship. And what is the main influence that keeps that language alive in our country, and transmits it from generation to generation? It is the foreign press. (Applause).

Gentlemen, I tell you that the death of every foreign newspaper in this country, with few solitary exceptions, means the removal of a stone in the foundation upon which our industry is built. And how many of them are gradually going under, not for lack of readers, but for lack of those means which every newspaper requires in order to maintain and increase its circulation: the income from its advertising columns?

Don't starve the foreign press, but feed it, help it, support it, wherever you find it and however small you find it, to the very utmost limit of your means and power. (Applause.) I am not asking this of you as a sacrifice, because it is no sacrifice. You will profit by it two-fold. For doesn't a man seek such channels of advertisement as reach those who are likely to buy his product, rather than those who are not likely to buy it? Advertising is paid for in exact proportion to the circulation of the advertising medium. When you advertise in an English paper, you reach a reading public of which probably only fifty or sixty per cent are ever likely to respond to your advertisement. When you advertise in a foreign language paper, you reach a reading public, of which nearly a hundred per cent are likely purchasers of your product. In the one case you get fifty or sixty cents on the dollar invested as a return. In the other case you get a hundred cents. Is there a question of which is best as a mere business proposition?

But mark this further point. When you advertise in a foreign paper, you are helping to increase the circulation of a paper that is fighting for you from one year's end to the other. (Applause.) When you advertise in an English paper, you are not unfrequently helping to maintain a paper that is fighting editorially against you. Your advertising agents do not realize this, as you do, or should do. Let them, therefore, deal with the English press, which is entitled to, and should receive, your full consideration, but let the head of every firm which advertises see to it personally that the foreign press receives its due proportion of your patronage, and if possible a goodly measure over and above that proportion. (Applause). If you will do this, you will help me wonderfully. In fact, I do not know of anything more important to the success of my work than this.

Among other directions in which our organization must do active creative work, and where your individual assistance will be enlisted, are these.

There are two hundred and fifty thousand retailers in this country. Organizations of retailers exist in practically every State and locality. The plans are already laid to invite all these associations into the general fold, without in the slightest degree affecting the separate identity and the autonomy of every one of them. They should be strengthened and their leaders brought into the most intimate touch with us. Every customer of yours should be urged to join his local association, and in due course you will receive visits from accredited field-men of ours from the ranks of these associations, and they will enlist your influence and personal effort to induce every man in the retail trade with whom you deal to join the organized body of retailers.

Let me say here that this influence and persuasion is likely to be mutual, for the retailer is fully alive to the precarious situation which confronts him, and it will not be long before you will find, I think, that the saloon keeper is as much interested in knowing and seeing to it that the brewer from whom he draws his supplies is a member of and a contributor to the organization for the defense of his business, as the brewer will be concerned to know that his customer belongs to it. (Applause.)

When you consider that, at a very conservative estimate, every saloon keeper in the country has ten friends among the voters who are interested in seeing his business saved from destruction, you can easily calculate what an army of friends we have in this body of men alone. *And not one in ten of this vast army votes intelligently on our question today, simply from lack of proper knowledge and systematic direction.*

Again, in the allied industries and trades and their employees you have another powerful wing of the general army. It has been asserted in some of our committee meetings that the associations known as the Manufacturers' & Dealers' clubs or societies, which were formed with so much flourish of trumpets about five years ago, were practically a failure. If this is so, and I am not prepared to admit the truth of the assertion, it is due to the fact that they were launched, like so many others, upon a wave of enthusiasm, and then left to shift for themselves, without direction and encouragement.

Now, you have here a body of men who are as deeply interested as we are in the purpose for which our contemplated organization is to be formed, and who, as regards their ability to assist in perfecting it, are second to none of those I have already mentioned. They have in their ranks some of the best and ablest workers whom it has been my privilege to know, and they have the same reason that we have to contribute of their financial means to the fund required to carry on this work. It is proposed that these men shall form their own organization, to work in conjunction with and under the direction of the national organization, and that they shall establish among each other, as we do, such basis of annual assessment as may be proper and necessary, first to maintain their own organization, and second to provide the general exchequer with an annual contribution towards the main campaign fund, which shall be commensurate with the very large interests they have at stake.

In this case, too, your individual assistance will be enlisted to prevail upon every firm you deal with to join this association and contribute its share towards the general defense fund.

Don't, pray, misinterpret this last remark, or misconstrue similar allusions I have made regarding the influence and the persuasion which the brewer can bring to bear upon his customer and the manufacturer he deals with, or vice versa. I am not advocating coercion. I hate the very name of it. But men who are dependent upon each other in business are surely entitled to rely upon each other in the defense of that business against a common foe, and the man who is vitally interested in the success of such defense, and yet stays at home and refuses to share the burden and the responsibility attached to it be he brewer, saloon keeper, manufacturer, or dealer, should at least be known to the general body of those who, in fighting the battle for all, are also fighting his battle. (Applause.)

In short, whether producer, seller, or consumer, the cooperation of every one is needed in this movement to make it successful. Nor is it only from the liberal men of the country that such cooperation is to be expected. It is as important today that the liberally inclined women should organize and work in the interest of the principles they believe in as it is that the liberal men should do so. Women's liberty leagues have already been started in some of the larger cities, and the plan is to ask every organization interested in this movement to form its woman's auxiliary, and enlist the sympathy, the enthusiasm, and the active influence of our women throughout the country in the furtherance of sane and sober principles of legislation, which will aim to regulate and elevate, instead of confiscating and destroying, that which offends no one but the narrow-minded, the fanatic and zealot, who believes that the Almighty has issued a general ban on all the joys and pleasures He has placed within the reach of men, because there are, and always will be, some few who misuse and abuse them to their own and their fellow-man's detriment.

Now, I have the strongest belief in the efficiency of our women, not only in this, but in another even more important direction. It means the correction and remedying of that which is objectionable and injurious in the surroundings of the American saloon today. For mark this, gentlemen,—and I cannot emphasize the fact too strongly—without a sincere attempt on our part to accomplish this, no organization we may perfect, let it be ever so powerful, can, in my judgment, hope to prove permanently successful.

I used the word "attempt" advisedly. There is much conception, not only among our would-be reformers, but among ourselves, in regard to this all important question, and it is to this misconception, in my humble opinion, the

the failure of those who have endeavored to correct existing evils in the liquor traffic is mainly due. I say, and I have said it repeatedly, that the root of these evils lies not in the saloon, but in the community. The saloon trade as a whole can no more justly be held responsible for the delinquency of those of its members who pander to the depraved tastes and desires of a certain proportion of the community than, for instance, the ministry of the country as a whole can be held responsible for the unhappily notorious frequency of moral crimes among its individual members, and, perhaps significantly enough, just among those who belong to that section of the ministry which is particularly fierce and uncompromising in its denunciation of the evils of the saloon and the iniquity of the drink-seller. Incidentally, if I were asked which I considered more dangerous to the people at large, the delinquent saloon-keeper, who attracts to his place mainly the already vicious and morally corrupt of the community, and breaks the law by catering to their evil desires and pleasures, or the delinquent clergyman, whose moral turpitude, springing within himself, spreads contagion among thousands of pure and innocent members of his flock, I should not require one moment to consider what is the true answer to the question. In fact, as every experienced man knows, there is cleaning up to do in all trades and professions. But does any experienced man think it would conduce to the elevation of the moral tone among our clergy, if all the high minded, respectable ministers in the country were held up to and treated with the contempt of their fellow-men, because some members of their fraternity are morally vile and lecherous?

Yet this is just what is done in the case of the saloon trade. The saloonkeeper as a whole is judged by the fractional percentage of those who disgrace his trade, and wrongly so. The clergyman is judged by the large percentage of those who lend dignity to his profession, and rightly so. When this contradiction is once rectified and the respectable saloonkeeper receives the encouragement and consideration which he deserves, the greatest obstacle in the path of the reformer will be removed, and I believe that the influence of our women in this direction, if they are intelligently organized and advised can be of greater force than any other influence I could mention. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I could continue almost indefinitely discoursing upon the multifarious angles of this question of organization. But I have said enough, I trust, to convince you at least of the magnitude of our task, and of the impossibility that any man could accomplish it without the assistance of many, many capable lieutenants and co-workers. I do not claim that there is anything especially new or original in what I have set forth here. Indeed, the only really new feature in the plan I have discussed is that which you, and you alone can supply, namely, the means of carrying it into effect.

It would be mere supererogation, after all that has been said on that subject, for me to dwell upon the urgent need of applying these means. If the lesson recently conveyed to us in the passage of the Webb bill by the Congress at Washington has not taught us that need, nothing I or any one else could say will do so.

Gentlemen, we are face to face with absolute destruction, and unless we provide the means of carrying out a plan such as I have described to you, we shall go under.

Let me say to you in conclusion, to bring this incontrovertible truth home to you, that currying the favor of political parties, enlisting the support of political leaders, and relying on the promises of political wirepullers, will not save us from ultimate destruction. All it will do, as it has done in the past, is to emphasize to those to whom we thus appeal our utter weakness, and our incapacity to meet the enemy they have learned to fear with our own weapons, which we have at our command, if we will only avail ourselves of them. There is only one thing the politician respects, there is only one thing the legislator respects; and there is only one thing the governing powers generally, not only in this country, but in all countries, respect. It is votes. They are the only basis of political power, and in a commonwealth like ours the only legitimate basis of such power.

I say to you, gentlemen, that the greatest of all ironies perpetrated in the many reckless attacks made upon the so-called liquor interests of America, is the accusation that they have engaged in politics. This, in the real sense of the term is just what they have *not* done. It is true that the liquor question has been made a political issue, but not by them. It is true that legislation has been hampered and State and municipal administrations have been tainted and corrupted by this all-pervading question, but not owing to them. It is

owing solely and simply, to the fact that the prohibitionist has become a potent and intelligent factor in politics, while the brewer has not, and the politician, the legislator, and the municipal boss have made capital out of the fact.

I do trust that the day is now about to dawn, when this condition of things will be altered, to the benefit of the industry as well as to the benefit of the community at large; when the phrase "The brewer in politics" will no longer mean what it means today: a helpless begging for fairness and justice, and a clumsy and pitiful attempt to win the good graces of those who are merely the doorkeepers that guard the entrance to the political arena, where the enemy of the brewer and his friends has entrenched himself; but when it will mean, on the contrary, the intelligent marshalling of the forces of sane and sober citizenship, and the legitimate assertion of the rights and privileges of that citizenship, not at the threshold of the political arena, but within it.

When that day dawns, gentlemen, the reign of the fanatic and the zealot will be over. Whether it will ever dawn, depends at this moment, I verily believe, on your courage and determination alone, and upon that wisdom which cheerfully suffers the temporary sacrifice for the sake of the ultimate triumph of a just and glorious cause. (Prolonged applause.)

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, the next speaker to address you will be Mr. Fox, the Secretary of the Association. (Applause.)

Mr. FOX. Gentlemen, what I have to say here this afternoon is entirely unofficial. It has not been submitted to the officers, or Trustees of this Association, but it is offered in the hope that it will arouse a practical discussion of a vital and pressing question which is just as important as any of the matters which Mr. Andreae has so eloquently presented. Mr. Andreae has very kindly left my field open to me, and I know he agrees with me that all of our efforts in all other directions will be found futile, will at least mean going over the same fights again and again, if we do not satisfy the public of this country in regard to the conduct of the retail trade.

I believe it must be clear to all of you who have been on the firing line that the agitation against the saloon is more real and more general than the agitation against alcohol. If we only had to deal with the men who are total abstainers, we should not have much of an organization to combat. I do not believe that any considerable percentage of the men of this country are total abstainers. Even among physicians, with whom it is customary today to inveigh against alcohol, you will find that very few are total abstainers. If you had attended the convention of the medical men of this country in Atlantic City a year or two ago, you would have found ample evidence in the beer gardens and the hotels of Atlantic City during the evenings of the convention. The doctors do not practice what they preach, and a very goodly percentage of the ministers are not total abstainers. Even the Anti-Saloon League does not attempt to pledge its adherents to total abstinence. I believe it is true that the popular taste for light beverages is increasing, and that there is a growing tolerance of the use of alcoholic beverages in moderation.

In almost every locality, however, the saloon is the subject of just reproach. Of course, the men who make their living by promoting this sentiment against these saloons, are not interested in the improvement of conditions. The worse the saloons are, the more capital they can make out of them. It must be evident to all of us, therefore, that there is no common ground upon which we can meet with men who are engaged in the professional prohibition and Anti-Saloon League movement.

The criticism of the saloon comes very largely; not altogether, but very largely from those who do not patronize it and who have no first hand knowledge of it. I say not entirely, because I have heard recently among leaders of workingmen's organizations that the workingman really cares nothing about the elaborate saloons that we provide for him, that they have a sort of feeling that the money for the elaborate fixtures that are provided are taken out of the beer that we provide, and he would rather have a larger measure and simpler surroundings.

Of course, we are handicapped in our local license campaigns by the indefensible character of disreputable saloons. And it seems to me that we make a mistake in the arguments we use in our campaigns. The trend of our argument is that the open saloon is much better than the secret speak-easy. Is not this a tacit admission that after all it is only the lesser of two evils that we have to offer? In the long run all our efforts to organize our friends and educate the liberals will go for naught if we are merely trying to win their support of "a necessary evil." The thing we are fighting for must be good in

itself and we must ourselves believe it is good in itself if we are to have any permanent success.

Now, I do not agree at all with some of those, even amongst our own members, who fear sometimes that the saloon must go. If it were merely a drinking place, it might be obliterated, but the saloon is essentially a social institution which is deeply rooted in the habits and the customs of all nations, and none of the various substitutes for it have meet with any marked measure of success.

This last week, in "The Survey," which is the official organ in the philanthropic work in this country—I am just going to read one or two paragraphs from it, because it is the strongest and most illuminating statement of the saloon question that I have seen anywhere. It is entitled: "What the Church May Learn from the Saloon" and it deals specifically with conditions in New York City.

It says that: "Between one and two million men spend a part of every day in saloons, thirteen thousand bars are supported by this vast army.

Is thirst alone what all these men are seeking to satisfy?

If it were there would not be a saloon in the city. Every grocer would sell liquor. Men would order their drinks by telephone and drink them at home.

The saloon exist because liquor is not all men want. Three-fourths of the saloon's patrons are impelled thither by one of the finest cravings of the soul, the craving for human fellowship.

This demand cannot and ought not to be repressed. It is the most wholesome thing in the world. The saloon, or something which will afford a comradeship as free and democratic is becoming more indespensible every day."

And then the article goes on a little later to compare the saloon and its substitute, which, in this case, is spoken specifically as the church. It says:

"The majority of church houses have steps leading up to the door—the saloon avoids even a door-step. The 'substitute' is seldom conspicuous, and often has a little sign, so modestly unobtrusive that one may pass it twice, and then ask a policeman where it is. If he knows, you are fortunate. The saloon dazzles with lights and glitters with advertisements of liquor. The policeman knows where it is. The door of the 'substitute' is locked, and you wait in the cold until someone with three other jobs lets you in, looks you over to determine whether you have come to beg or to donate, and asks your business. The saloon has a push-door; touch it, you are inside, and nobody asks your business. Ring the bell at the door of most churches on Monday morning and you will wait until Wednesday for an answer."

Just let me give you one more paragraph:

"A rich man may take his car to his private club or entertain at home. The poor man has hardly room in his flat for his family, and he can not afford to be a member of any private club. He goes to the public club, the saloon.

In a word, the saloon is the poor man's club. To him it seems the purest democracy in America. It is his society. To destroy it would leave him without social standing, the most precious thing in life, even to a tramp." (Applause).

Mr. FITGER. Who wrote that, Mr. Fox?

Mr. FOX. It is written by Frank Charles Laubach, in "The Survey."

Now, gentlemen, after all, what do we ourselves really know, thoroughly know, about this institution which dispenses our beverages? Has anybody really made a thorough study of the saloon, from the standpoint of its patrons? Is it not the fundamental thing to do, to make a sort of saloon-survey in every community where the license system prevails? It would not be very difficult to find out how many regular customers a place has; how many of them live nearby, and also the extent to which it thrives on casual trade. Some saloons serve as a noon-hour resting place and lunch room for workingmen, and the saloon may perhaps serve several totally different groups at different times of the day. Now, how should we go about it? I think it would involve dividing the day into periods, taking a sort of census of each saloon during such period, and, when you did that, you could tell whether it was worth while to fight so fiercely for early opening or against early closing. You would also know if there were too many saloons, and you would know which are the ones that are not needed. Incidentally we should all know to what extent the saloon is catering to the mass of the people, and it would be very illuminating to compare the saloon census with the number of men who visit other places of public recreation.

Now, if I were license commissioner, say, under the commission form of government which, by the way, seems destined to make such strides in our municipal system, I should want first hand information of this kind, before I undertook to decide in favor of one against the other. If I were a brewer I think I could regard such information as the very foundation of saloon credit system. The looseness with which this department of the brewer's business is conducted, is simply amazing. There is not any branch of manufacturing or merchandising in this country in which the average customer gets such a large line of credit; for, of course, the money advanced for the license and for furnishing the saloon, fitting it up, should be charged against the credit account. As a brewer, I think perhaps, if I was undertaking this study, I would want to know how much money a saloon takes in each week, I would want to know how it is divided, that is to say, how much for beer, how much for wines or whiskey, and how much for soft drinks and cigars. Incidentally, would not this give us a line on the feasibility of separating beer and whiskey licenses, as a business proposition?

Now, I believe it would pay groups of brewers in our cities to organize a system of this kind for their mutual benefit, and that it would go a long way towards giving stability to the retail trade. It would have to be done, or at any rate, it should best be done in cooperation with the organized retailors, as a matter of common concern, by a corps of competent inspectors, who would act as a check upon the brewer collectors. I will say here that in no other business that I know anything about does the merchant rely upon his salesmen alone—and, of course, the collector corresponds to the salesman—for credit information about his customers, and that is what the brewer very often does. In no other business is the personality of the customer a greater feature than in the saloon business.

But a survey of the saloon for trade purposes will not win the confidence of the public or satisfy the many fair minded men who are not cranks, but who feel sure that there are too many saloons, and have been led to believe that a considerable percentage of them are run in loose and lawless fashion. I want to urge that we invite the cooperation of disinterested civic bodies, such as local boards of trade, chambers of commerce, civic and municipal leagues and whatever organizations there may be in the respective communities that are impartial and that really represent the business interests and the business men of the communities on this line, to take the matter up without prejudice. I think it is probable that the financing of such an investigation would have to be done by the brewers, and then, after the survey is completed, and a recommendation is made as to the license policy or as to a saloon zone, or as to the elimination of such saloons, then it is going to be necessary for the brewer, the wholesaler, and the retailer to get together and talk it all over and find out what is the best way to carry out the recommendations that will be made, however drastic they may be. Here, of course, comes the rub. Ten years ago we may have said that this could not be done, but we know that it has been done. We know what was the history of the inception of the Brooks Law in Pennsylvania. We have had an object lesson recently of the way in which the men in the retail trade in Ohio have gotten together and met the situation, which is going to wipe out, as I understand it, Mr. Andreae, some three thousand five hundred saloons. The City of Buffalo has done something of this kind. Whatever it may be, it will involve the amalgamation of decent places. It may be that the brewers themselves and the organized retailers will have to decide where the line shall be drawn territorially, but whatever it is I believe there is enough business ability and horse sense in the wholesale and retail trade to solve this, as a plain business proposition.

I do not believe we can afford to wait for legislative enactment to improve saloon conditions. Even if we could close up all the disorderly and disreputable places tomorrow, we should not be satisfying the public. Incidentally, I believe that the percentage of these places is grossly exaggerated even by the brewers themselves. There is, however, a general feeling that the number of saloons should be limited to the requirements of the retail trade. That is to say, that the licenses should be granted from the standpoint of the reasonable convenience of the public, without intruding upon what are called "residence districts." Remember that public opinion is the grandfather of the law. We can not win public opinion with saloons that are the pest holes of the community. The saloon may be law abiding and yet thoroughly objectionable. I have known of small cities where the corner saloon has been the lounging

place for loafers so that women avoided it and take the other side of the street, if they possibly can. You and I have seen many saloons where empty beer kegs line the sidewalks and dribble stale beer into the gutters. The right kind of a saloon ought to advertise itself by its attractiveness from the outside, just as a first-class restaurant does. Perhaps the time will come very shortly when the saloon shall be run openly from the street.

Whether it is possible to transplant the Continental beer garden to this country is perhaps debatable. The Continental cafe or beer garden is homogeneous, while the American saloon, as a rule, is cosmopolitan. I believe, however, that something along the line of a cafe-club that would serve as a family resort is needed. With the spread of woman suffrage the women are going to pass judgment upon the saloon, and I do not believe that a place which is a reputable family resort is going to be opposed by the ordinary woman. In fact, I think that we are going to have some great surprises; that it is quite possible we shall find that women will be demanding clean and comfortable accommodations of a respectable character, and it will not be many years until it will pay to cater to them. I do not believe that reasonable women have any quarrel with the saloon or public house as it ought to be: that is, a place where a man and his wife can get what food and drink they wish.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me say that the time has come to strike the scales from our eyes and regard this whole question from the standpoint of the community. We have got to realize that the public is intensely concerned in this question, that the public is going to settle it for us, whether we want it or not, and that is what the public demands, and that the consideration of it as a matter of community welfare is the only course that is worth considering. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, the next speaker who will address you is Mr. Farley, President of the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Farley to you. (Applause.)

Mr. FARLEY. Mr. President and Gentlemen; I consider it a very high compliment to be invited to open the debate on the question of a practical plan for the betterment of conditions in the retail trade as I believe that it is the first time during your existence of over fifty years that a representative of the Retail Liquor Trade has been privileged to appear before you.

For too many years there has been an everwidening chasm between the Brewer and the Retail Liquor Dealer, over which it seemed impossible to settle the manifest distrust that has existed to a very marked extent—for altogether too long a time.

For twenty years it has been the policy of the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, of which I have the honor to be President, that there should exist the greatest harmony between the three great branches of the Liquor Trade—the Brewer, the Wholesale Liquor Dealer and the Retail Liquor Dealer,—and that all should work in perfect harmony for the protection of our common interests, for we are told "A house divided against itself must fall."

It has never been our intention in any way to interfere with the organic working of each of these branches but all should work along its own individual lines and should so work that there would be no clash but perfect unison existing.

When Dewey steamed into Manila Bay and fought that wonderful—Battle—it was not he that planned that most wonderful coup. It was a higher authority—the Naval Board of Strategy at Washington. There, away from the smoke and din of battle, with all the necessary data before them, these old, experienced and wise men conceived and planned. Dewey simply carried out their plans with wonderful dexterity.

So with our battles,—some plan should be devised by which the plan of battle may be worked out and each given his part to play and I assure you every Retailer will do his duty. (Applause.)

Two years ago and again this year I was invited to attend the convention of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, and I believe that I was instrumental in casting across this chasm that lies between us, substantial cables, and I trust that my presence here to-day will result in the final chain being forged upon which a most substantial suspension bridge will be built to span this chasm, upon which our Board of Strategy will be the better able to plan and lay out a more successful campaign.

In 1862, two years after Lincoln had assumed the reins of Government, we had what is known as the "Off Elections," and at that time the Democrats

swept the country and again secured control of Congress. The day after the election, there was a Cabinet Meeting, and, while waiting for the President, the members of the Cabinet discussed the result of the election and were wondering "what was the matter with the people." Just then Lincoln entered the Chamber, and, overhearing the conversation, said: "Gentlemen, we must not wonder what is the matter with the people—they are all alright but let us ask ourselves the question "What is the matter with us." (Applause.)

That is exactly the question we must ask ourselves today. Notwithstanding that after over half a century of the most strenuous fight—our enemies claim that forty per cent. of the country is dry, yet the consumption of Malt and Spirituous Liquors per head is steadily increasing. The consumption per capita was 4.08 gallons in 1850 and 23 gallons in 1911. That proves most conclusively that the people are not prepared, or in a mood to abolish the Liquor Trade. Then what is the matter with us? And, I hear you say, with one voice: "The manner in which the saloon is conducted."

Yes, my friends, I believe that the stench in the nostrils of the people is the Dive Saloon, and the thorn in the side of the legitimate traffic in this brothel. Now, what is the remedy? Resolutions will not eradicate the evil. Drastic measures is the only remedy—the way to do a thing is to do it.

From my wide experience, I fail to find the man, who, by hard and persevering work, has accumulated enough money with which to establish himself in business, asking no favors from any one, will invest in a saloon of doubtful reputation. He does not desire to risk his "all" in such a place. Invariably, you will find the management of a Dive Saloon in the hands of an unprincipled fellow who has nothing to lose and all to gain and is willing to take desperate chances for that gain.

A few years ago, when you met in Milwaukee, resolutions were adopted condemning the Dive Saloon, which were published broadcast throughout the country.

In the Chicago papers, almost on the same page that those resolutions appeared, there was an account of the raiding of a saloon and the full history of the place given. It was a typical "Dive" in every sense of the word. The Brewer who was selling the beer, and whose sign was over the door, was asked what he was going to do in the face of the resolutions passed by his own organization. He offered many excuses but the most important was that if he refused to sell beer to the man, some other brewer would.

Another instance has come to my notice, where a certain Brewer in a Western State desired to increase his barrelage and sent out his representative to drum up trade. Where he found a village or small city, with from five to ten well conducted saloons doing a profitable business, he would buy a lot and put up a shack and install a man—one of those who had nothing to lose and all to gain—until it was proverbial that the saloons of this particular brewery were the Dives. That was not all. It was not long before he commenced to "reap the whirl wind." Damage suits accumulated, caused by the misconduct of his tenants, until some thirty thousand dollars in judgments had to be settled, and worse still, the indignation of the people was aroused. Adverse results in Local Option elections swept the State, and laid low nearly all of his saloons, together with scores of legitimate places. What did it profit that man to swell his barrelage a few hundred, only to be eventually wiped out of business?

I have yet to learn that a Dive is a profitable investment. The management may charge $1.00 a bottle for beer, or give for five cents a "pony" of beer, of which 1,000 go to a barrel, but it can hardly be compared to a respectable working man's saloon that serves an honest 16 ounces of beer to a glass, as a desirable investment for the Brewer.

The Brewing Industry, which landed in this country with the "Mayflower," has given to history many of our greatest names in philanthropic and other benevolent work; names that are cherished by the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of these founders of our country, and yet we find in too many instances these honored names are now blazed upon the lintels and door posts of some of the most disreputable plague spots that bring so much censure on our business.

You all know that what I have said is only too true. We see all these errors in the "other fellow," but let us indulge in a little self-examination. Self-examination is good for the soul, good for the body and good in a commercial way. Let each one stop and examine his own business and if one of these Dives exist among your customers, advise him to change his methods, and if

that is not done, do not hesitate to take drastic means to exterminate the evil.

The good book tells us "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out." Let us purify our business and thereby steal the ammunition from the enemy.

Gentlemen, resolutions will not cure this evil. "Dangerous diseases require heroic treatment." These Dives are the ammunition of our enemy. They must be blotted out at all hazard.

What brought Ohio back into the license line but a thorough scrutiny of the saloons and a radical weeding out of the Dives. There are Brewers, and large ones at that, who will not, under any circumstances, cater to this trade and I am pleased to say that the one that supplies my saloons in New York City, will not allow a keg or a case of their beer to enter a place that has no license or certificate to traffic in Liquor. (Applause). If all would follow in their laudable footsteps the wind would soon be taken "out of the sails of our enemy" and we would see a brighter and a clearer future before us.

Another point,—and that is, we must build up our forces. What think you that after over fifty years you have not one half of the Licensed Brewers on your roll. The same can be said of our friends, the Wholesalers, and of our Retailers' Organization. Can we not help one another to bring recruits to our rank?

It was only the other day that the President of a newly organized State Association said to me: "If the Brewers will help us—we will be a success. If they fight us, our progress, if any, will be slow." Why should the Brewer object to the Retail Trade Organization? Is it not to aid you in the protection of your and our business? The Brewer cannot exist without the Retailer, neither can the Retailer exist without the Brewer.

Some years ago, the late Joseph Miller, the respected Secretary of the Ohio Brewers' Association, declared in your Convention at Buffalo that he would sooner have the little saloon-keeper on the outskirts of the City that played pinochle with his customers at night than the wealthiest Brewer as a political factor. Mr. Miller was right. The Brewer cannot get along in his political campaign without the saloonkeeper. Then, why object to their uniting to aid you in your fight?

I represent here today over seventy-five thousand thoroughly organized, well disciplined retail liquor dealers, resting on their arms, keeping the camp fires burning and awaiting orders. Can you afford to ignore them? Let us all endeavor to close up ranks and help each other in so doing, and let us bring over 100,000 retailers, who are not now members, into the fold.

The retailers know that for nearly half a century your organization, unaided and alone, has done yeoman work in the protection of our trade. We appreciate your efforts in the past.

Two years ago, in addressing our friends, the Wholesalers, I told them that we appreciated their work and desired to show our appreciation by extending to them our patronage, rather than to the "drone" who failed to contribute his share but willing to enjoy all the advantages of organization. I suggested to them that they should adopt some plan by which we could select the "sheep from the goats." They grasped the idea and adopted a stamp plan by which on every invoice sent out, the stamp of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association is affixed. The result is that the Retailers are forcing the delinquent ones into the Wholesalers' Association, and to bear their share of the burden. (Applause).

Could not a similar plan be adopted by which the Retailer could tell who were and who were not his friends among the Brewers? By the display of some kind of a card for the keg beer and a stamp on every bottle of beer sold over the bar.

Give us your aid to build up our organization by inducing your customers to joint in with us, and we, in return, can help build up your organization. A reciprocity arrangement could easily be worked out and put into effect. So, let us hope that upon the great suspension bridge that we are so rapidly building over the destructive chasm that has for so long separated us, we can meet on a common level and devise many plans and schemes for the advancement of all the people interested in the trade, which is the greatest producer of revenue to support our National, State and Municipal Governments, and let this be our motto: "United we stand, divided we fall." (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. The next speaker to address you, gentlemen, will be Mr. Ware, of Baltimore.

(Mr. Ware thereupon addressed the convention upon the license system in Baltimore).

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, please keep your seats. We have two more speakers to address you, and I can assure you that their speeches are going to be very short, and then we are going to have Mr. Gardiner, who will make the last talk of the day that I am sure will be very interesting to all of us. Therefore, I ask you gentlemen to indulge us a little while longer until we get through here. Mr. Austen.

(Mr. Austen stated that he had nothing of pressing importance to bring before the meeting.)

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Huber, did you wish to say something?

Mr. HUBER. No.

The PRESIDENT. Then, gentlemen, the next speaker will be Mr. Gardiner.

Mr. GARDINER. Mr. President, and gentlemen, in deference to the lateness of the hour, I shall detain you but a few moments. I think it must have been under a misapprehension that I knew something of the topic that I was assigned to speak on the subject of organization. While I have been somewhat intimately associated during the past few years with movements that date from the origin of that work, nevertheless, I feel that I know possibly less about the subject now than I did sometime ago; but I shall make a brief effort at least to deserve your attention for, as I have said before, a few minutes.

When we consider what organization has accomplished in the development of world work, any elaborate reference to it would seem both unnecessary and untimely in this presence and on this occasion.

Historians tell us how valuable it was in the early life of the Ancient Greeks and Romans and experience teaches us how necessary it is in every walk of present day life. Yet in the face of all our knowledge of its many benefits and advantages, it is more than strange, it is amazing, that there are so many who, while acknowledging its virtue when applied to the affairs of others, turn from it entirely when offered the opportunity to appropriate it to themselves.

Where is the successful politician who has not attained his success as the result of organization? The body politic of every society progresses surely and swiftly under the caressing quality of its power. Scarcely a church whose physical condition is not improved by the active organization within its holy walls.

Man is dependent upon his fellow man; no man can successfully be a law unto himself.

Military authorities know and will tell you that a hundred men organized can successfully ten times that number arrayed in an individual capacity.

Macaulay in one of his ever living epics, has testified to his knowledge of organization.

Victor Murdock, Congressman from Kansas, speaking on organization, says: "What is organization? What underlies it? Self surrender in the individual, that is all." Then he concludes: "Everyone must learn it. Society would not get along without it. No domestic tranquility is possible in its absence, or business or professional or political success".

Organized cooperation therefore intelligently directed and applied will overcome all obstacles and its proper operation enlighten and broaden the man whose vision is narrowed by selfishness or dimmed by prejudice.

When we who are engaged in this work go about among you all, it requires no specific ability to discover that you are as alive to the necessity of organized effort as are we; yet when the time comes to apply it in individual cases often there is hesitation and too frequently refusal. This cannot be due to the lack of appreciation of the value of organization because as I have said in discussing its merits, one scarcely ever runs counter to a dissenting opinion. Necessarily therefore the cause of all this indifference must be sought elsewhere and it is in the hope of finding it that I am taking this as my subject today.

Those who oppose us are evidently as alive to the value of organized work as we are and infinitely more alert and thorough in utilizing it to the utmost. Unlike us they take time by the fore lock and organize patiently and months ahead in readiness to strike a blow at a given time.

We, on the other hand, wait until the blow has been struck and then cry aloud for organization, our opponents meanwhile skipping lightly away to another theatre of action, where sleeping giants in all likelihood again await their coming only to be in their turn taken by surprise and driven to rout.

Many, indeed most of our defeats are such, not because of inherent weakness in the cause itself but rather are they our Waterloos as the result of unpre-

voted to a man for a candidate for governor who was a pronounced prohibitionist. You know that, don't you? (Cries of "Yes.")

No doubt whatever about it, they did not do it purposely, but they did it, because they had not the knowledge that is required to make their vote effective at the right place, and that is at the polls.

Now, gentlemen, the organization that we suggest is an organization, either of individual firms or of existing manufacturers' associations, taking either associations or members, and then let in any feature that you think desirable into your organization. What I ask, is this—and it may seem immodest coming from me myself, in asking it—but I ask that the organization, as far as the purposes I have outlined are concerned, shall accept my leadership. I do not want to have any office in the association. I merely ask you to accept my leadership in matters that concern the polls, and the question that is practically the one absorbing question for all of us, and that is the fight against the fanatical prohibition movement, and all that enters into that fight. When the word goes out from our headquarters that such and such is required to be done in this locality or that locality, national or local, that you accept that word as final, and believe that it is the one right thing to do, and do it blindly. There is nothing in my scheme that needs shun exposure in the full light of day. We all know that all of our various industries, whether they are railroads, franchise holders, or others, have been compelled, more or less, by a vicious system and corrupt system, to do all kinds of things which in themselves were either illegal or immoral; we know that; I do not suppose there is any industry or financial circle in this country that has not been drawn into that vortex. The day has gone by for that kind of thing; the day should have never existed. I want to say to you gentlemen I believe that a just cause (and I know that our cause is just, or we would not have forty million customers) can only win by just means, and that no cause that requires improper means to win has a right to win at all.

That is the principle I go by, and I believe that if we carry on our organization along sensible, rational and practical lines, it can accomplish that which we have failed to accomplish in the past; for what has been our great trouble? I am now speaking of the point of view of the body I represent, and that is the people who make beer and other drinks in this country. What has been the main source of trouble? I must be perfectly frank; I say that it has been the unfortunate policy that has been pursued in the past, individually and collectively, of feeding our enemies and starving our friends. (Cries of "That is right.") I want to tell you gentlemen, ask any man engaged in political affairs—and how many are there in this country who are not directly or indirectly so engaged—which pays best, to be the enemy of the brewer or to be his friend? In nine cases out of ten, if the man is honest, his answer will be that it is most expedient to pose as the brewer's enemy, because to be his enemy means to be coaxed and wheedled by the brewer and patted on the back by the prohibitionist; whilst to be his friend, means only too frequently to be neglected, and treated with indifference by the brewer and hounded and persecuted by the prohibitionist. (Cries of "That is right.")

Now, I am criticising myself and my colleagues, because the brewer will rather spend his time and his efforts in the vain endeavor to win over his thousands of enemies than to devote that time and those efforts towards organizing and protecting his millions of friends; that is true; you must know it.

Now, where can you expect our friends to stand when they feel that in time of war, we rush to them to come to our aid, just beckoning you know, and in the interim, we leave them to shift for themselves, on the assumption that—well, they do not need any support or encouragement; they are our friends anyway, and they are just handy when we call for them—instead of helping them to maintain the army that they place in the field at our disposal at a moment's notice; instead of helping them to maintain that army and increase its efficiency.

Gentlemen, I say that if we were to act sensibly in that matter, this army is capable of not only being doubled and trebled and quadrupled in numbers, but with adequate means and methods, it can be so organized that its efficiency as an active force at the polls, working under systematic directions from one headquarters, would be increased ten fold.

Now, I do not want to go further into details. There are so many angles to this question of organization, that I could talk till midnight on the subject, but the whole point in the question is this: ONE CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS AND ONE CENTRAL HEAD is required, in order to make every organization an effective one; and, therefore, gentlemen, I conclude by repeating—if you will organize as I

central head is required, in order to make every organization an effective one: and, therefore, gentlemen, I conclude by repeating—if you will organize as I ask you to organize with the understanding—well, I will put it as bluntly as I can, that you will accept me as the leader of your organization."

Further, I call attention especially to the following:

"Now, collect that money, and see that it is distributed to one center alone; in other words, that none of it goes astray, and is not spent in some of those silly little elections where a lot of saloon keepers are put out at so much per day to do election work, which amounts to nothing in nine cases out of ten, whereas, while all that money is being spent in that direction, we are losing our lives in Washington.

"What does it matter to me whether a little locality goes dry; what does it matter to me, gentlemen, if the State of Illinois, where my business is, goes wet, if at Washington they declare for nation-wide prohibition? I have spent all my money in Illinois, but the United States itself is my chief business. The one thing that we have got to do is to protect our business where it may be destroyed for good and all, and that is in Washington."

Further, I call especial attention to the following:

"You would have rather too many vice presidents, Mr. Chairman, if you did that, but allow me to explain it along the line of other organizations generally. Take the brewers' organization. We have our national association—the United States Brewers' Association; we have in every State our local State association; then we have in the cities local associations, and in some cases there are individuals who will not belong to the State associations, but they will to the national; there are some who will not belong to the national, but they will to the State association, in others words, do not ged rid of your existing associations, but let every man who is a member of every State or local association join the national association and let these associations as a body be a member of the national association. You take the retailers: they have in every State, and generally in every city of any size, a retailers' association. Then they have in the State their State association, to which not always all belong; some won't belong to the local, but will belong to the State. The national association consists of memberships, or rather delegateships, I should say, from the various State associations. That is just slightly different from our Brewers' Association. Now, I am going—that is part of our scheme—to get the retailers to come in just in the same way, and accept general leadership from one headquarters. Not that I say I am the one man who simply says this is to be done. I want to consult with all these organizations: I want to have them in constant touch with me, and I want to have their advice, knowledge, experience and counsel, so that I feel that everything that is known at headquarters can be at a moment's notice disseminated all over the country.

"Gentlemen, take our organization in Ohio—I do not want to digress, but these matters are of great interest and they are the meat of the whole subject—our organization in Ohio is such that I can go to the telephone here, call up our headquarters at Cincinnati, and say: 'Call a stenographer to the 'phone,' and I dictate to him a statement. I say: 'I want that statement to be in the hands of the members of the Personal Liberty League of Ohio, within twenty-four hours.' In twenty-four hours that statement will be in the hands of 150,000 people, voters in the State of Ohio, and among those 150,000 voters are several thousand who are good for a large number of votes, besides their own. We have the address of every member and the necessary number of envelopes ready, stamped, in triplicate, and when a statement has gone out, giving instructions with regard to either the candidates, or to the question which is up before them, simply telling them what the personal Liberty League desires in that particular matter, when that set has gone out, there are thirty girls right there at the table ready to supply the next lot of envelopes, so that there are always three sets of envelopes of 150,000 each, stamped and addressed ready to go out.

"Gentlemen, that is organization! It costs money, and it can only be done if you will get rid of big committees and boards, and put the matters in the hands of one person whom you can fire if he does not make good, and replace by some one else who will make good."

Senator OVERMAN. I suggest that you include the whole of those minutes also in our record.

Maj. HUMES. Very well.

(The minutes from which the foregoing extract was taken are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 64.

[Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. See pages 9-11, 16-19. From U. S. B. A. files, by Fox. File 166-A.]

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, HELD AT THE HOTEL DENNIS, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., OCTOBER 3, 1913, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Percy Andreae, in the Chair, at 10.30 a. m.

The following gentlemen, representing the organizations shown, were present:

Mr. George Armor, Representing the Bond Bottle Sealing Company, Wilmington, Del.

Mr. Ludwig Baer, Representing A. S. Baer & Son, New York City.

Mr. Wm. Bartholomay, Jr., Representing Bartholomay Co., Chicago, Ill. (Manufacturers' & Dealers' Assn.)

Mr. F. P. Britton, Representing F. P. Britton, New York City. (Manufacturers' & Dealers' League.)

Mr. Carl F. Burges, Representing Manufacturers' & Dealers' Club, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. George J. Cary, Representing Golden Gate Mfg. Co. New York City.

Mr. S. Cathcart, Representing Bond Bottle Sealing Co. Wilmington, Del.

Mr. Joseph J. Donnelly, Representing American Bottle Co. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. T. A. Dwyer, Representing Brunswick-Balke Collender, Company, New York City. (Mfrs. & Dealers League.)

Mr. H. W. Foreman, Representing S. S. Steiner, New York City.

Mr. James H. Gerung, Representing American Hominy Co. Indianapolis, Indiana.

Mr. Fred Goetz, Representing Goetz Company, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Watson R. Guthrie, Representing Edward Ermold Co., New York City. (Manufacturers' & Dealers' N. Y.)

Mr. E. L. Gwanlich, Representing Brunswick-Balke Collender Co. Chicago, Ill. (Manufacturers' & Dealers' Assn)

Mr. Otto Horix, Representing Cleveland Fawcet Co. Cleveland, O. (M. & D. Asso. of Cleveland).

Mr. Arthur E. Howe, Representing National Ammonia Co., Philadelphia, Pa. (Allied Mfrs. & Dealers Asso. of Pa.)

Mr. Henry Krauth, Representing Golden Gate Mfg. Co. New York City (M. & D. League, Chicago.)

Mr. John H. Licht, Representing Patent Cereals Co., Geneva, N. Y.

Mr. Cooper Lyon, Representing Bishop-Babcock Becker Co. Geneva, N. Y.

Mr. A. W. McDougal, Representing National Ammonia Co., Philadelphia, Pa. (Allied Mfrs. & Dealers Asso. of Pa.)

Mr. A. C. Magnus, Representing A. Magnus Sons Co., Chicago, Ill.

Mr. E. Maynz, Representing Maynz & Co., New York City.

Mr. Felix Mendelsohn, Representing Felix Mendelsohn, Chicago, Ill. (Manufacturers' & Dealers' Assn.)

Mr. Fred Nolde, Representing De La Vergne Machine Co. Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. C. A. Phleger, Representing E. C. Horst Co., San Francisco, Cal.

Mr. Alex Porges, Representing Albert-Schwill, & Co. New York City.

Mr. Emil Porges, Representing Benjamin Scwarz & Sons, New York City. (Mfrs. & Dealers' League, N. Y.)

Mr. Wm. Randolph, Representing National Pipe Cleaner, Company of America, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. E. G. Rhoads, Representing National Brewers' Insurance, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. J. A. Roney, Representing Manufacturers & Merchants Association, Newark, N. J.

Mr. Chas. Roos, Representing Aug. Roos Son, New York City. (M. & D. League)

Mr. W. H. D. Ross, Representing A. E. Russ Co., Cleveland, Ohio. (M. & D. Asso. of Cleveland.)

Mr. G. L. Savage, Representing Golden Gate Mfg. Co., New York City (M. & D. League, Chicago.)

Mr. H. Scarborough, Representing 20th Century Mchy Company, Chicago, Ill. (Manu. of Brewery Equipment & Supplies).

Mr. Chr. Schott, Representing J. M. Schott & Sons Co. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. Wm. Schuckhardt, Representing Barry Wehmiller Machinery Company St. Louis, Mo. (New York Mfrs. & Dealers' League, N. Y.)

Mr. R. E. Shoemaker, Representing Cumberland Glass Mfg. Company, Bridgeton, N. J.

Mr. J. Samuel Smoot, Representing Burns Bros., (Coal) New York City

Mr. Paul Sonnenschein, Representing I. Sonnenschein, Prague, Austria

Mr. J. C. Staley, Representing Albert Schwill & Co., New York.

Mr. Chas. A. Steinwachs, Representing U. S. Frumentum Co., Detroit, Mich.

Mr. S. V. Stenier, Representing S. S. Steiner, New York City

Mr. M. E. Taber, Representing Taber Pump Company, Buffalo, N. Y.

Mr. L. Ullmann, Representing Carl Ullmann & Co. New York City

Mr. Edw. H. Vogel, Representing Barry-Wehmiller Machinery Company, St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. K. Von Eltz, Representing Reisert Automatic Water Purifying Co., New York City.

Mr. Theo. O. Vilter, Representing Vilter Mfg. Co., Milwaukee, Wis. (N. A. of B. E. & S.)

Mr. Arthur J. Wallace, Representing Economic Machinery Co., Worcester, Mass.

Mr. Jno. M. Willen, Representing Manufacturers' & Dealers' Club, Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. N. G. Williams, Representing Pfaudler Co., Rochester, N. Y.

Mr. Fred Wehmiller, Representing Barry-Wehmiller Machinery Co., St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Charles Zoller, Representing Charles Zoller Co., New York City.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, I have been asked to call this meeting to order, and the first business that will be before you is the election of a temporary chairman. Now, if some gentleman here will kindly suggest a name.

A VOICE. Mr. Theo. O. Vilter.

The nomination was duly seconded.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, is there any other nomination?

A VOICE. I move the nomination be closed.

The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

Mr. ANDREAE. Now, gentlemen, the nomination of Mr. Vilter is before you.

The nomination was unanimously carried.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, Mr. Vilter.

(Here Mr. Vilter took the chair.)

Mr. VILTER. Gentlemen; I thank you for the vote you have given, but I think there are bigger men here than I am, to whom you should have given your vote.

A VOICE. I do not think there are.

Mr. VILTER. What is the order of business? I do not know much about it. Do you Mr. Andreae?

Mr. ANDREAE. Here is something written down. I do not know whether there is any need for a secretary of the meeting, but it might be well to have one.

Mr. VILTER. You have a stenographer.

Mr. ANDREAE. That will be good enough then. Perhaps I had better explain the purposes of the meeting.

Mr. VILTER. Mr. Andreae will explain the situation to you gentlemen.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, the purpose for which this meeting was called, is, as you all know, to organize; and I would like, just as briefly as I can, to give you an outline of the factors that have brought about the necessity for calling you together for the purpose of forming an organization of a general character.

You know that we are facing a condition, nationally, which is absolutely unprecedented. There have been in our ranks men who have foreseen that the day would come when we would be face to face in Washington with the question of Nation-wide prohibition. A measure has passed Congress, which is in its effect, and is so intended to be in its effect, a prohibition of the interstate

ing with the delegates from each organization representing the parent organization, at some convenient time in the afternoon, and I should like to make that in the shape of a motion.

Mr. VILTER. You offer the motion?

Mr. SCHOTT. State the motion.

Mr. VILTER. The motion was that one member of each organization should meet. As a matter of fact, we have the Association of Brewers' Equipment and Supplies represented here, and then there might be some State allied people here, and they should get together and talk matters over about this organization, and then, shortly after, have another meeting before we leave this town; that is the idea of Mr. Lilienthal.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Before we adjourn this morning, I suggest that we have a meeting of the organizations and the others, I mean this particularly, and then before the adjournment is taken at all we can get some definite ideas as to what can be accomplished.

Mr. PORGES. As to the plan suggested by the gentleman, there is only one objectionable feature in it. As I understand him, he wants the representatives of these different organizations to come together and have a preliminary meeting. Well, what organizations are properly represented here? I belong to one, but I do not think I have the right to speak for them. Others here belong to other organizations and are in the same position. I think if I understand and appreciate Mr. Andreae's ideas aright we might just as well accept his leadership right now, and have the committee appointed for the purpose of devising means of effecting an organization, in accordance with the ideas as expressed—and maybe, in some cases, not expressed by Mr. Andreae—and this committee should, at the same time, act as a board of nominators, and submit to us before we leave Atlantic City, the names of officers, for which this temporary organization is ready to cast their votes. These officers, it may be understood, can later on, after the organization has been perfected, make room for those that are of more importance, and maybe better fitted; but I understand Mr. Andreae wants us to have an organization perfected before we leave Atlantic City, and the objection to the plan of the gentleman that spoke before me, is that it procrastinates a little.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We are not procrastinating at all, the meeting can take place before noon.

Mr. PORGES. In fact, as I say, I am more inclined to follow the leadership of Mr. Andreae.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I do not believe you understood Mr. Andreae very well, I am sorry to say.

Mr. PORGES. I am perfectly willing to leave it to Mr. Andreae to enlighten us on that subject.

Mr. ANDREAE. It seems to me the simplest thing is to get to business and decide to elect a committee right now.

Mr. SCHOTT. Mr. Chairman, I think there are delegates here representing different organizations, why not let them appoint a committee to suggest names for president, and go right ahead and elect him, then we could go ahead with the balance of the organization, and get that officered?

Mr. ANDREAE. How would it be gentlemen if those present, who represent State organizations or local organizations, would report and give their names.

Mr. SCHOTT. We have three representatives from the Manufacturers' & Dealers' Club of Cincinnati, with power to act.

Mr. COOPER LYON. We have three from Chicago.

Mr. SAVAGE. We have the President here from the New York Manufacturers' & Dealers' Association.

Mr. HORIX. I am from Cleveland and represent the Manufacturers' & Dealers' League.

Mr. WILLEM. I represent the Manufacturers' & Dealers' Club of Milwaukee.

A VOICE. Mr. S. V. Steiner, the vice-president of the Personal Liberty League of New York, is not here just now, but is in the city.

Mr. ANDREAE. You represent him?

A VOICE. I probably would try very hard.

Mr. ZOLLER. Mr. Andreae proposed this National Association. I want to know, are there any additional taxes to that outside of our organization, and outside of what we have got? For instance, take the National Manufacturers' & Dealers' League, our members pay so much during the year, and they have a man to collect that. I want to know if there will be an additional fee. I under-

stood Mr. Andreae that each member would be taxed additionally for the National League.

Mr. ZOLLER. Outside of our State?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is the idea. Now, of course, I do not know how individual State associations handle those matters, or if they handle the matters in this way: That their individual members are assessed, and some are assessed considerably, which is then contributed by your State associations, say, to fights within the State or local fights—that is one side of the matter. We have the same in the Brewers' Association; we have to conduct our States fights and we also have to contribute to our National Association, which is now bound to look after our interests in Washington on a scale that was never known before. I therefore, wish to explain that the question of contributions is the most important of all, but this will fall away—and that point I want to emphasize again, in case I did not make myself properly understood—this will fall away, if you organize as I want you to organize, so that if local brewers, distillers or others come to you and say: "We want you to contribute to our local campaign here and to our local campaign there," I would like this organization to be in a position to say no individual shall contribute individually. Then you will represent yourselves. I am not here to devise the ways and means for you to save money. (Laughter). On the contrary, I want to see as much of it forthcoming as possible, but what I do want to prevent is the unhappy waste of money that I know is going on today.

Therefore if you will organize in such a way that one of your rules will be that an individual firm or a member of this general organization shall only contribute through the National Organization for the purpose for which the National Organization is formed, you will protect yourselves against the individual men who are constantly drawing on you for their local purposes, and at the same time make sure that the money you do contribute—and I hope you will contribute very largely—will be applied effectively and not wasted as in the past.

Mr. ZOLLER. It depends on how the brewers treat us, and we are ready at any time to do that, but I wish to say we have at present in our organization—and I think I should leave that to Mr. Savage, who will explain that—a party that is canvassing in the State of New York; he is going around, and he went out on the 24th of August. Then we have sent money outside to different states, where they asked us for money, so we are not idle in our association. I do not know what the other gentlemen did in the other states. I leave the rest to Mr. Savage.

Mr. ANDREAE. I am well alive to the fact that there is lots of money being spent.

Mr. SAVAGE. Mr. Chairman, in our association in New York, we have worked in our own state since we were organized, and we have contributed considerably to many other states, for instance in the South and the West, and Down East to the amount of several thousand dollars, besides doing our own work in New York State. We have, in our organization, only a paid secretary. This secretary is taking care of the work at the main office but, ranging from thirty to ninety days each year, we send him out through the different counties. Our secretary at the present time is working up at Syracuse and Rochester, and he will stay up there until after election day. I sent him out on the 24th of August. That is the work that we have been doing, and I might say to some of the gentlemen here, that some years ago, we had a National Organization, which we contributed to considerably, but, that, as you all know, was a failure.

Now, I am in favor of a National Organization, such as Mr. Andreae has outlined, and I think it would work, and it can be done, and really, it is the only way to do things. We have tried to do in a small way, in our own State, the same thing that Mr. Andreae has put before us. Of course, our people will be ready and willing to do whatever they can, you may be sure, to help the cause along.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. May I ask the Secretary the number of organizations which have responded?

The REPORTER. About five or six.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. In addition, Mr. Taber from Buffalo and myself.

Mr. ANDREAE. Also the Manufacturers' Association of Brewers' Equipment & Supplies is represented.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. A motion was made by Mr. Lilienthal a few moments ago and it was not seconded.

A VOICE. It was seconded.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. I would like to move this: That Mr. Lilienthal withdraw his motion, and that the Vice-President of the first Manufacturers' & Dealers' Association that was ever organized in Chicago be elected as our first President, and that is Mr. Charles J. Lilienthal, probably the best posted man in his line. I think it would expedite matters very much if Mr. Lilienthal would withdraw his motion, and accept the nomination as President.

VOICES. Seconded.

Mr. VILTER. Gentlemen, it has been moved and seconded that Mr. Lilienthal act as President of this new organization.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Mr. VILTER. Mr. Lilienthal, will you take the Chair?

(Here Mr. Charles J. Lilienthal took the Chair.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Gentlemen, I want to thank you for this honor, and I sincerely trust that we shall be able to organize anyway, if we do nothing else. Are there any suggestions regarding the name of the organization? I should like to say in advance to you, that the proposition as I understand it is, that this organization and the State Organizations are to go under the leadership of Mr. Andreae.

A VOICE. And whoever is elected as the successor to Mr. Andreae—if there ever is a successor—to organize all the forces which have one object in view. Am I right?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is right.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That is our proposition, and that is what we are here now to organize, by states, or rather by cities—in our case I think it would be better nationally.

If anybody has a name to suggest regarding the organization proper, I would like to have it.

A VOICE. I think the natural name would be "The United States Manufacturers' & Dealers' League."

Mr. ANDREAE. The name is very important.

Mr. COOPER LYON. I suggest: "The National League of Commerce & Labor."

Mr. LILIENTHAL. "The National League of Commerce & Labor," that sounds something like a United States Government Department.

A VOICE. That name seems very appropriate to my mind and I second it.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. It has been moved that the organization be named, "The National Association of Commerce & Labor." A suggestion made by Mr. Cooper Lyon of Chicago.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. It would seem that that would be conflicting names to some extent with the Department of Commerce & Labor. It is true that we are all laborers, I am sure of that, but I think that it ought to be more clear cut and less meaningless than that would imply.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. What suggestion do you make?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I have not any suggestion, I would rather hear some other suggestions before it was adopted immediately, that is all. It might be all right.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Well, the only suggestion that has been made is the "The National Association of Commerce & Labor."

Mr. COOPER LYON. I would leave out, "Manufacturers." The name "Manufacturers" would not oftentimes be properly accepted by those whose votes we want, and I think we should eliminate that name, absolutely.

Mr. ANDREAE. I think Mr. Lyon is right for this reason: That there is the possibility of this misconception, as there are employers' associations. We all have them, and one of the objects usually of an employers' association, is the protection against the organized actions of unions, or others among the employees. Now, we do not want to create that impression that this organization is an organization for the purposes of the employers only, and if you have the word "Labor," only, or "Commerce" only, it would look as though it might be an organization for the purpose of antagonizing the workmen, or protecting the employer against the workmen. Now, there should be no question of one or the other in an organization of this kind, and to my mind that title is an excellent one.

A VOICE. I move that we close on that title.

Mr. COOPER LYON. May I make this suggestion as an afterthought—"The Merchants' & Dealers' League." Would not that be better?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is the same thing.

Mr. COOPER LYON. It is synonymous in a measure, that is true. They have the same meaning, but at the same time, they are euphonyous.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. "The United States Association of Commerce & Labor"; that would confound it with the Government.

Mr. VILTER. "National" is better.

Mr. ANDREAE. Do you think that that is any particular reason? You have got a Secretary and a Department of Commerce & Labor; but this is a "National Association of Commerce & Labor." If it has a little taste of Governmental authority, why, so much the better.

Mr. COOPER LYON. Mr. Andreae, I suggest, "The National Anti-Prohibitionist Society."

Mr. ANDREAE. That would not do.

Mr. COOPER LYON. If the word "National," or if the words "United States," would not appeal to you, why not call it "The General Association of Commerce & Labor"?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I am inclined to believe that some word in place of "National," or "United States," would be of advantage, that is my personal opinion.

SEVERAL VOICES. That is right.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I think the words, "General Association of Commerce & Labor," would be better.

A VOICE. May I suggest the word "United"?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That would be better, anything that steers clear of the Government.

A VOICE. Why do we want the word "Labor" attached to it?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. To make people think we work.

Mr. ANDREAE. We want them all. I do not think you can better that, and I do not see any objection to the word "National."

Mr. LILIENTHAL. It has been regularly moved that "The National Association of Commerce & Labor" be the name designated for this association. If there are any objections, please state them.

(The motion was put to a vote and carried; there being but two dissenting voices.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. An organization committee, or an organization to move at once, was the object of my motion. You took it on yourselves to elect an officer before you elected your organization proper. Now, I would come back to the story, and that is, that we have an organization committee of the various members of the State organizations and such as are not attached to any organization, to meet in this room right now, to come to the front here, and form an organization, an actual organization. This is what we have to do first, and then select vice presidents and officers to bring this matter to a conclusion.

A VOICE. Why not put that in the form of a motion?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I did, and the motion was withdrawn, and I got an office in the place of it. This is the first time in my experience that you have elected an officer before having an organization, but now you have a name. I am proud of being President of that organization.

Mr. GUTHRIE. The point I wanted to bring out was that we started talking of an organization, but we did not express our opinion as to wheher we want a National one. I am in favor of a big National Organization, but there is no vote upon it. We ought to put that vote.

Mr. FOREMAN. I second hat.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I would like to change it in this one way; that in voting it is to be considered that those who have left their names on the card; that their names and their affiliations, be accepted as their vote, in case they vote in favor. Is that satisfactory? We have all been registered here and it will help in making out the final list to use the cards in taking your vote.

Mr. GUTHRIE. What I wanted to bring out is this: That every man who is vitally interested in the point should absolutely come in unanimously, so that if ever there is a question raised why the meeting was got together, it may be said it was because there was an absolute unanimity of opinion that we ought to have such organization.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Will the gentlemen who represent the various state and local organiaztions come to the front, and if the other gentlemen will please stay here, the whole matter will be taken care of in ten minutes, and we can go right on forming this organization. I simply want to get the state and local organizations together. Mr. Burger, do not let anybody out. It simply means a suggestion from each for their officers and general committeemen. Gentlemen, will you please come to order here?

(Here Messrs. Willem, Goetz, Lyon, Bartholomay and other gentlemen came to the front.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Gentlemen, you have expressed your opinion on the desirability of going into a National Organization. This is the object of getting the state and local organizations together so that you can select the man from your organization that you want to meet with Andreae a certain number of times further to accomplish something. We have had the path blazed for us. That this is going to be the end of doing nothing but simply getting together and taking lunch and all that sort of thing. Now, there is a tangible thing to get around to. You want to get some persons elected, and I will ask Mr. Andreae when he wants to meet.

Mr. SMOOT. Speaking personally, I do not know whether I have the authority of the National Organization, but I feel I bespeak the choice of all the members of our organization in selecting the name of Mr. Savage who would cooperate.

Mr. BURGER. I do not believe that any of us are duly authorized to speak, and yet there is a certain reliance placed upon us, in conjunction with the former association, with which I have been closely attached, and I would suggest a man whose very residence is in close proximity to that of Mr. Andreae, Mr. H. F. Davenport.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is simply from the delegates from Cincinnati. We understand you are not in a position to tie up anybody but yourself.

Mr. BURGER. I see that.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We want to get the general officers of this association, and have you gentlemen go back and finish the details of your organization, so that you can act on Mr. Andreae's suggestions, and that someone will meet and work with him to accomplish the results he is after. That is all we want to do; we cannot levy the assessment now. It is going to take money to get these right men together.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. Representing the Chicago Manufacturers' & Dealers' Association, I present the name of Mr. Cooper Lyon.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Mr. Burger, whom do you represent? That is kind of in order, because I know you will have to do the work, and I am going to suggest Mr. Burger.

A VOICE. I will suggest Mr. Carl F. Burger, of Cincinnati.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is an executive committee being formed to get together.

Mr. BURGER. I suggest the name of Mr. Willem, of Milwaukee.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. These gentlemen are to form the first executive committee to organize their own bodies, and this general organization ought to accomplish something. It will be impossible to keep you here long enough to draft By-Laws and go on and do the work that you intend to do under Mr. Andreae's suggestion. This is simply the preliminary organization, to do something and to get to business, and meet with Mr. Andreae in his office within the next ten days, or wherever it may be.

A VOICE. I want to know whether these various gentlemen who are named from their individual cities are to go home and organize their local organizations.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I cannot tell you until they have the meeting here as to what they want to do to accomplish this result. I think, however, it is safe to say, that a local organization will be built up in every case, that would be my idea anyway, and that the local organization will be the nucleus or foundation for the National Organization.

Mr. VILTER. I suggest Mr. Scarborough, of the Chicago National Association of Equipment & Supplies.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We have no delegate for New York here and I would like to get one, if you can get some more people.

(The sub-committee then compiled a tentative list of names.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We only want one representative from each city. We have all the cities represented that are here. The object of this is to select one name from this list to form an executive committee, the one man to be consulted is a man who will give up his time when necessary to go to Chicago, where I understand Mr. Andreae's headquarters are, who will stay at that place as long as it is necessary for him to accomplish the result that Mr. Andreae has started out to do. That is, if he has to stay a week or two, that he will actually be there and do the work. Now, there is no use of putting a lot names on here just for the fun of having them to form a committee. This committee will be the executive committee of the organization, and will have the work to do to raise the funds among other things, and see that their local organizations are estab-

lished to produce big results locally, if necessary, when called upon. There is no need of putting in here a lot of names of men you know won't do any work.

A VOICE. I can vouch for the names suggested from New York State, such as Mr. Savage.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. They will have to put in their own time and spend their own money.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask of this organization, or of Mr. Andreae, whether he will be visiting us?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. For some time Mr. Andreae will be pretty busy in Chicago trying to get this executive committee together. I do not think Mr. Andreae will have any difficulty to meet us. He will be in his regular office, and we will have his advice and his work.

Mr. ZOLLER. Mr. Chairman, I suppose the expense will be paid to the different gentlemen who go to Chicago.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That is a detail that we are not prepared to take up at the present time, because we have nothing to take the expense from. Let us stick to business, gentlemen, and let us get our organization completed. A lot of the details will take care of themselves later. We must have an executive committee.

Mr. VILTER. Mr. Lilienthal, I know there is an organization in Minnesota, and it is a live organization, because I get literature from them, but there ought to be a member from the Twin-Cities, and there ought to be one on this executive board. I cannot suggest the name now, but I can find out from someone who knows.

Mr. PORGES. I want to make a motion that this committee, so far as has been named, together with the additional names that may be suggested and approved by the President, shall be authorized by this meeting to take any action that they see fit to accomplish the purpose for which we were called together here by Mr. Andreae, and after you gentlemen have voted for that, I want to make another motion that we adjourn.

Mr. ANDREAE. I second that.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That will be very good, if you will cut it down and simply say that the executive committee to be appointed will have full power to act. I think that will cover everything. We all know that, and we are glad of the opportunity of having some central body to work around and with Mr. Andreae and his organization. The motion is regularly made and seconded that the executive committee be appointed from the list of names suggested, with full power to act with regard to the National Organization.

Mr. ANDREAE. And that the President have power to add to the number.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

Mr. PORGES. I now come to my second motion that we adjourn.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I can not put a motion to adjourn, gentlemen, because we are not organized; the executive committee has not been organized. We must organize first. What is the next order of business? We must select the officers therefrom and decide on the work to be done. We have here from New York, Mr. Savage and Mr. Baer. Which one of the two gentlemen will get to work? Do not put in your time throwing bouquets at one another, which one will work on this committee?

A VOICE. Mr. Savage, being the President of our organization, is always in close touch.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Mr. Savage, Mr. Taber, of Buffalo; Mr. Willem, of Milwaukee; Mr. Burger, I am going to put you in, because I know you will work. Mr. Cooper Lyon, of Chicago, and Mr. Horix. Will you please get together? These gentlemen have been and are today the active secretaries and delegates of the organization that are still in existence and working hard for this result, and I think you can rely on them to give you better service than anybody else can. Mr. Wehmiller, will you devote your time?

Mr. WEHMILLER. Yes, sir; I will.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Now, if there are any gentlemen present who have not been mentioned, will you please state your names? We have New York, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Detroit.

Mr. ANDREAE. Is no one here from New Jersey, that is a very active place?

Mr. RONEY. I do not know whether I can subscribe my name and organization to this.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is simply a question of whether you will serve on this work, and you can take up the organization later.

Mr. RONEY. I would not hand my name in to serve on the committee.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Why?

Mr. RONEY. I have not been authorized to do so.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is to appoint you, and then your organization can take exception to it at a later date, and we can change it at a later date, so if you will give us your name and initials.

Mr. RONEY. I have no objection to giving my name, but I should not want my name to appear and have it submitted to our association and then have to withdraw my name.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I want to again say that the motion which is passed gave the appointment of the executive committee to the President, so it is simply a matter of courtesy, of course, to your local organization, to have them add such names as they feel disposed to add, if they take exception to your own.

Mr. RONEY. I am J. A. Roney, of Newark. I represent the entire State of New Jersey.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Then you have a mighty good organization.

Mr. RONEY. I thank you.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Don't you want one of the trade papers in our organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Certainly.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I suggest the name of Mr. Herbert G. Rich.

(This motion was duly seconded and carried.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We want to select a Vice-President from this committee, and a Secretary and Treasurer. I would like to say that in my opinion the Secretary and Treasurer should be in Chicago, and most of the work will go to the Secretary of an organization of this character, and he must be in close touch with Mr. Andreae.

A VOICE. Let Mr. Andreae suggest the names, he is best able to do that.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. It will be better to have people who will work with him congenially.

A VOICE. Would it be proper to elect a Vice-President first?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We have got on this feet foremost, this same hurley burley. This must be done according to Hoyle's Rules.

Mr. COOPER LYON. Weber & Fields make those.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. I propose Mr. Cooper Lyon as Secretary.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Mr. Cooper Lyon of Chicago as Secretary and Treasurer.

(The motion was carried unanimously.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Will you select the meeting day at your convenience?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, as soon as we can get it.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. As a nomination for Vice-President I present the name of Mr. Savage.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Gentlemen, I would like you to withdraw any nomination for Vice-President at the present time. The Vice-Presidents of an organization of this character should be geographically located, and I think the executive committee should have an opportunity to decide just how they want to do this work, and besides that, I think Mr. Andreae will have a lot of work to do, and maybe, will want people we could not select today. There are very few of us here, and I think we ought to get the feeling of our own local organization as to who they want to represent them as Vice-Presidents of this organization, and as permanent officials to be selected. Say within thirty days, or as near to it as Mr. Andreae can, he will call a meeting of this executive board and then we can select the Vice-Presidents from the lists that the local organizations will submit. We want, if possible, to eliminate anything that refers to sentiment, and get down to actual labor. It is unfair to think that Mr. Andreae is going to do all this work for you, he won't, he cannot, it is impossible. You have to do your own work, and only men that will work should be considered for any of these offices. It is no empty honor to have, and it will cost money, and more, work. A motion to adjourn is now in order. We will have a little meeting of our own, that is, the Manufacturers' & Dealers' and Brewers' Supplies; we will have a further meeting right now. Mr. Andreae, we have not expressed our thanks to you for your courtesy, but I think I am expressing the views of everybody in the industry of their desire to work as a unit, instead of just a mere mob, and that is what we have been for twenty-five years—a mob.

Mr. ANDREAE. Much obliged to you, Mr. Chairman.

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

New Haven, Wm. B. Randolph.
New York, G. L. Savage.
Buffalo, M. E. Taber.

stood Mr. Andreae that each member would be taxed additionally for the National League.

Mr. ZOLLER. Outside of our State?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is the idea. Now, of course, I do not know how individual State associations handle those matters, or if they handle the matters in this way: That their individual members are assessed, and some are assessed considerably, which is then contributed by your State associations, say, to fights within the State or local fights—that is one side of the matter. We have the same in the Brewers' Association; we have to conduct our States fights and we also have to contribute to our National Association, which is now bound to look after our interests in Washington on a scale that was never known before. I therefore, wish to explain that the question of contributions is the most important of all, but this will fall away—and that point I want to emphasize again, in case I did not make myself properly understood—this will fall away, if you organize as I want you to organize, so that if local brewers, distillers or others come to you and say: "We want you to contribute to our local campaign here and to our local campaign there," I would like this organization to be in a position to say no individual shall contribute individually. Then you will represent yourselves. I am not here to devise the ways and means for you to save money. (Laughter). On the contrary, I want to see as much of it forthcoming as possible, but what I do want to prevent is the unhappy waste of money that I know is going on today.

Therefore if you will organize in such a way that one of your rules will be that an individual firm or a member of this general organization shall only contribute through the National Organization for the purpose for which the National Organization is formed, you will protect yourselves against the individual men who are constantly drawing on you for their local purposes, and at the same time make sure that the money you do contribute—and I hope you will contribute very largely—will be applied effectively and not wasted as in the past.

Mr. ZOLLER. It depends on how the brewers treat us, and we are ready at any time to do that, but I wish to say we have at present in our organization—and I think I should leave that to Mr. Savage, who will explain that—a party that is canvassing in the State of New York; he is going around, and he went out on the 24th of August. Then we have sent money outside to different states, where they asked us for money, so we are not idle in our association. I do not know what the other gentlemen did in the other states. I leave the rest to Mr. Savage.

Mr. ANDREAE. I am well alive to the fact that there is lots of money being spent.

Mr. SAVAGE. Mr. Chairman, in our association in New York, we have worked in our own state since we were organized, and we have contributed considerably to many other states, for instance in the South and the West, and Down East to the amount of several thousand dollars, besides doing our own work in New York State. We have, in our organization, only a paid secretary. This secretary is taking care of the work at the main office but, ranging from thirty to ninety days each year, we send him out through the different counties. Our secretary at the present time is working up at Syracuse and Rochester, and he will stay up there until after election day. I sent him out on the 24th of August. That is the work that we have been doing, and I might say to some of the gentlemen here, that some years ago, we had a National Organization, which we contributed to considerably, but, that, as you all know, was a failure.

Now, I am in favor of a National Organization, such as Mr. Andreae has outlined, and I think it would work, and it can be done, and really, it is the only way to do things. We have tried to do in a small way, in our own State, the same thing that Mr. Andreae has put before us. Of course, our people will be ready and willing to do whatever they can, you may be sure, to help the cause along.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. May I ask the Secretary the number of organizations which have responded?

The REPORTER. About five or six.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. In addition, Mr. Taber from Buffalo and myself.

Mr. ANDREAE. Also the Manufacturers' Association of Brewers' Equipment & Supplies is represented.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. A motion was made by Mr. Lilienthal a few moments ago and it was not seconded.

Now, we have had many organizations in the past, and they have been scattered all over the country. They have usually been formed upon a wave of enthusiasm, and then left to shift for themselves, without direction or encouragement.

I know that there are some people in the ranks from which I come, among the brewers, who say: "What was the use of these manufacturers' and dealers' clubs and societies that were formed five or six years ago? They were a total failure." I say: "Yes, possibly they were, but I do not think that they were a total failure. I think they did some very good work," and I say this, that if they were a failure, they were a failure for the simple reason that there was no one that could become the centre out of which influence could radiate into all parts of the country, where the membership is distributed, and intimate to every membership that which they were required to do.

Now, I would like to give you as briefly as I can, in two examples, what organization really means. I was discussing quite recently with the head of a certain organization in this country that counts its members by the million, this question of organization. I had outlined to him the plan that I have in view with regard to an organization that shall be general. In the course of our conversation I asked this gentleman, "Is it not a fact that in spite of the number of your members, three millions"—I do not wish to use any names—"in spite of the number of your members, and in spite of their enthusiastic allegiance to the cause for which your organization stands, which is the cause of personal liberty, "is it not a fact that not ten per cent of those members possess sufficient knowledge of the attitude of candidates for election towards that cause to enable them to vote for the right man in their own localities, when election time comes; and is not the reason for that this fact, that you yourselves have not the means and methods to acquire that knowledge at headquarters, and even if you did possess it, that you lack the means and the methods of communicating it to your millions of individual members throughout the country, and thus enabling them to vote for the man who favors your cause, and against the man whose record shows that he does not favor it?"

Do you know what this man answered me? He said, "Mr. Andreae, you are right in all but your estimate of the number of membership who possess sufficient knowledge of the records of candidates for election to enable them to vote for the right man at the polls. Unfortunately," he said, "that is not ten per cent, it is scarcely five per cent."

I then inquired whether with the means and methods of organization, such as I had outlined to him, that percentage could not be raised to, say, fifty per cent. He answered with great emphasis, he brought his fist down on the table, and he said, "Mr. Andreae, with the methods that you suggest. I will guarantee one hundred per cent."

Now, gentlemen, I know that he is right, and there you have the pith and marrow of the work which really confronts our general bodies to-day; but, forming an organization strong in numbers, like for instance, this organization could be enthusiastic in purpose, powerful in sentiment, is one thing; but making that organization effective in the only place where it can really prove effective, namely at the polls, is quite another thing.

Now, I want to illustrate that point to you by giving you another concrete experience. I did not evolve this out of my inner consciousness—those are things I have learned by bitter experience, by being knocked around in trying to bring about certain results with inadequate means: but five or six years ago, when our Personal Liberty League was started in Ohio, during the first campaign I used to go out and address meetings of the Personal Liberty League and other kindred associations throughout the state. On those occasions I naturally dilated upon the justice and merits of our cause, and discoursed upon the beautiful principles of personal liberty and so forth. On one occasion when I has sat down, feeling fairly well satisfied with my little performance, a man in the audience got up. He said: "Say, what is the use of shouting this personal liberty stuff to us. We know all about that or we should not be here, but tell us whom we vote for, and we will do the rest." Well, you can imagine it made me feel a little bit uncomfortable, and it set me thinking; and when the meeting was over—I think this incident was in Cleveland—I sought out this man, and I said to him: "Do you seriously expect me to be better informed regarding the candidates for election, and their record and their character, and their leanings in their own particular district than you are yourself" He said, "You bet I do." He said, "How should I know who is right and who ain't. They all talk right to us when they want our votes and, when they are elected,

they go back on us. We will vote for the right man quick enough if you will find out and tell us who he is." Further he said, "If you cannot do that, this organization might just as well shut up shop, for it will never amount to more than a gab-fest." (Laughter.)

Well, now, gentlemen, I want to tell you that those were some home truths, but within a month of that little incident, and the wholesome lesson it brought home to me, the most important department of our League was inaugurated; that is the department that is in charge of the investigation of the local political conditions throughout the State, with their possibilites of party alignment, and the searching examination into the record, the character and the public and private affiliations and associations of every candidate for office. Now, I want to tell you that it is due entirely to the work of that department, the practical work, and to the implicit confidence of the rank and file of our organization in Ohio in the unerring accuracy of that work, that Ohio to-day has a legislature, which, in spite of the fact that a large number of the counties of the State are still dry under the County Option Law, is almost as overwhelmingly liberal as five years ago and it was overwhelmingly dry.

Now, gentlemen, I wanted to give you those two incidents to show you the point I want to make, when I speak of an organization along really practical lines, lines that will be effective, where effectiveness really counts, and that is when the votes count. I say that the day has gone by, when the question that is before the people is merely the question of the right of the brewer, the distiller and the wine grower, to sell his product to the thirty or forty odd millions of his fellow citizens who want to buy it. That contention which the other side has always made is like most things connected with that movement, a mere hypocritical subterfuge, which is designed to deceive the mult tude. The question on the contrary is whether the thirty or forty million citizens of this country whom me serve with our product, shall have the right to the opportun'ty of buying that product. That is the question today, and it is a good thing that it is. Now, I say that if the consumers of our product are willing to forego the right to enjoy it, it is for them to say so. If they are not willing to forego that right, the time has come for them to make that fact known in the only way on which that knowledge can really carry we ght in the proper quarters, and that is by concerted opposition to the organization of those who, by every insidious means in their power, by trickery and treachery and suspicion and deliberate falsification have so worked upon the minds of the people's representatives as to engender in those minds the belief that they are the people, and that therefore the people are asking for our elimination.

Now, gentlemen, that is the whole point. We should organize in such a way that the hundreds of thousands who will follow your lead will follow it intelligently and do not be satisfied with merely having an organization with a president, a vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer, and a certain exchequer, and then sitting down and saying what a fine organization we have. If you had five hundred thousand members, it would not amount to a row of pins unless the organization contains one feature, and that is the feature that will make it a power at the polls. There are not five per cent of the men interested in our question who know how to vote at the polls. I venture to say gentlemen that that five per cent applies to this assembly as well as it does to any other assembly. I know that in the State of Ohio, the saloon keepers have voted to a man for a candidate for Governor who was a pronounced prohibitionist. You know that, don't you? (Cries of "Yes.")

No doubt whatever about it, they did not do it purposely, but they did it, because they had not the knowledge that is required to make their vote effective at the right place, and that is at the polls.

Now, gentlemen, the organization that we suggest is an organization, either of individual firms or of existing manufacturers' associations, taking either associations or members, and then let in any feature that you think desirable into your organization. What I ask, is this—and it may seem immodest coming from me myself, in asking it—but I ask that the organization, as far as the purposes I have outlined are concerned, shall accept my leadership. I do not want to have any office in the association. I merely ask you to accept my leadership in matters that concern the polls, and the question that is practically the one absorbing question for all of us, and that is the fight against the fanatical prohibition movement, and all that enters into that fight. When the word goes out from our headquarters that such and such is required to be done in this locality or that locality, national or local, that you accept that word as final, and believe that it is the one right thing to do, and do it blindly. There

is nothing in my scheme that needs shun exposure in the full light of day. We all know that all of our various industries, whether they are railroads, franchise holders, or others, have been compelled, more or less, by a vicious system and corrupt system, to do all kinds of things which in themselves were either illegal or immoral; we know this; I do not suppose there is any industry or financial circle in this country that has not been drawn into that vortex. The day has gone by for that kind of thing; the day should have never existed. I want to say to you gentlemen I believe that a just cause (and I know that our cause is just, or we would not have forty million customers) can only win by just means, and that no cause that requires improper means to win has a right to win at all.

That is the principle I go by, and I believe that we carry on our organization along sensible, rational and practical lines, it can accomplish that which we have failed to accomplish in the past; for what has been our great trouble? I am now speaking of the point of view of the body I represent, and that is the people who make beer and other drinks in this country. What has been the main source of trouble? I must be perfectly frank; I say that it has been the *unfortunate* policy that has been pursued in the past, individually and collectively, of feeding our enemies and starving our friends. (Cries of "That is right.") I want to tell you gentlemen, ask any man engaged in political affairs—and how many are there in this country who are not directly or indirectly so engaged—which pays best, to be the enemy of the brewer or be his friend? In nine cases out of ten, if the man is honest, his answer will be that it is most expedient to pose as the brewer's enemy, because to be his enemy means to be coaxed and wheedled by the brewer and patted on the back by the prohibitionist; whilst to be his friend, means only too frequently to be neglected, and treated with indifference by the brewer and hounded and persecuted by the prohibitionist. (Cries of "That is right.")

Now, I am criticizing myself and my colleagues, because the brewer will rather spend his time and his efforts in the vain endeavor to win over his thousand of enemies than to devote that time and those efforts towards organizing and protecting his millions of friends; that is true; you must know it.

Now, where can you expect our friends to stand when they feel that in time of war, we rush to them to come to our aid, just beckoning you know, and in the interim, we leave them to shift for themselves, on the assumption that—well, they do not need any support or encouragement; they are our friends anyway, and they are just handy when we call for them—instead of helping them to maintain the army that they place in the field at our disposal at a moment's notice; instead of helping them to maintain that army and increase its efficiency.

Gentlemen, I say that if we were to act sensibly in that matter, this army is capable of not only being doubled and trebled and quadrupled in numbers, but with adequate means and methods, it can be so organized that its efficiency as an active force at the polls, working under systematic directions from one headquarters, would be increased ten fold.

Now, I do not want to go further into details. There are so many angles to this question of organization, that I could talk till midnight on the subject, but the whole point in the question is this: One central headquarters and one central head is required, in order to make every organization an effective one; and, therefore, gentlemen, I conclude by repeating—if you will organize as I ask you to organize with the understanding—well, I will put it as bluntly as I can, that you will accept me as leader of your organization. [Applause.]

Mr. VILTER. Now, gentlemen, Mr. Andreae has given us a real idea of what he really wants done; but just how this will be done is the next question. Now, this organization is, and these few people that are here are such a small representation of our United States organization, that this should go further, and I would like to ask Mr. Andreae as to whether he means that I shall go back to Wisconsin, and the other man to Illinois, and other elsewhere, and then try to make an organization there to confer with Mr. Andreae's headquarters, or that we, as a body shall try to induce people to join us?

Mr. ANDREAE. The latter, Mr. Vilter. Do not let us go and refer these matters back. We are here now, and I want to tell you gentlemen that I think this is a very fine meeting in numbers, and I know it is in quality, and I want you gentlemen not to leave this room until you have organized your National Association, with its president, vice-president, and all necessary paraphernalia to an organization. Then the thing is an accomplished fact. We are going

to help you as far as we are able. We believe that every man who is interested in this question as a business proposition, not otherwise, should come into this organization.

There is just one little thing which I omitted in my little talk—it not a little thing, it is rather an important thing, and I will have to go a little further back in order to start from the point that will make you understand what I mean. You know that on former occasions, when the question of contributions from those interested indirectly in the maintenance of the brewing industry and other industries of the country was concerned, the individual brewer or his association, would go to these individuals, and would say, "Well, now, we feel that you ought to pay up so much money towards the fund for the purpose of continuing our fight." Well, now, when we organized, or rather discussed organization on a large scale last February, in the Brewers' Organization, the question came up, "Well, how about the allied industries and trades; what are we going to get from them?" Now, we are talking very frankly. Now, gentlemen, one of the most unpleasant things that I can imagine is the necessity that is imposed upon a man in business, like we are, to go and collect money from those to whom he gives his patronage. I know what occurs, because I have been on both sides of the fence. I have been in the malt business and I know something of what occurs. Say in Massachusetts or Pennsylvania some little local hamlet has a local option election. Now, who cares about that local option election, except the surrounding territory and perhaps the brewer who is interested? But Mr. Maltster, or Mr. Machine Manufacturer, receives a little letter from the brewer who patronizes him, say the man up in Chicago, or up in St. Paul: "We have a local option election in Kalamazoo"—or wherever the hamlet is—"at such a date, and I want you to contribute $50.00 towards that." Meanwhile the maltster and machine men are getting the same request from all sides, and they always give to their customers like good fellows, but the times comes when the limit is reached as to what can be done; and consequently, gentlemen, I think all of you will agree with me that what hurts most is the feeling that nine-tenths of that money is wasted, and so it is. It is no business of an outside concern, whether it is a brewer or maltster or machine man—it is no business of theirs to have to contribute towards a local option election in some other State that is a thousand miles away; their money can be very much better spent. Now, as I say, that is merely an indication of how unpleasant that kind of thing is. I do not think that the brewer thinks very much about it. He simply asks the men who supplies him: "You just contribute, if you don't I will patronize some one else." That is ugly; there is no morals to it, and there is nothing that is respectable about it; I want to get rid of that. Gentlemen, organize and make your own assessment among yourselves. In other words, you say everybody in this association is to be considered interested financially, this man to such an extent, that man to such an extent, in the question. Now, collect that money, and see that it is distributed to one center alone; in other words, that none of it goes astray, and is not spent in some of those silly little elections where a lot of saloon keepers are put out at so much per day to do election work, which amounts to nothing in nine cases out of ten whereas, while all that money is being spent in that direction, we are losing our lives in Washington.

What does it matter to me whether a little locality goes dry; what does it matter to me, gentlemen, if the State of Illinois where my business is goes wet, if at Washington they declare for Nation Wide Prohibition? I have spent all my money in Illinois, but the United States itself is my chief business. The one thing that we have got to do is to protect our business where it may be destroyed for good and all, and that is in Washington.

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You can appoint a committee consisting of men from each industry that is in this organization, who can sit down and figure out some fair basis upon which everybody should be assessed, and then, of course, it is the individual's business to say whether he will be assessed or not. You cannot take the money out of his pocket; it has to be voluntary, but it seems to me that, coming from the body to which he belongs, he will give very much more gracefully, than it would if the Brewers' Organization were to say: "Well, now, we want to assess those with whom we are dealing, so much and so much, towards the general fund for the protection of our business."

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Mr. ANDREAE. You would have rather too many vice-presidents, Mr. Chairman, if you did that, but allow me to explain it along the line of other organizations generally. Take the Brewers' Organization. We have our National Association—the United States Brewers' Association; we have in every state our local State Association; then we have in the cities local associations, and in some cases there are individuals who will not belong to the State Associations, but they will to the National; there are some who will not belong to the National, but they will to the State Association, in other words, do not get rid of your existing associations, but let every man who is a member of every State or local association, join the National Association and let these associations as a body, be a member of the National Association. You take the retailers; they have in every State, and generally in every city of any size a retailers' association. They have in the State their State association, to which not always all belong; some won't belong to the local, but will belong to the State. The National Association consists of memberships or rather delegates, I should say, from the various State associations. That is just slightly different from our Brewers' Association. Now, I am going—that is part of our scheme—to get the retailers to come in just in the same way, and accept general leadership from one headquarters. Not that I say I am the one man who simply says this is to be done. I want to consult with all of these organizations; I want to have them in constant touch with me, and I want to have their advice, knowledge, experience and counsel, so that I feel that everything that is known at headquarters can be at a moment's notice disseminated all over the country.

Gentlemen, take our organization in Ohio—I do not want to digress, but these matters are of great interest and they are the meat of the whole subject—our organization in Ohio is such that I can go to the telephone here, call up our headquarters at Cincinnati, and say: "Call a stenographer to the 'Phone,' and I dictate to him a statement. I say: 'I want that statement to be in the hands of the members of the Personal Liberty League of Ohio, within twenty-four hours.'" In twenty-four hours that statement will be in the hands of one hundred and fifty thousand people, voters in the State of Ohio, and among those one hundred and fifty thousand voters are several thousands who are good for a large number of votes, besides their own. We have the address of every member and the necessary number of envelopes ready, stamped, in triplicate, and when a statement has gone out, giving instructions with regard to either the candidates, or to the question which is up before them, simply telling them what the Personal Liberty League desires in that particular matter, when that set has gone out, there are thirty girls right there at the table ready to supply the next lot of envelopes, so that there are always three sets of envelopes of one hundred and fifty thousand each, stamped and addressed ready to go out.

Gentlemen, that is organization. It costs money, and it can only be done if you will get rid of big committees and boards, and put the matters in the hands of one person whom you can fire, if he does not make good, and replace by some one else who will make good.

Our trouble is red tape. The Anti-Saloon League has no red tape. There are two men there, each has his own department, and those two men govern. Now, if they had not made good, gentlemen, they would have been removed long ago.

Now, I want to put those men in the position that they will not make good. And I want to tell you that we can go one better. I have seen it in Ohio, and there are men here from Ohio who can tell you that what I am saying is not exaggerated, and there is the difficulty that confronts us in Ohio; the moment you succeed—I am speaking now of your own industry—our friends are liable

Chicago, H. Scarborough.
Milwaukee, J. M. Willem.
Cincinnati, C. F. Burger.
Chicago, H. F. Davenport.
Cleveland, Otto Horix.
St. Louis, Fred Wehmiller.
Philadelphia, Wm. Heximer.
Detroit, Chas. A. Steinwachs.
Newark, N. J., J. A. Roney.
For the Trade Press, Herbert G. Rich, Chicago, Illinois.

OFFICERS.

Charles J. Lilienthal, President, Cleveland.
Cooper Lyon, Secretary, Chicago.
Wm. Bartholomay, Jr., Treasurer, Chicago.

Whereupon, at 12:00 o'clock Noon, the meeting terminated.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, I have been asked to call this meeting to order, and the first business that will be before you is the election of a Temporary Chairman. Now, if some gentleman here will kindly suggest a name.

A VOICE. Mr. Theo. O. Vilter.

The nomination was duly seconded.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, is there any other nomination?

A VOICE. I move the nomination be closed.

The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

Mr. ANDREAE. Now, gentlemen, the nomination of Mr. Vilter is before you.

The nomination was unanimously carried.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, Mr. Vilter.

(Here Mr. Vilter took the Chair.)

Mr. VILTER. Gentlemen, I thank you for the vote you have given, but I think there are bigger men here than I am, to whom you should have given your vote.

A VOICE. I do not think there are.

Mr. VILTER. What is the order of business? I do not know much about it. Do you Mr. Andreae?

Mr. ANDREAE. Here is something written down. I do not know whether there is any need for a secretary of the meeting, but it might be well to have one.

Mr. VILTER. You have a stenographer.

Mr. ANDREAE. That will be good enough then. Perhaps I had better explain the purpose of the meeting.

Mr. VILTER. Mr. Andreae will explain the situation to you gentlemen.

Mr. ANDREAE. Gentlemen, the purpose for which this meeting was called, is, as you all know, to organize; and I would like, just as briefly as I can, to give you an outline of the factors that have brought about the necessity for calling you together for the purpose of forming an organization of a general character.

You know that we are facing a condition, nationally, which is absolutely unprecedented. There have been in our ranks men who have foreseen that the day would come when we would be face to face in Washington with the question of Nation Wide Prohibition. A measure has passed Congress, which is in its effect and is so intended to be in its effect, a prohibition of the interstate shipment of liquor. That Bill which is now a law, the Webb Law, passed Congress by a two-thirds majority, in fact it was almost unanimous; and that in spite of the President's veto and in spite of the fact that all of the attorneys connected with the Government declared the measure was an unconstitutional one. Now, there is no one who believes, that is, no one who knows the conditions, who believes that that measure was passed because two-thirds of the members of Congress considered it was a just measure, or believed the measure was a constitutional one. It was passed simply because two-thirds of the members of Congress had such a terror of the power of the Anti-Saloon League, that they passed the measure, whether it was a good one, a bad one, or an unjust one.

Now, when you face a situation of that kind, when more than two-thirds of the peoples' representatives of the National Legislative body, and therefore your representatives, are ready to pass notoriously unconstitutional measures, not from conviction or belief in the justice of the measures, but simply through fear of the power of your organized enemies, and from utter mistrust of your ability to match their political power in the county, you surely must understand that we are face to face with total destruction, unless we arouse ourselves from our slumber and do something.

to one, but I do not think I have the right to speak for them. Others here belong to other organizations and are in the same position. I think if I understand and appreciate Mr. Andreae's ideas aright, we might just as well accept his leadership right now, and have the committee appointed for the purpose of devising means of effecting an organization, in accordance with the ideas as expressed—and maybe, in some cases, not expressed by Mr. Andreae—and this committee should, at the same time, act as a board of nominators, and submit to us before we leave Atlantic City, the names of officers, for which this temporary organization is ready to cast their votes. These officers, it may be understood, can later on, after the organization has been perfected, make room for those that are of more importance, and maybe better fitted; but I understand Mr. Andreae wants us to have an organization perfected before we leave Atlantic City, and the objection to the plan of the gentleman that spoke before me, is that it procrastinates a little.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We are not procrastinating at all, the meeting can take place before noon.

Mr. PORGES. In fact, as I say, I am more inclined to follow the leadership of Mr. Andreae.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I do not believe you understood Mr. Andreae very well, I am sorry to say.

Mr. PORGES. I am perfectly willing to leave it to Mr. Andreae to enlighten us on that subject.

Mr. ANDREAE. It seems to me the simplest thing is to get to business and decide to elect a committee right now.

Mr. SCHOTT. Mr. Chairman, I think there are delegates here representing different organizations, why not let them appoint a committee to suggest names for president, and go right ahead and elect him, then we could go ahead with the balance of the organization, and get that officered?

Mr. ANDREAE. How would it be gentlemen if those present, who represent State organizations or local organizations, would report and give their names.

Mr. SCHOTT. We have three representatives from the Manufacturers' and Dealers' Club of Cincinnati, with power to act.

Mr. COOPER LYON. We have three from Chicago.

Mr. SAVAGE. We have the President here from the New York Manufacturers' & Dealers' Association.

Mr. HORIX. I am from Cleveland and represent the Manufacturers' and Dealers' League.

Mr. WILLEM. I represent the Manufacturers' & Dealers' Club of Milwaukee.

A VOICE. Mr. S. V. Steiner, the Vice-President of the Personal Liberty League of New York, is not here just now, but is in the city.

Mr. ANDREAE. You represent him?

A VOICE. I probably would try very hard.

Mr. ZOLLER. Mr. Andreae proposed this National Association. I want to know, are there any additional taxes to that outside of our organization, and outside of what we have got? For instance, take the National Manufacturers' & Dealers' League, our members pay so much during the year, and they have a man to collect that. I want to know if there will be an additional fee. I understood Mr. Andreae that each member would be taxed additionally for the National League.

Mr. ZOLLER. Outside of our State?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is the idea. Now, of course, I do not know how individual State associations handle those matters, or if they handle the matters in this way: That their individual members are assessed, and some are assessed considerably, which is then contributed by your State associations, say, to fights within the State or local fights—that is one side of the matter. We have the same in the Brewers' Association; we have to conduct our State fights and we also have to contribute to our National Association, which is now bound to look after our interests in Washington on a scale that was never known before. I therefore, wish to explain that the question of contributions is the most important of all, but this will fall away—and that point I want to emphasize again, in case I did not make myself properly understood—this will fall away, if you organize as I want you to organize, so that if local brewers, distillers or others come to you and say: "We want you to contribute to our local campaign here and to our local campaign there," I would like this organization to be in a position to say no individual shall contribute individually. Then you will represent yourselves. I am not here to devise the ways and means for you to save money. (Laughter.) On the contrary, I want to see as much of it forthcoming

they go back on us. We will vote for the right man quick enough if you will find out and tell us who he is." Further he said, "If you cannot do that, this organization might just as well shut up shop, for it will never amount to more than a gab-fest." (Laughter.)

Well, now, gentlemen, I want to tell you that those were some home truths, but within a month of that little incident, and the wholesome lesson it brought home to me, the most important department of our League was inaugurated; that is the department that is in charge of the investigation of the local political conditions throughout the State, with their possibilites of party alignment, and the searching examination into the record, the character and the public and private affiliations and associations of every candidate for office. Now, I want to tell you that it is due entirely to the work of that department, the practical work, and to the implicit confidence of the rank and file of our organization in Ohio in the unerring accuracy of that work, that Ohio to-day has a legislature, which, in spite of the fact that a large number of the counties of the State are still dry under the County Option Law, is almost as overwhelmingly liberal as five years ago and it was overwhelmingly dry.

Now, gentlemen, I wanted to give you those two incidents to show you the point I want to make, when I speak of an organization along really practical lines, lines that will be effective, where effectiveness really counts, and that is when the votes count. I say that the day has gone by, when the quest on that is before the people is merely the question of the right of the brewer, the distiller and the wine grower, to sell his product to the thirty or forty odd millions of his fellow citizens who want to buy it. That contention which the other side has always made is like most things connected with that movement, a mere hypocritical subterfuge, which is designed to deceive the mult tude. The question on the contrary is whether the thirty or forty million citizens of this country whom me serve with our product, shall have the right to the opportun'ty of buying that product. That is the question today, and it is a good thing that it is. Now, I say that if the consumers of our product are willing to forego the right to enjoy it, it is for them to say so. If they are not willing to forego that right, the time has come for them to make that fact known in the only way on which that knowledge can really carry we ght in the proper quarters, and that is by concerted opposition to the organization of those who, by every insidious means in their power, by trickery and treachery and suspicion and deliberate falsification have so worked upon the minds of the people's representatives as to engender in those minds the belief that they are the people, and that therefore the people are asking for our elimination.

Now, gentlemen, that is the whole point. We should organize in such a way that the hundreds of thousands who will follow your lead will follow it intelligently and do not be satisfied with merely having an organization with a president, a vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer, and a certain exchequer, and then sitting down and saying what a fine organization we have. If you had five hundred thousand members, it would not amount to a row of pins unless the organization contains one feature, and that is the feature that will make it a power at the polls. There are not five per cent of the men interested in our question who know how to vote at the polls. I venture to say gentlemen that that five per cent applies to this assembly as well as it does to any other assembly. I know that in the State of Ohio, the saloon keepers have voted to a man for a candidate for Governor who was a pronounced proh bitionist. You know that, don't you? (Cries of "Yes.")

No doubt whatever about it, they did not do it purposely, but they did it, because they had not the knowledge that is required to make their vote effective at the right place, and that is at the polls.

Now, gentlemen, the organization that we suggest is an organization, either of individual firms or of existing manufacturers' associations, taking either associations or members, and then let in any feature that you think desirable into your organization. What I ask, is this—and it may seem immodest coming from me myself, in asking it—but I ask that the organization, as far as the purposes I have outlined are concerned, shall accept my leadership. I do not want to have any office in the association. I merely ask you to accept my leadership in matters that concern the polls, and the question that is practically the one absorbing question for all of us, and that is the fight against the fanatical prohibition movement, and all that enters into that fight. When the word goes out from our headquarters that such and such is required to be done in this locality or that locality, national or local, that you accept that word as final, and believe that it is the one right thing to do, and do it blindly. There

is nothing in my scheme that needs shun exposure in the full light of day. We all know that all of our various industries, whether they are railroads, franchise holders, or others, have been compelled, more or less, by a vicious system and corrupt system, to do all kinds of things which in themselves were either illegal or immoral; we know this; I do not suppose there is any industry or financial circle in this country that has not been drawn into that vortex. The day has gone by for that kind of thing; the day should have never existed. I want to say to you gentlemen I believe that a just cause (and I know that our cause is just, or we would not have forty million customers) can only win by just means, and that no cause that requires improper means to win has a right to win at all.

That is the principle I go by, and I believe that we carry on our organization along sensible, rational and practical lines, it can accomplish that which we have failed to accomplish in the past; for what has been our great trouble? I am now speaking of the point of view of the body I represent, and that is the people who make beer and other drinks in this country. What has been the main source of trouble? I must be perfectly frank; I say that it has been the unfortunate policy that has been pursued in the past, individually and collectively, of feeding our enemies and starving our friends. (Cries of "That is right.") I want to tell you gentlemen, ask any man engaged in political affairs—and how many are there in this country who are not directly or indirectly so engaged—which pays best, to be the enemy of the brewer or be his friend? In nine cases out of ten, if the man is honest, his answer will be that it is most expedient to pose as the brewer's enemy, because to be his enemy means to be coaxed and wheedled by the brewer and patted on the back by the prohibitionist; whilst to be his friend, means only too frequently to be neglected, and treated with indifference by the brewer and hounded and persecuted by the prohibitionist. (Cries of "That is right.")

Now, I am criticizing myself and my colleagues, because the brewer will rather spend his time and his efforts in the vain endeavor to win over his thousand of enemies than to devote that time and those efforts towards organizing and protecting his millions of friends; that is true; you must know it.

Now, where can you expect our friends to stand when they feel that in time of war, we rush to them to come to our aid, just beckoning you know, and in the interim, we leave them to shift for themselves, on the assumption that—well, they do not need any support or encouragement; they are our friends anyway, and they are just handy when we call for them—instead of helping them to maintain the army that they place in the field at our disposal at a moment's notice; instead of helping them to maintain that army and increase its efficiency.

Gentlemen, I say that if we were to act sensibly in that matter, this army is capable of not only being doubled and trebled and quadrupled in numbers, but with adequate means and methods, it can be so organized that its efficiency as an active force at the polls, working under systematic directions from one headquarters, would be increased ten fold.

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Mr. ANDREAE. The latter, Mr. Vilter. Do not let us go and refer these matters back. We are here now, and I want to tell you gentlemen that I think this is a very fine meeting in numbers, and I know it is in quality, and I want you gentlemen not to leave this room until you have organized your National Association, with its president, vice-president, and all necessary paraphernalia to an organization. Then the thing is an accomplished fact. We are going

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What does it matter to me whether a little locality goes dry; what does it matter to me, gentlemen, if the State of Illinois where my business is goes wet, if at Washington they declare for Nation Wide Prohibition? I have spent all my money in Illinois, but the United States itself is my chief business. The one thing that we have got to do is to protect our business where it may be destroyed for good and all, and that is in Washington.

Now, that is the point I forgot, Mr. Chairman—the question of the finances. We want to get rid of this pulling from all interest of the manufacture. You should protect yourselves against that by making this organization work in conjunction with the general organization; not only in the way of votes at polls, but in the way in which the finances are to be raised.

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I think it is a very important feature, not only because it will relieve you of unpleasantness, but because it will save a vast amount of money, which today is foolishly spent. If I had only fifty per cent of the money that is wasted in this country in fighting our cause, for the purposes of a general organization, gentlemen, I would almost come to the point of having enough to carry on a National Organization. (Applause.)

Mr. VILTER. As I understand it, Mr. Andreae, you want a National Organization. Now, we have in the various states—I know I belong to five or six different state organizations of the allied trades—should those state organizations, with their memberships come into the National Organization, and then have possibly a vice-president in the National Organization, who shall be the president of the local organization, is that your idea?

Mr. ANDREAE. You would have rather too many vice-presidents, Mr. Chairman, if you did that, but allow me to explain it along the line of other organizations generally. Take the Brewers' Organization. We have our National Association—the United States Brewers' Association; we have in every state our local State Association; then we have in the cities local associations, and in some cases there are individuals who will not belong to the State Associations, but they will to the National; there are some who will not belong to the National, but they will to the State Association, in other words, do not get rid of your existing associations, but let every man who is a member of every State or local association, join the National Association and let these associations as a body, be a member of the National Association. You take the retailers; they have in every State, and generally in every city of any size a retailers' association. They have in the State their State association, to which not always all belong; some won't belong to the local, but will belong to the State. The National Association consists of memberships or rather delegates, I should say, from the various State associations. That is just slightly different from our Brewers' Association. Now, I am going—that is part of our scheme—to get the retailers to come in just in the same way, and accept general leadership from one headquarters. Not that I say I am the one man who simply says this is to be done. I want to consult with all of these organizations; I want to have them in constant touch with me, and I want to have their advice, knowledge, experience and counsel, so that I feel that everything that is known at headquarters can be at a moment's notice disseminated all over the country.

Gentlemen, take our organization in Ohio—I do not want to digress, but these matters are of great interest and they are the meat of the whole subject—our organization in Ohio is such that I can go to the telephone here, call up our headquarters at Cincinnati, and say: "Call a stenographer to the 'Phone,' and I dictate to him a statement. I say: 'I want that statement to be in the hands of the members of the Personal Liberty League of Ohio, within twenty-four hours.'" In twenty-four hours that statement will be in the hands of one hundred and fifty thousand people, voters in the State of Ohio, and among those one hundred and fifty thousand voters are several thousands who are good for a large number of votes, besides their own. We have the address of every member and the necessary number of envelopes ready, stamped, in triplicate, and when a statement has gone out, giving instructions with regard to either the candidates, or to the question which is up before them, simply telling them what the Personal Liberty League desires in that particular matter, when that set has gone out, there are thirty girls right there at the table ready to supply the next lot of envelopes, so that there are always three sets of envelopes of one hundred and fifty thousand each, stamped and addressed ready to go out.

Gentlemen, that is organization. It costs money, and it can only be done if you will get rid of big committees and boards, and put the matters in the hands of one person whom you can fire, if he does not make good, and replace by some one else who will make good.

Our trouble is red tape. The Anti-Saloon League has no red tape. There are two men there, each has his own department, and those two men govern. Now, if they had not made good, gentlemen, they would have been removed long ago.

Now, I want to put those men in the position that they will not make good. And I want to tell you that we can go one better. I have seen it in Ohio, and there are men here from Ohio who can tell you that what I am saying is not exaggerated, and there is the difficulty that confronts us in Ohio; the moment you succeed—I am speaking now of your own industry—our friends are liable

to lay down. "It is all over; we have won out; now what is the good of worrying and keeping up an organization?" I want to tell you, that as long as we live and our children and our children's children live, you will have to have an organization and provide a certain amount of money out of the earnings of the businesses connected with our industry, and our industry itself, in order to fight the enemy—the organized enemy of our trade, which is the enemy of anything that the Almighty has placed within the reach of man in the way of joys and pleasures. They think the Almighty has issued a general ban on all these joys and pleasures, simply because there are a few that misuse them.

Mr. SCHOTT. Why not organize along the lines of the labor organizations? You have Mr. Gompers at the head of a labor organization. Put Mr. Andreae in the same position, and you can then organize in the different cities and the different branches and affiliate with the National Organization. I think these labor unions are very successful in the way they handle people. We could handle our voters the same way.

Mr. ANDREAE. I agree with you, Mr. Schott, that you can learn a lot from labor unions; they know what organization is. I should explain, as far as I am concerned, that I wish you would arrange that my name does not get into the limelight. Your organization should be a separate organization entirely, with a separate identity, and separate autonomy; it should govern itself absolutely with this understanding, that it forms a part of our general organization, and submits in matters of general policy, and all the details of that general policy and its carrying out, to the dictates, if I may call them the dictates, of the head of the whole organization. If I were to be connected in an official capacity with your organization it would immediately give it a character which is should not possess. Your organization should be, not only in appearance but in actual fact, a separate entity, and a very strong entity. I don't want you to feel that I, who represent the general interest and also the separate interest of my own, in the way of the brewing interests, should have anything to say to you gentlemen, either individually or as an association, excepting as regards the policy that is pursued at election times, in order to bring out the votes of millions and millions of those who are our friends, who are either asleep or too ignorant to know how to make their vote effective. I wish you would count me out of that proposition altogether, and elect your president, vice-president and secretary and treasurer. When it is agreed among the body generally that they will go into this general organization, then your national organization will be one powerful wing of the general army, of which I am supposed to be at the head, and it will be better for me and for the purposes we have in view than if you were to put me at the head of this organization, because I am really at the head of quite a different organization, and I do not want too many people to know it.

Mr. SCHOTT. Mr. Chairman, that was not my intention. My intention was to elect national officers and a president and then to report to you, and get this information how to carry out the plans from you.

Mr. ANDREAE. That is all right.

Mr. SCHOTT. And you not to be known in the matter at all.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I should like to have a census of the number of organizations that are represented here, and I believe it would be well to have a meeting with the delegates from each organization representing the parent organization at some convenient time in the afternoon, and I should like to make that in the shape of a motion.

Mr. VILTER. You offer the motion?

Mr. SCHOTT. State the motion.

Mr. VILTER. The motion was that one member of each organization should meet. As a matter of fact, we have the Association of Brewers' Equipment and Supplies represented here, and then there might be some State allied people here, and they should get together and talk matters over about this organization, and then, shortly after, have another meeting before we leave this town; that is the idea of Mr. Lilienthal.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Before we adjourn this morning, I suggest that we have a meeting of the organizations and the others, I mean this particularly, and then before the adjournment is taken at all we can get some definite ideas as to what can be accomplished.

Mr. PORGES. As to the plan suggested by the gentleman, there is only one objectionable feature in it. As I understand him, he wants the representatives of these different organizations to come together and have a preliminary meeting. Well, what organizations are properly represented here? I belong

to one, but I do not think I have the right to speak for them. Others here belong to other organizations and are in the same position. I think if I understand and appreciate Mr. Andreae's ideas aright, we might just as well accept his leadership right now, and have the committee appointed for the purpose of devising means of effecting an organization, in accordance with the ideas as expressed—and maybe, in some cases, not expressed by Mr. Andreae—and this committee should, at the same time, act as a board of nominators, and submit to us before we leave Atlantic City, the names of officers, for which this temporary organization is ready to cast their votes. These officers, it may be understood, can later on, after the organization has been perfected, make room for those that are of more importance, and maybe better fitted; but I understand Mr. Andreae wants us to have an organization perfected before we leave Atlantic City, and the objection to the plan of the gentleman that spoke before me, is that it procrastinates a little.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We are not procrastinating at all, the meeting can take place before noon.

Mr. PORGES. In fact, as I say, I am more inclined to follow the leadership of Mr. Andreae.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I do not believe you understood Mr. Andreae very well, I am sorry to say.

Mr. PORGES. I am perfectly willing to leave it to Mr. Andreae to enlighten us on that subject.

Mr. ANDREAE. It seems to me the simplest thing is to get to business and decide to elect a committee right now.

Mr. SCHOTT. Mr. Chairman, I think there are delegates here representing different organizations, why not let them appoint a committee to suggest names for president, and go right ahead and elect him, then we could go ahead with the balance of the organization, and get that officered?

Mr. ANDREAE. How would it be gentlemen if those present, who represent State organizations or local organizations, would report and give their names.

Mr. SCHOTT. We have three representatives from the Manufacturers' and Dealers' Club of Cincinnati, with power to act.

Mr. COOPER LYON. We have three from Chicago.

Mr. SAVAGE. We have the President here from the New York Manufacturers' & Dealers' Association.

Mr. HORIX. I am from Cleveland and represent the Manufacturers' and Dealers' League.

Mr. WILLEM. I represent the Manufacturers' & Dealers' Club of Milwaukee.

A VOICE. Mr. S. V. Steiner, the Vice-President of the Personal Liberty League of New York, is not here just now, but is in the city.

Mr. ANDREAE. You represent him?

A VOICE. I probably would try very hard.

Mr. ZOLLER. Mr. Andreae proposed this National Association. I want to know, are there any additional taxes to that outside of our organization, and outside of what we have got? For instance, take the National Manufacturers' & Dealers' League, our members pay so much during the year, and they have a man to collect that. I want to know if there will be an additional fee. I understood Mr. Andreae that each member would be taxed additionally for the National League.

Mr. ZOLLER. Outside of our State?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is the idea. Now, of course, I do not know how individual State associations handle those matters, or if they handle the matters in this way: That their individual members are assessed, and some are assessed considerably, which is then contributed by your State associations, say, to fights within the State or local fights—that is one side of the matter. We have the same in the Brewers' Association; we have to conduct our State fights and we also have to contribute to our National Association, which is now bound to look after our interests in Washington on a scale that was never known before. I therefore, wish to explain that the question of contributions is the most important of all, but this will fall away—and that point I want to emphasize again, in case I did not make myself properly understood—this will fall away, if you organize as I want you to organize, so that if local brewers, distillers or others come to you and say: "We want you to contribute to our local campaign here and to our local campaign there," I would like this organization to be in a position to say no individual shall contribute individually. Then you will represent yourselves. I am not here to devise the ways and means for you to save money. (Laughter.) On the contrary, I want to see as much of it forthcoming

as possible, but what I do want to prevent is the unhappy waste of money that I know is going on to-day.

Therefore if you will organize in such a way that one of your rules will be that an individual firm or a member of this general organization shall only contribute through the National Organization for the purpose for which the National Organization is formed, you will protect yourselves against the individual men who are constantly drawing on you for their local purposes, and at the same time make sure that the money you do contribute—and I hope you will contribute very largely—will be applied effectively and not wasted as in the past.

Mr. ZOLLER. It depends on how the brewers treat us, and we are ready at any time to do that, but I wish to say we have at present in our organization—and I think I should leave that to Mr. Savage, who will explain that—a party that is canvassing in the State of New York; he is going around, and he went out on the 24th of August. Then we have sent money outside to different states, where they asked us for money, so we are not idle in our association. I do not know what the other gentlemen did in the other states. I leave the rest to Mr. Savage.

Mr. ANDREAE. I am well alive to the fact that there is lots of money being spent.

Mr. SAVAGE. Mr. Chairman, in our Association in New York, we have worked in our own state since we were organized, and we have contributed considerably to many other states, for instance in the South and West, and Down East to the amount of several thousand dollars, besides doing our own work in New York State. We have, in our organization, only a paid Secretary. This Secretary is taking care of the work at the main office but, ranging from thirty to ninety days each year, we send him out through the different counties. Our Secretary at the present time is working up at Syracuse and Rochester, and he will stay up there until after election day. I sent him out on the 24th of August. That is the work that we have been doing, and I might say to some of the gentlemen here, that some years ago, we had a National Organization, which we contributed to considerably, but, that, as you all know, was a failure.

Now, I am in favor of a National Organzation, such as Mr. Andreae has outlined, and I think it would work, and it can be done and really, it is the only way to do things. We have tried to do in a small way, in our own State, the same thing that Mr. Andreae has put before us. Of course, our people will be ready and willing to do whatever they can, you may be sure, to help the cause along.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. May I ask the Secretary the number of organizations which have responded?

The REPORTER. About five or six.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. In addition, Mr. Taber from Buffalo and myself.

Mr. ANDREAE. Also the Manufacturers' Association of Brewers' Equipment and Supplies is represented.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. A motion was made by Mr. Lilienthal a few moments ago and it was not seconded.

A VOICE. It was seconded.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. I would like to move this: That Mr. Lilienthal withdraw his motion, and that the Vice-President of the first Manufacturers & Dealers' Association that was ever organized in Chicago be elected as our first President, and that is Mr. Charles J. Lilienthal, probably the best posted man in his line. I think it would expedite matter very much if Mr. Lilienthal would withdraw his motion, and accept the nomination as President.

VOICES. Seconded.

Mr. VILTER. Gentlemen, it has been moved and seconded that Mr. Lilienthal act as President of this new organization.

The resolution was unanmously carried.

Mr. VILTER. Mr. Lilienthal, will you take the Chair?

(Here Mr. Charles J. Lilienthal took the Chair.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Gentlemen, I want to thank you for this honor, and I sincerely trust that we shall be able to organize anyway, if we do nothing else. Are there any suggestions regarding the name of the organization? I should like to say in advance to you, that the propostion as I understand it is, that this organization and the State Organizations are to go under the leadership of Mr. Andreae.

A VOICE. And whoever is elected as the successor to Mr. Andreae—if there ever is a successor—to organize all the forces which have one object in view. Am I right?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is right.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That is our proposition, and that is what we are here now to organize, by states, or rather by cities—in our case I think it would be better nationally.

If anybody has a name to suggest regarding the organization proper, I would like to have it.

A VOICE. I think the natural name would be "The United States Manufacturers' & Dealers' League."

Mr. ANDREAE. The name is very important.

Mr. COOPER LYON. I suggest: "The National League of Commerce and Labor."

Mr. LILIENTHAL. "The National League of Commerce & Labor," that sound something like a United States Government Department.

A VOICE. That name seems very appropriate to my mind and I second it.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. It has been moved that the organization be named, "The National Association of Commerce & Labor." A suggestion by Mr. Cooper Lyon of Chicago.

Mr. SCHOEMAKER. It would seem that that would be conflicting names to some extent with the Department of Commerce & Labor. It is true that we are all laborers, I am sure of that, but I think that it ought to be more clear cut and less meaningless than that would imply.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. What suggestion do you make?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I have not any suggestion, I would rather hear some other suggestions before it was adopted immediately, that is all. It might be all right.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Well, the only suggestion that has been made is "The National Association of Commerce & Labor."

Mr. COOPER LYON. I would leave out, "Manufacturers." The name "Manufacturers" would not oftentimes be properly accepted by those whose votes we want, and I think we should eliminate that name, absolutely.

Mr. ANDREAE. I think Mr. Lyon is right for this reason: That there is the possibility of this misconception, as there are employers' associations. We all have them, and one of the objects usually of an employers' association is the protection against the organized actions of unions, or other among the employees. Now, we do not want to create that impression that this organization is an organization for the purposes of the employers only, and if you have the word "Labor," only or "Commerce" only, it would look as though it might be an organization for the purpose of antagonizing the workmen, or protecting the employer against the workmen. Now, there should be no question of one or the other in an organization of this kind, and to my mind that title is an excellent one.

A VOICE. I move that we close on that title.

Mr. COOPER LYON. May I make this suggestion as an afterthought—"The Merchants' & Dealers' League." Would not that be better?

Mr. ANDREAE. That is the same thing.

Mr. COOPER LYON. It is synonymous in a measure, that is true. They have the same meaning, but at the same time, they are euphonious.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. "The United States Association of Commer & Labor;" that would confound it with the Government.

Mr. VILTER. "National" is better.

Mr. ANDREAE. Do you think that that is any particular reason? You have got a Secretary and a Department of Commerce & Labor; but this is a "National Association of Commerce & Labor." If it has a little taste of governmental authority, why, so much the better.

Mr. COOPER LYON. Mr. Andreae, I suggest "The National Anti-Prohibitionist Society."

Mr. ANDREAE. That would not do.

Mr. COOPER LYON. If the word "National," or if the words "United States," would not appeal to you, why not call it "The General Association of Commerce & Labor?" It would be general in its work and general in its field.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I am inclined to believe that some word in place of "National," or "United States," would be of advantage, that is my personal opinion.

SEVERAL VOICES. That is right.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I think the words, "General Association of Commerce & Labor," would be better.

A VOICE. May I suggest the word "United?"

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That would be better, anything that steers clear of the Government.

A VOICE. Why do we want the word "Labor" attached to it?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. To make the people think we work.

Mr. ANDREAE. We want them all. I do not think you can better that, and I do not see any objection to the word "National."

Mr. LILIENTHAL. It has been regularly moved that "The National Association of Commerce & Labor" be the name designated for this association. If there are any objections, please state them.

(The motion was put to a vote and carried; there being but two dissenting votes.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. An organization committee, or an organization to move at once, was the object of my motion. You took it on yourselves to elect an officer before you elected your organization proper. Now, I would come back to the story, and that is, that we have an organization committee of the various members of the State organizations and such as are not attached to any organization to meet in this room right now, to come to the front here, and form an organization, an actual organization. That is what we have to do first, and then select vice presidents and officers to bring this matter to a conclusion.

A VOICE. Why not put that in the form of a motion?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I did, and the motion was withdrawn, and I got an office in the place of it. This is the first time in my experience that you have elected an officer before having an organization, but now you have a name, I am proud of being President of that organization.

Mr. GUTHRIE. The point I wanted to bring out was that we started talking of an organization, but we did not express our opinion as to whether we want a National one. I am in favor of a big National Organization, but there is no vote upon it. We ought to put that vote.

Mr. FOREMAN. I second that.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I would like to change it in this one way; that in voting it is to be considered that those who have left their names on the card; that their names and their affiliations, be accepted as their vote, in case that they vote in favor. Is that satisfactory? We have all been registered here and it will help in making out the final list to use the cards in taking your vote.

Mr. GUTHRIE. What I wanted to bring out is this: That every man who is vitally interested in the point should absolutely come in unanimously, so that if ever there is a question raised why the meeting was got together, it may be said it was because there was an absolute unanimity of opinion that we ought to have such organization.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Will the gentlemen who represent the various State and local organizations come to the front, and if the other gentlemen will please stay here, the whole matter will be taken care of in ten minutes, and we can go right on forming this organization. I simply want to get the State and local organizations together. Mr. Burger, do not let anybody out. It simply means a suggestion from each for their officers and general committeemen. Gentlemen, will you please come to order here?

(Here Messrs. Willem, Goetz, Lyon, Bartholomay and other geneltmen came to the front.)

Mr LILIENTHAL. Gentlemen, you have expressed your opinion on the desirability of going into a National Organization. This is the object of getting the State and local organizations together, so that you can select the man from your organization that you want to meet with Mr. Andreae a certain number of times further to accomplish something. We have had the path blazed for us. That this is going to be the end of doing nothing but simply getting together and taking lunch and all that sort of thing. Now, there is a tangible thing to get around to. You want to get some persons elected, and I will ask Mr. Andreae when he wants to meet.

Mr. SMOOT. Speaking personally, I do not know whether I have the authority of the National Organization, but I feel I bespeak the choice of all the members of our organization in selecting the name of Mr. Savage who would cooperate.

Mr. BURGER. I do not believe that any of us are duly authorized to speak, and yet there is a certain reliance placed upon us, in conjunction with the former association, with which I have been closely attached, and I would suggest a man whose very residence is in close proximity to that of Mr. Andreae, Mr. A. F. Davenport.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is simply from the delegates from Cincinnati. We understand you are not in a position to tie up anybody but yourself.

Mr. BURGER. I see that.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We want to get the general officers of this association, and have you gentlemen go back and finish the details of your organization, so that you can act on Mr. Andreae's suggestions, and that someone will meet and work with him to accomplish the results he is after. That is all we want to do; we can not levy the assessment now. It is going to take money to get these right men together.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. Representing the Chicago Manufacturers' & Dealers' Association, I present the name of Mr. Cooper Lyon.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Mr. Burger, whom do you represent? That is kind of in order, because I know you will have to do the work, and I am going to suggest Mr. Burger.

A VOICE. I will suggest Mr. Carl F. Burger, of Cincinnati.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is an executive committee being formed to get together.

Mr. BURGER. I suggest the name of Mr. Willem, of Milwaukee.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. These gentlemen are to form the first executive committee to organize their own bodies, and this general organization ought to accomplish something. It will be impossible to keep you here long enough to draft by-laws and go on and do the work that you intend to do under Mr. Andreae's suggestion. This is simply the preliminary organization, to do something and to get to business, and meet with Mr. Andreae in his office within the next ten days, or wherever it may be.

A VOICE. I want to know whether these various gentlemen who are named from their individual cities are to go home and organize their local organizations.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I can not tell you until they have the meeting here as to what they want to do to accomplish this result. I think, however, it is safe to say that a local organization will be built up in every case, that would be my idea anyway, and that the local organization will be the nucleus or foundation for the National Organization.

Mr. VILTER. I suggest Mr. Scarborough, of the Chicago National Association of Equipment & Supplies.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We have no delegate for New York here and I would like to get one, if you can get some more people.

(The sub-committee then compiled a tentative list of names.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We only want one representative from each city. We have all the cities represented that are here. The object of this is to select one name from this list to form an executive committee, the one man to be consulted is a man who will give up his time when necessary to go to Chicago, where I understand Mr. Andreae's headquarters are, who will stay at that place as long as it is necessary for him to accomplish the result that Mr. Andreae started out to do. That is, if he has to stay a week or two, that he will actually be there and do the work. Now, there is no use of putting a lot of names on here just for the fun of having them to form a committee. This committee will be the executive committee of the organization, and will have the work to do to raise the funds among other things, and see that their local organizations are established to produce big results locally, if necessary, when called upon. There is no need of putting in here a lot of names of men you know won't do any work.

A VOICE. I can vouch for the names suggested from New York State, such as Mr. Savage.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. They will have to put in their own time and spend their own money.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask of this organization, or of Mr. Andreae, whether he will be visiting us?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. For some time Mr. Andreae will be pretty busy in Chicago trying to get this executive committee together. I do not think Mr. Andreae will have any difficulty to meet us. He will be in his regular office, and we will have his advice and his work.

Mr. ZOLLER. Mr. Chairman, I suppose the expense will be paid, to the different gentlement who go to Chicago.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That is a detail that we are not prepared to take up at the present time, because we have nothing to take the expense from. Let us stick to business, gentlemen, and let us get our organization completed. A lot

of the details will take care of themselves later. We must have an executive committee.

Mr. VILTER. Mr. Lilienthal, I know there is an organization in Minnesota, and it is a live organization, because I get literature from them, but there ought to be a member from the Twin-Cities, and there ought to be one on this executive board. I can not suggest the name now, but I can find out from someone who knows.

Mr. PORGES. I want to make a motion that this committee, so far as has been named, together with the additional names that may be suggested and approved by the President, shall be authorized by this meeting to take any action that they see fit to accomplish the purpose for which we were called together here by Mr. Andreae, and after you gentlemen have voted for that. I want to make another motion that we adjourn.

Mr. ANDREAE. I second that.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. That will be very good, if you will cut it down, and simply say that the executive committee to be appointed will have full power to act. I think that will cover everything. We all know that, and we are glad of the opportunity of having some central body to work around and with Mr. Andreae and his organization. The motion is regularly made and seconded that the executive committee be appointed from the list of names suggested with full power to act with regard to the National Organization.

Mr. ANDREAE. And that the president have power to add to the number.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

Mr. PORGES. I now come to my second motion that we adjourn.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I can not put a motion to adjourn, gentlemen, because we are not organized; the executive committee has not been organized. We must organize first. What is the next order of business? We must select the officers therefrom and decide on the work to be done. We have here from New York, Mr. Savage and Mr. Baer. Which one of the two gentlemen will get to work? Do not put in your time throwing bouquets at one another—which one will work on this committee?

A VOICE. Mr. Savage, being the President of our organization, is always in close touch.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Mr. Savage, Mr. Taber, of Buffalo; Mr. Willem, of Milwaukee; Mr. Burger, I am going to put you in, because I know you will work. Mr. Cooper Lyon, of Chicago, and Mr. Horix. Will you please get together? These gentlemen have been and are to-day the active secretaries and delegates of the organizations that are still in existence and working hard for this result, and I think you can rely on them to give you better service than anybody else can. Mr. Wehmiller, will you devote your time?

Mr. WEHMILLER. Yes, sir; I will.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Now, if there are any gentlemen present who have not been mentioned, will you please state your names. We have New York, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Detroit.

Mr. ANDREAE. Is no one here from New Jersey, that is a very active place.

Mr. RONEY. I do not know whether I can subscribe my name and organization to this.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is simply a question of whether you will serve on this work, and you can take up the organization later.

Mr. RONEY. I would not hand my name in to serve on the committee.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Why?

Mr. RONEY. I have not been authorized to do so.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. This is to appoint you, and then your organization can take exception to it at a later date, and we can change it at a later date, so if you will give us your name and initials.

Mr. RONEY. I have no objection to giving my name, but I should not want my name to appear and have it submitted to our association and then have to withdraw my name.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I want to again say that the motion which is passed gave the appointment of the executive committee to the President, so it is simply a matter of courtesy, of course, to your local organization, to have them add such names as they feel disposed to add, if they take exception to your own.

Mr. RONEY. I am J. A. Roney, of Newark. I represent the entire State of New Jersey.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Then you have a mighty good organization.

Mr. RONEY. I thank you.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Don't you want one of the trade papers in our organization?

Mr. ANDREAE. Certainly.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. I suggest the name of Mr. Herbert G. Rich.

(This motion was duly seconded and carried.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We want to select a Vice-President from this committee, and a Secretary and Treasurer. I would like to say that in my opinion the Secretary and Treasurer should be in Chicago, and most of the work will go to the Secretary of an organization of this character, and he must be in close touch with Mr. Andreae.

A VOICE. Let Mr. Andreae suggest the names, he is best able to do that.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. It will be better to have people who will work with him congenially.

A VOICE. Would it be proper to elect a Vice-President first?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. We have got on this feet foremost, this same hurley-burley. This must be done according to Hoyle's rules.

Mr. COOPER LYON. Weber & Fields make those.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. I propose Mr. Cooper Lyon as Secretary.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Mr. Cooper Lyon of Chicago as Secretary and Treasurer.

(The motion was carried unanimously.)

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Will you select the meeting day at your convenience?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, as soon as we can ge it.

Mr. BARTHOLOMAY. As a nomination for Vice-President I present the name of Mr. Savage.

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Gentlemen, I would like you to withdraw any nomination for Vice-President at the present time. The Vice-Presidents of an organization of this character should be geographically located, and I think the executive committee should have an opportunity to decide just how they want to do this work, and besides that, I think Mr. Andreae will have a lot of work to do, and maybe will want people we could not select to-day. There are very few of us here, and I think we ought to get the feeling of our own local organization as to who they want to represent them as Vice-Presidents of this organization, and as permanent officials to be selected. Say within thirty days, or as near to it as Mr. Andreae can, he will call a meeting of this executive boards and then we can select the Vice-Presidents from the lists that the local organizations will submit. We want, if possible, to eliminate anything that refers to sentiment, and get down to actual labor. It is unfair to think that Mr. Andreae is going to do all this work for you, he won't, he cannot, it is impossible. You have to do your own work, and only men that will work should be considered for any of these offices. It is no empty honor to have, and it will cost money, and more, work. A motion to adjourn is now in order. We will have a little meeting of our own, that is, the Manufacturers' and Dealers' and Brewers' Supplies; we will have a further meeting right now. Mr. Andreae, we have not expressed our thanks to you for your courtesy, but I think I am expressing the views of everybody in the industry of their desire to work as a unit, instead of just a mere mob, and that is what we have been for twenty-five years—a mob.

Mr. ANDREE. Much obliged to you, Mr. Chairman.

LIST OF COMMITTEE.

New Haven, Wm. B. Randolph.
New York, G. L. Savage.
Buffalo, M. E. Taber.
Chicago, H. Scarborough.
Milwaukee, J. M. Willem.
Cincinnati, C. F. Burger.
Chicago, H. F. Davenport.
Cleveland, Otto Horix.
St. Louis, Fred Wehmiller.
Philadelphia, Wm. Haximer.
Detroit, Chas. A. Steinwachs.
Newark, N. J., J. A. Roney.
For the Trade Press, Herbert G. Rich, Chicago, Illinois.

OFFICERS.

Charles J. Lilienthal, President, Cleveland.
Cooper Lyon, Secretary, Chicago.
Wm. Bartholomay, Jr., Treasurer, Chicago.

Whereupon, at 12.30 o'clock, noon, the meeting terminated.

Maj. HUMES. I now submit the summary of the bank accounts of the United States Brewers' Association as far as they have been obtainable on subpœna, and as far as they are in the possession of the committee at the present time.

Senator NELSON. Has that been identified?

Maj. HUMES. The bank books themselves have been introduced and identified. The passbooks themselves mean very little unless we have them summarized, and I am submitting now the summary of what those bank books show.

Senator NELSON. All right.

Maj. HUMES. In 1913 there was deposited in the account of the United States Brewers' Association in the Commercial Trust Co. of New Jersey $27,302.25, in the Northwestern National Bank in Philadelphia $33,887.91, and in the Germania National Bank in New York $543,012.74. The period covered in no instance, for 1913, covers a period prior to July. The total deposits were $576,900.65.

Senator NELSON. By the national association, or the local associations?

Senator OVERMAN. That is the national association.

Maj. HUMES. That is the national association.

In 1914 there was deposited in the account of the United States Brewers' Association in the Commercial Trust Co. of New Jersey a total of $577,822.37, in the Northwestern National a total of $432,412.75, and in the Germania National Bank of New York a total of $394,250.12, making total deposits in the three bank accounts, the possession of which the committee has, of $1,404,485.24.

Senator NELSON. That was for 1914?

Maj. HUMES. 1914.

Senator OVERMAN. That was election year.

Maj. HUMES. In 1915 the deposits in the Commercial Trust Co. aggregated $393,650.61, in the Northwestern National Bank $295,441.46, and in the Germania National Bank $360,000, making total deposits of $1,049,091.07.

Senator NELSON. That was in 1915?

Maj. HUMES. 1915; yes, sir.

In the case of 1916 we have the figures for only a portion of the year, the balance of the records having been destroyed, according to the testimony. There was deposited that year, according to the records we have, being only the early part of the year, in the Commercial Trust Co. $86,165.44 and in the Germania National Bank $10,000, making $96,165.44, most of the records for that year being destroyed.

In 1917 the deposits in the Central Union Trust Co. were $538,678.15 and in the Federal Trust Co. $209,981.49, making a total of $748,659.64.

Senator NELSON. That was 1917?

Maj. HUMES. 1917.

In 1918 there appears to have been deposited in the Commonwealth Bank of New York amounts aggregating $165,000 and in the Federal Trust Co. deposits amounting to $200,000.

Senator OVERMAN. Have you got the sum total of it all, outside of the destroyed records?

Maj. HUMES. Not for the whole period. We did not make the total for the whole; we made it by years.

Capt. LESTER. The total for the period from 1913 to 1918, inclusive, as far as the records show, is $4,457,941.22.

Maj. HUMES. For part of that time the records are destroyed.

Capt. LESTER. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. With 1916 practically eliminated, those are the records that we have possession of here. What I wanted to do was to call attention to the advertising account, because my recollection is that the advertising account clearly shows that the figures which we have for 1918 are not a complete record of the receipts, because there would have been insufficient money collected to have paid that advertising account of $537,000 which has been submitted, and there are now in the Federal Trust Co. as a reserve account, four deposits, two of $50,000 each and two of $100,000 each, aggregating $300,000. That account is in the name of J. Liebmann, chairman United States Brewers' Association. In the Federal Trust Co. there is also an account against which nothing has been drawn, apparently deposited October 22, 1917, aggregating $109,981.49, the account being in the name of the United Brewers' Association.

Senator NELSON. All these amounts that you have given here appear in these pass books?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir. However, the reserve accounts that I have referred to are included in the general total that we gave by years.

Senator OVERMAN. This is the amount of money that they have on hand now?

Maj. HUMES. Apparently so; yes, sir; in addition to the balance that there may be in their current checking account.

Senator NELSON. A moment ago you stated that some of the accounts had been destroyed for 1916, but that their advertising account showed that they spent a good deal more than you have given in the figures here.

Maj. HUMES. That was my recollection. You will remember that Mr. Fox produced an advertising account——

Capt. LESTER. That was for 1917.

Maj. HUMES. The totals would include that, if it was 1917. I thought it was a 1918 account.

Senator NELSON. I would suggest that you put in the record the difference between the deposits you have ascertained and the advertising account, so as to show how much they had incurred for advertising beyond what you have got in your account of deposits.

Maj. HUMES. I will check that as soon as I get that account. The reporter has the account, and I can not get it at this time.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN A. McDERMOTT.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Mr. McDermott, where do you live?

Mr. McDERMOTT. New York City.

Maj. HUMES. What is your position with the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Manager of the organization bureau.

Maj. HUMES. For how long have you been engaged in that position?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Going on 11 years.

Maj. HUMES. You entered the service of the association about the same time that Mr. Fox did, then?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. When you were originally employed what were your duties, and in what capacity were you employed?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I was employed originally by an organization committee, under which I worked for, I think, about three years, until Mr. Gardiner took charge of the work. My work, to start out with, was the organization of the brewers in the different States into State associations and combating the prohibition movement in the wet-and-dry State, county, and city local-option fights, as the fights would arise in different parts of the country.

Maj. HUMES. As I understand, your first duty was to organize State brewers' associations in the States where they were not already organized?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have anything to do with promoting the organization of retail liquor dealers' associations as well, encouraging that work?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Where we were in a State fight, or a county fight or anything of that kind, if they were not organized, I organized them; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You organized them as the emergency arose?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Absolutely.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any working agreement, or were you in touch with the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association in that work?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes, sir; just in the same way.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in carrying on your work you cooperated with the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association in organizing the State bodies of each organization in the several States in which you operated?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not know that I ever organized any State wholesale liquor dealers' association.

Maj. HUMES. I say, you cooperated?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Oh, yes.

Maj. HUMES. You worked together in order each to organize his own branch of the trade?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. When was the organization bureau of which you were manager first really organized as an organization bureau?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. When I started it.

Maj. HUMES. It was simply carried as a committee at that time, was it not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I was appointed as manager of the organization bureau and hired several assistants to assist me in the State local-option fights and to carry on the work.

Maj. HUMES. And Mr. Gardiner became the head of the organization bureau two or three years after you entered the employment of the association?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. How was the organization bureau composed? What did it consist of?

Mr. McDERMOTT. It consisted of myself and a corps of assistants, as the occasion required in the different States. Some of the men I hired permanently by the year and others I would hire temporarily for a month or two or three, as the occasion would arise, in a State or local-option fight.

Maj. HUMES. What I mean is this: Was the organization bureau itself, the central body, a committee that was appointed?

Mr. McDERMOTT. The organization committee—I worked under the chairman of that the first three years, and then after that Mr. Gardiner had entire and sole charge.

Maj. HUMES. The organization committee had charge of what you call the organization bureau?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. To whom were you responsible for your work?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Gardiner.

Maj. HUMES. And you reported to no one but Mr. Gardiner?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No one but Mr. Gardiner.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner was held solely responsible for the work of that bureau?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And his operations were accepted on faith by the association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I presume so. I have never known anything different.

Maj. HUMES. In carrying on the work of the organization bureau, what elements did you first start out to organize?

Mr. McDERMOTT. The first element we started out to organize was the trade itself in the States; and out of the trade would be formed a committee which would select a campaign manager for that State or for that campaign, and in some cases we furnished campaign managers or furnished experts to help them, to stay there until the fight was over. In a number of cases I did so myself.

Maj. HUMES. The first thing you did was to organize the trade?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. To organize brewers' associations and get them to go out and organize retailers and to form your cooperative committees with the allied interests in the State?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you direct your energies toward an attempt to organize the labor element or to dominate or influence or organize labor?

Mr. McDERMOTT. In a number of these State campaigns and in the local-option campaigns there would be a number of local unions that would be individually interested because of the loss of their positions and because of the fact that they had taken a stand against prohibition and passed resolutions; and some local labor man would become active in the campaign to look after that interest.

Maj. HUMES. In how many States of the Union did you during your activity undertake to organize and conduct campaigns or supervise the conducting of campaigns?

Mr. McDERMOTT. That would be a pretty hard question to answer from memory, Major, because I have been in a great many of the State campaigns in the last 11 years, outside of some of the States

that were able to take care of themselves, like Ohio, where I have never done anything except to consult or confer with them in an advisory capacity. The same was true in Missouri; but in the Western States——

Maj. HUMES. Have you not ever sent your organizers into Ohio to assist in the organization of that State?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No, sir. In the Southern and Western States, where the trade was weaker than in Ohio or Missouri, I have sent my organizers and have been there myself.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you undertook to build up and keep in touch with an organization in practically every State in the Union?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I tried to, the best I could; yes.

Maj. HUMES. I think I can save time by asking you a question backward. Can you name any State in the Union, and if so what State, where you never did interest yourself, and from which you never received reports, and which you never attempted in any way to organize?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri. By that I mean, Major, that I have never been active in those States toward the organization of our trade, although I have from time to time heard reports from those States by representatives of the trade.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. In other words, what you mean to say is that in the case of those particular States you did not personally go into the States?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No; our bureau did no work in the States.

Senator OVERMAN. You speak of organizing the allied interests. What were they? Name some of the allied interests to which you refer.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Where we would go into a State, Senator, and there were a number of people doing business with the brewers or with the retailers or with the hotels or anything of that kind, we tried to organize them as an allied interest, because of their doing business with our people.

Senator OVERMAN. That is, the hotels, bottling establishments, and so on?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Any persons who did business with us.

Senator OVERMAN. Any persons who did business with the brewers at all?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Or with the trade.

Senator OVERMAN. There must have been a great many allied interests.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. There were, in a number of States.

Senator OVERMAN. What was your method of organizing them? Did you get up an association of those men?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. In some cases, yes; or they would join the association that would be organized to fight prohibition in that State or in that community.

Senator OVERMAN. Was there an effort made to raise money from those allied interests?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I guess there was, in some cases. That was generally left to the local committee.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit 52, and ask you if that is not a summary of the political situation in practically every State in the Nation, that was prepared by the organization bureau? I think it is almost alphabetically arranged; is it not, Mr. McDermott?

Mr. MCDERMOTT (after examining paper). This is a report, Major, that I made, I think, about seven or eight years ago.

Maj. HUMES. I just picked that out as a sample. It covers practically every State in the Union?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. It is a report on the conditions as they looked to me at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you made regular or practically regular monthly reports to the board of trustees, or to Mr. Gardiner, of the political situation in the several States?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Not monthly reports. I presume I reported to Mr. Gardiner, maybe sometimes to the board, from time to time, on the conditions, on what they looked to me to be.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not prepare a written memorandum?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; I think I did.

Maj. HUMES. Between months? I do not mean that every month you included every State; but each month you would report upon the condition in a certain number of States that you had gotten in touch with during that month?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I presume I did.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibits Nos. 154 to 165, and ask you if those are not reports that you made from time to time to the association of your activities and the result of your investigations?

Mr. MCDERMOTT (after examining papers). These are all the same, Major. I do not think there is any question about it.

Maj. HUMES. They are the monthly reports you made, or the periodical reports, at least?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I think there are some in here that are not mine.

Maj. HUMES. They are either all yours or else they are reports that your men made to you?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not think that there are any reports that my men made to me.

Maj. HUMES. In those exhibits there might have been one or two, in the middle, that may have been misplaced. I thought they were all of the same class.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No; some of the things in here are not mine.

Maj. HUMES. All of those reports showing reports of the various States are yours, are they not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

(At this point, at 12 o'clock m., the subcommittee adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, November 22, 1918, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m. in room 226, Senate Office Building, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), Nelson, and Sterling.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN A. McDERMOTT—Resumed.

Maj. HUMES. It is a fact, is it not, that periodically you submitted to the trustees of the United States Brewers' Association, or at least prepared for their information, a schedule of the political situation in practically every State in the Union?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Well, I did when I was working under the organization committee, but after Mr. Gardiner took charge I reported to him, and I do not believe I ever submitted any of those reports after that.

Maj. HUMES. After you commenced working under the direction of Mr. Gardiner you made your reports to Mr. Gardiner as your chief, and he made the reports to the association?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. He may have done so; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. To the board of trustees?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you not attended meetings of the board of trustees when these reports were made?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. At times; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Who were the men you had working for you making these surveys and making reports to you from time to time?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I did not have anybody making surveys like the Andreae surveys, if that is what you mean.

Maj. HUMES. Making investigations; we will call it that.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I had organizers and regular men—Mr. William Dietrich, of Chicago, and Mr. George J. Thompson, of Chicago.

Maj. HUMES. What was Mr. Thompson's business while he was in your employ?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Mr. Thompson had been connected with the Cigar Makers' International Union, and he was well acquainted with the labor leaders in the different cities and counties, and he did his particular work amongst those people.

Maj. HUMES. And his business was to go out and undertake to organize the labor organizations in places in which you were interested?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. In the places in which we would have a fight.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Now, what was Mr. Dietrich's specialty?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. He was a sort of chief organizer. He helped to organize States, and in some cases did regular organization publicity work.

Maj. HUMES. Whom else did you have?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I have had a number of men, on and off, during those years.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Grau?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I had Mr. Grau for two or three years.

Maj. HUMES. What was his specialty?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. He was a speaker and organizer, also.

Maj. HUMES. What class of the public did he especially appeal to?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Well, he appealed to the allied trades and public meetings he addressed in different parts of the country, until he quit me and went with the maltsters.

Maj. HUMES. He left you and went with the maltsters?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did he continue his activities in that field after he entered the employ of the maltsters?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I think not.

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Barth ever do work for you?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Barth?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; Peter J. Barth.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not remember Peter J. Barth.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not come in contact with Mr. Barth and was he not indirectly employed by the association through the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I had nothing to do with the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Maj. HUMES. Well, but you cooperated with them, did you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I did lately, but not when Mr. Andreae was managing the bureau. I had nothing whatever to do with them. My work was independent of them.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; but did you not cooperate in the several States, Mr. Andreae within his line of activities and you within yours?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; we did, to a general extent.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. In other words, you did not work to cross purposes?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No.; but I did not report to Mr. Andreae, or have anything to do with him.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not Mr. Barth's business to undertake to line up and organize certain religious elements?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That I do not know. I could not answer that question. I do not ever remember of meeting Mr. Barth, and I never knew that there was any organization of religious bodies along that line.

Maj. HUMES. What were the activities of Mr. Keller?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I never met Mr. Keller, but I have understood that he was an officer of the Indiana German-American, or the National German Alliance. I never met him.

Maj. HUMES. You cooperated with his organization in the several States, did you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Major, so far as the German Alliance is concerned, I never knew Dr. Hexamer or any of their officers, but when we were into a local or State campaign, if there was a local or State German Alliance, we naturally had them as well as all forces that were opposed to prohibition, at work, and utilized their efforts.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. The only time that I have ever had anything—and I did not have anything to do, but there was a situation arose three years ago, in the summer, when I was in St. Paul, on my way to the coast, and Mr. Julius Moersch, whom you have on your list and whom I used to know years ago in Minnesota and who had done some little work for our organization bureau at times—I met him accidentally. He heard that I was in the city of St. Paul and he came to me and said—we discussed things generally, politics, prohibition, and he said—the National German Alliance, of which he at that time was, I think, one of the vice presidents, were going to hold a meeting in San Francisco, and he said, "I believe they are going to make a lot of trouble for themselves in a criticism of the President of the United States." I said, "Mr. Moersch, that would be un-American and would be a serious thing for any body of citizens, whether of German origin, Irish origin, or any other foreign-born origin, to criticize the President at this time because of his foriegn policies." I said, "I have nothing to do whatever with anything of this kind, but as a private citizen—American citizen—I want you to go out there to San Francisco, and if it is possible, prevent that being done, because I believe it would create a great deal of hard feeling if it is done"; and I paid Mr. Moersch's expenses—his time—myself, personally, to do that. Mr. Moersch told me that he went there, and they had a bitter discussion in the committee on resolutions, and that he organized a revolt in the National German Alliance, and that, I think, five or six of the State presidents followed him and threatened to withdraw and disrupt the organization if there was a criticism made.

Maj. HUMES. When was this?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. This was in the summer of 1917, when the National German Alliance met at San Francisco. As a result of that action there was no criticism made of the President, and I believed that I was doing what I thought right as an American citizen to prevent it.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that at that same meeting Mr. Percy Andreae spoke at the meeting as a representative of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; I presume that is the same meeting.

Maj. HUMES. He went out to represent these foreign-language newspapers at that meeting?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not know about that.

Maj. HUMES. Did he have any official connection with that organization?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That I do not know, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Who was Mr. George R. French?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. French?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not know him.

Mr. [illegible] I show you one of his reports to your association to refresh your recollection [handing witness paper]. Was he ever in your employ?

Mr. McDERMOTT (after examining papers). That is quite a while ago, Major; but as I remember this case, this was a friend of Mr. [illegible]'s who visited some of the coast and Northwestern States for a few months and reported on the conditions in those States to Mr. Thompson, and he to me.

Maj. HUMES. He was paid by your organization, though, was he not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were you present at the meeting of brewers held in Chicago in the summer of 1913 when the five-year contracts were entered into?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What was the purpose of that meeting?

Mr. McDERMOTT. The purpose of that meeting was to more thoroughly organize the trades and wake them up to the dangers of national prohibition.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in the spring of 1913 it was discovered that it was going to be necessary to raise larger sums of money than had been raised theretofore and that the purpose of the meeting was to devise ways and means for enlarging the exchequer?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Well, the purpose of the meeting was to get the brewers of the United States in convention assembled and arouse them to the dangers of national prohibition, so that if they decided to go ahead and put on a campaign—which at that time we were only covering certain sections, and we had more State fights on than we could take care of—and to go ahead with a big plan of national organization and oppose national prohibition. These gentlemen had many millions of dollars of property at stake and there were several thousand jobs of men at stake; they believed in their product; they believed in the principles of the Government that protected them [illegible], and they felt as though they were not getting their side of the case before the country as they should; and that was in my mind as to the real reasons of the meeting.

Maj. HUMES. At any rate, the scheme was devised of entering into five-year contracts with all the brewers of the country, by which they were to pay an additional assessment of three cents a barrel on their output, to the Brewers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes; I understand that to be so.

Maj. HUMES. And the funds of the United States Brewers' Association since that meeting in Chicago in 1913 have been very much larger than they ever were before?

Mr. McDERMOTT. The records show that.

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Maj. HUMES. In each instance he reported promptly to you and your organization and his success, wherever he succeeded in securing the passage of these resolutions?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Naturally I was in touch with him.

Maj. HUMES. And you also sought out the German-American Alliances in these different States?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I did not seek them out. They generally sought us out.

Maj. HUMES. And you contributed to them in order to build up and strengthen their organizations and increase in America their strength for the purpose of your campaign?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I never contributed to the German-American Alliance, nor did my bureau, in my life, that I know of. If any contribution was made to them it was made by the local people.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know, as a matter of fact, that for a number of years prior to the organization of the Andreae bureau the United States Brewers' Association supported and financed the German-American Alliance by making a quarterly appropriation to them?

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working with on those matters was that the German-American Alliance only assisted in the prohibition fights. We had nothing to do with dictating their policies or anything else.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not also your policy, when you went into a State, to organize as many associations of various kinds as possible, liberty leagues, personal liberty leagues, manufacturers' and dealers' clubs, and other organizations, giving them various names, in order to further your propaganda and to carry on your organization work?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Certainly we organized all the elements that were opposed to prohibition.

Maj. HUMES. And you organized them under some trade name or some other name that would distinguish them from brewery organizations or liquor organizations?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. The local people would organize and they would select their own name, whatever name they wanted. Because of the fact that they were making a fight against prohibition we assisted them in making the fight. There were a number of States that were dry States and a number of counties that were dry counties. People were opposed to saloons in a number of instances in some of those States, but they were also opposed to the principle of State and national prohibition.

Senator STERLING. And under whatever name they were organized they were organized for the purpose of fighting prohibition?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; they were organized to fight prohibtion.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not your purpose to use names for these organizations that would not indicate the real, underlying purpose of the organization?

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Mr. MCDERMOTT. Because the people in those States were capable taking care of themselves and of their own work.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, in those States the United States Brewers' Association depended upon the State brewers' associations to further organization work that was necessary for their political purposes?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then, the situation is this: That you, on behalf of the United States Brewers' Association, have participated in the political activities in every State in the Union except those States where the State brewers' associations were sufficiently strong to carry on the work without the direct assistance of the national association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. You might add on there that there are two prohibition States that I did not go into.

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Mr. McDERMOTT. Mississippi and Kansas.

Maj. HUMES. Was not your organization in Kansas?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Not that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know, as a matter of fact, that Mr. Andreae made a survey of the State of Kansas, with a view of determining whether or not it would be possible to secure legislation in that State?

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Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that Mr. Gardiner, the head of your bureau, and Mr. Andreae considered that subject?

Mr. McDERMOTT. They may have considered it, but I never was in there, and there never was anything done in Kansas.

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Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not go into Maine?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes; but the situation in Maine was entirely different. They had a constitutional repeal election on up there.

Maj. HUMES. Was not that constitutional amendment contest up there brought on by your organization?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No; the constitutional amendment contest repeal proposition was placed before the people of the State by the legislature, with which we had nothing to do; and when the special election came on in the summer or fall we went into the campaign.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not go into Maine and send your men into Maine, and is it not a fact that before they had fully completed their work they were discovered by the public press and the fact was mentioned that your representatives were there, and did you not thereupon withdraw them from the State?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No.

Maj. HUMES. And subsequent to that time pick out some new men who were unknown in Maine and send them back to complete the work?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No; you are getting me mixed up with the survey that Mr. Andreae started to make up there, I think.

Maj. HUMES. You were certainly cooperating with him?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I was not cooperating with Mr. Andreae. Mr. Andreae did his work in his own name. I never made a report to him and never conferred with Mr. Andreae about any of this work.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Andreae was required to report and keep in touch with the president of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. He may have, but he did not keep in touch with me.

Maj. HUMES. And his business was to go out and undertake to organize the labor organizations in places in which you were interested?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. In the places in which we would have a fight.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Now, what was Mr. Dietrich's specialty?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. He was a sort of chief organizer. He helped to organize States, and in some cases did regular organization publicity work.

Maj. HUMES. Whom else did you have?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I have had a number of men, on and off, during those years.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Grau?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I had Mr. Grau for two or three years.

Maj. HUMES. What was his specialty?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. He was a speaker and organizer, also.

Maj. HUMES. What class of the public did he especially appeal to?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Well, he appealed to the allied trades and public meetings he addressed in different parts of the country, until he quit me and went with the maltsters.

Maj. HUMES. He left you and went with the maltsters?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did he continue his activities in that field after he entered the employ of the maltsters?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I think not.

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Barth ever do work for you?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Barth?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; Peter J. Barth.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not remember Peter J. Barth.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not come in contact with Mr. Barth and was he not indirectly employed by the association through the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I had nothing to do with the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Maj. HUMES. Well, but you cooperated with them, did you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I did lately, but not when Mr. Andreae was managing the bureau. I had nothing whatever to do with them. My work was independent of them.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; but did you not cooperate in the several States, Mr. Andreae within his line of activities and you within yours?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; we did, to a general extent.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. In other words, you did not work to cross purposes?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No.; but I did not report to Mr. Andreae, or have anything to do with him.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not Mr. Barth's business to undertake to line up and organize certain religious elements?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That I do not know. I could not answer that question. I do not ever remember of meeting Mr. Barth, and I never knew that there was any organization of religious bodies along that line.

Maj. HUMES. What were the activities of Mr. Keller?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I never met Mr. Keller, but I have understood that he was an officer of the Indiana German-American, or the National German Alliance. I never met him.

Maj. HUMES. You were interested in that fight not only in the constitutional amendment fight, but also in the election of candidates for office, were you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I was not active in that at all. All I did was to confer with the people of the State.

Maj. HUMES. And you contributed money to the fight, did you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That I do not know. That is quite a while ago. I had nothing to do with contributing money.

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Maj. HUMES. You attended a joint meeting of the distillers and brewers in Baltimore, did you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. In Baltimore?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not remember. I might have.

Maj. HUMES. I beg your pardon—in New York, on December 29, 1914?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes, I think I did attend that meeting.

Maj. HUMES. I will show you a list of those who attended, to refresh your recollection.

Mr. MCDERMOTT (after examining paper). Yes.

Maj. HUMES. At that meeting were you not called upon by Mr. Gardiner to report upon the recent campaigns in the several States?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I think perhaps I was. I think that was the year after we had lost three or four States, and everyone wanted to find out the reason why.

Maj. HUMES. And you were the one man in the organization who knew more about that than anyone else?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I would not say that. Some people might have thought so. I thought I did not know much about it.

Maj. HUMES. You would know more about the activities in each State than anyone else?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not know him.

Maj. HUMES. I show you one of his reports to your association to refresh your recollection [handing witness paper]. Was he ever in your employ?

Mr. McDERMOTT (after examining papers). That is quite a while back, Major; but as I remember this case, this was a friend of Mr. Thompson's who visited some of the coast and Northwestern States for a few months and reported on the conditions in those States to Mr. Thompson, and he to me.

Maj. HUMES. He was paid by your organization, though, was he not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were you present at the meeting of brewers held in Chicago in the summer of 1913 when the five-year contracts were entered into?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What was the purpose of that meeting?

Mr. McDERMOTT. The purpose of that meeting was to more thoroughly organize the trades and wake them up to the dangers of national prohibition.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in the spring of 1913 it was discovered that it was going to be necessary to raise larger sums of money than had been raised theretofore and that the purpose of the meeting was to devise ways and means for enlarging the exchequer?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Well, the purpose of the meeting was to get the brewers of the United States in convention assembled and arouse them to the dangers of national prohibition, so that if they decided to go ahead and put on a campaign—which at that time we were only covering certain sections, and we had more State fights on than we could take care of—and to go ahead with a big plan of national organization and oppose national prohibition. These gentlemen had many millions of dollars of property at stake and there were several thousand jobs of men at stake; they believed in their product; they believed in the principles of the Government that protected them on it; and they felt as though they were not getting their side of the facts before the country as they should; and that was in my mind as to the real reasons of the meeting.

Maj. HUMES. At any rate, the scheme was devised of entering into five-year contracts with all the brewers of the country, by which they were to pay an additional assessment of three cents a barrel on their output, to the Brewers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes; I understand that to be so.

Maj. HUMES. And the funds of the United States Brewers' Association since that meeting in Chicago in 1913 have been very much larger than they ever were before?

Mr. McDERMOTT. The records show that.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Now, Mr. McDermott, what was the relation that existed between the United States Brewers' Association and the National Liquor Dealers' Association?

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Maj. HUMES. Mr. Andreae was required to report and keep in touch with the president of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. He may have, but he did not keep in touch with me.

Maj. HUMES. He was in touch with Mr. Gardiner, was he not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Very little.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that an agreement was entered into between your bureau and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association and Mr. Andreae in several of these States by which the campaign was to be financed jointly, each one paying a third of the expenses?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Not that I recollect.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that that was done in Iowa?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I had nothing to do with the Iowa fight that year. I was active in other fields.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not in Iowa at all that year?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No.

Maj. HUMES. How about Virginia?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. In Virginia we had a special State-wide election on and I was in that fight.

Maj. HUMES. And you went into that fight as the result of an agreement that was made, a three-cornered agreement between Mr. Andreae and Mr. Sunstein and your bureau, did you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No; as I recollect, Mr. Andreae came into the fight in Virginia after we were in there. He sent in a couple of men to do some special work.

Maj. HUMES. It was at your solicitation or the solicitation of your bureau?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. It was not at my solicitation or the solicitation of my bureau, that I remember of.

Maj. HUMES. How was the money divided down in Virginia?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That I do not know. I had nothing to do with the finances.

Maj. HUMES. Who did have to do with the finances?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. They had a local committee there, and they had a chairman and a treasurer.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have nothing to do with the money that was put in there from the treasury of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No; that was all handled by the local people.

Maj. HUMES. But how did the local people get possession of the money?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. They got it, I suppose, from Mr. Gardiner.

Maj. HUMES. Did not Mr. Gardiner say yesterday that those details were in your hands?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Not on the handling of money.

Maj. HUMES. He handled the money directly, did he?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; he sent it to the local committees.

Maj. HUMES. How about Texas?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. We were in the first constitutional fight in Texas, as I remember.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not in practically every fight for a number of years in Texas.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No; the only fight that I really took an active interest in in Texas personally with my bureau was the time of the State-wide constitutional prohibition fight.

Maj. HUMES. You were interested in that fight not only in the constitutional amendment fight, but also in the election of candidates for office, were you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I was not active in that at all. All I did was to confer with the people of the State.

Maj. HUMES. And you contributed money to the fight, did you not?

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Maj. HUMES. I beg your pardon—in New York, on December 29, 1914?

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Maj. HUMES. I will show you a list of those who attended, to refresh your recollection.

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Mr. MCDERMOTT. I think perhaps I was. I think that was the year after we had lost three or four States, and everyone wanted to find out the reason why.

Maj. HUMES. And you were the one man in the organization who knew more about that than anyone else?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I would not say that. Some people might have thought so. I thought I did not know much about it.

Maj. HUMES. You would know more about the activities in each State than anyone else?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Perhaps I did.

Maj. HUMES. What was the purpose of that conference?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not just exactly recollect. I think it was just to discuss the general situation and decide whether they would go along with these fights. I do not remember now.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to this statement and ask you for an explanation of it. Mr. Cooke was there, the counsel for the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, was he not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I think perhaps he was.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to this extract and ask you if Mr. Cooke did not make this statement at that meeting:

> If you divide responsibility and authority it will flow to the lowest level. Messrs. Gardiner and Sunstein have charge of one aspect of the case. Messrs. Crain & Cooke have charge of certain objectives which do not coordinate with the others. Messrs. Lewis and McDermott are conducting organization work throughout the country without close coordination. All of these activities should be collected together in one common undertaking.

Why were the names of Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Sunstein associated together?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Because, I presume, they were the two chairmen of the organization executive committees that had charge of the State fights.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, Mr. Gardiner representing the United States Brewers Association, and Mr. Sunstein, representing the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, occupied exactly the same positions in their respective organizations and had charge of the political contests in the several States throughout the Nation.

Mr. McDERMOTT. The wet and dry contests; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Crain and Mr. Cooke were the attorneys, the general counsel, for the respective organizations?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And they had charge of that phase of it?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Messrs. Lewis and McDermott occupied what relative positions?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Lewis occupied relatively the same position with the distillers that I had with the brewers.

Maj. HUMES. Then he was the manager of the Protective Bureau of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not know whether he had that title, but he was the active field man.

Maj. HUMES. He was to their protective bureau what you were to your organization bureau?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Absolutely.

Maj. HUMES. And you and Mr. Lewis cooperated, did you?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes; where we could.

Maj. HUMES. What working agreements did you have?

Mr. McDERMOTT. We had no special working agreement at all in any way, except if we knew people in a certain State we would get together and talk it over as to the best way of running the campaign, and advising with the local people, and we would sometimes have joint meetings, and sometimes we would not.

Maj. HUMES. In your work you were constantly in contact with the activities of the several State organizations in the States that you were acting in?

Mr. McDERMOTT. As a general rule; yes.

Maj. HUMES. You organized through them, did you not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes; some of them.

Maj. HUMES. Will you tell us, in the several States, what the assessments to the State brewers' associations were?

Mr. McDERMOTT. That I could not tell you, because I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Have you not any idea?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No.

Maj. HUMES. What is the highest assessment that you know of by any State brewers' association for the funds which they raised?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not know what any of their assessments are; I never paid any attention to them, except when there was a State-wide campaign on, and we would get together and discuss the wet and dry fight in that State, and figure out as to what we thought that campaign would cost, and then on the barrelage of that State they would make an assessment accordingly, but after that fight was over they would drop back again, so I could not say offhand what any of the assessments of any State associations were.

Maj. HUMES. What is the highest assessment that you remember hearing of?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not know, but I think the Colorado brewers in the last fight assessed themselves 50 or 60 cents. I was informed of that, I think.

Maj. HUMES. What year was that?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I think that was in 1914 or 1912—whatever year Colorado went dry. I could not remember, offhand.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Gardiner testified to an occasion when in Nebraska the assessment was as high as 50 cents.

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not remember that.

Maj. HUMES. He testified to that. What is the highest assessment you ever remember of in the State of Illinois?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not know anything about their assessments in Illinois.

Maj. HUMES. You organized in that State?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No; that is one of the States that I did not go into.

Maj. HUMES. What was the assessment in Texas?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not know what assessments they had in Texas.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know what the assessments were in the New England States?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that the common assessment in the State of Ohio was 20 cents?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No; I do not. I never knew anything about the assessments in the Ohio fights.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know how much money was expended in Texas?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No; I do not. Texas is a very large State. There is a lot of territory to cover. There has been a constant fight there for 10 years, and now it has ended.

Senator STERLING. You say a costly fight?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes; until now it is ended; because it has been such a hard State to cover.

Maj. HUMES. When you went into the State, how did you estimate how much money you had to raise? What were the items that entered into the probable cost?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Publicity, postage, organization work.

Maj. HUMES. What did that embrace?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Organization work embraced the hiring of the State local managers, the publicity managers, the county managers, and so on down.

Maj. HUMES. What was your plan of organization in expending this money? Did you expend it from a central head or were the actual expenditures handled through the different counties or congressional districts?

Mr. McDERMOTT. That depended upon the local committee. As a general rule, they handled those matters in whatever way they thought best.

Maj. HUMES. Did your expenses include the paying of the poll tax in some of the States?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Not that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. You know that the poll taxes were paid, very largely, in several States, do you not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I never knew anything about it.

Maj. HUMES. To start with the year 1914, how much money was expended through the organization bureau of the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I could not recollect that from hearsay, because, as I said, I had not charge of the finances, and I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. From your knowledge of the situation, what percentage of the total expenditures, in the various States where you were engaged in political contests, was contributed by the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. McDERMOTT. That would vary in the different States. There was no stated percentage of that kind. Certain States would be able to take care of themselves better than others, and in a State where the industry was weak we would assess more.

Maj. HUMES. You did not confine yourself to a percentage basis?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No.

Maj. HUMES. In Iowa you agreed to contribute an amount equal to the amount contributed by the State brewers, did you not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. That was the Iowa campaign that I said I had nothing to do with, so I could not testify as to that.

Senator STERLING. You speak of an assessment of 50 or 60 cents. To whom did that assessment apply?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Just to the brewers' barrelage.

Senator OVERMAN. How did you get the money from the allied interests?

Mr. McDERMOTT. You mean in the local campaigns?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. McDERMOTT. They contributed direct.

Senator OVERMAN. It was not an assessment?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No.

Senator STERLING. Maj. Humes, you asked about a poll tax. By what authority was any poll tax assessed? I do not quite understand.

Maj. HUMES. The poll tax of the voters, to qualify them to vote, is what I was referring to.

Senator STERLING. Oh, yes; and that there was an arrangement by which that poll tax was paid?

Maj. HUMES. I do not know whether there was an arrangement or not, but the expenditure was actually made for that purpose. The documentary evidence that will be introduced will establish that.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I never had anything to do with that. I knew nothing about that. When we contributed money to certain States for antiprohibition fights, in a great many cases our work was through, and the local people took care of the balance.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not follow the principle of only contributing when you could control the plan and the method of organization?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, you utilized the local organization and you outlined the method of procedure?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Not always.

Maj. HUMES. And did you not adopt the standard plan of organization for the several States?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. We perhaps tried to, but it was not adopted by all of them.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not the skeleton of the organization that was always followed, and were not the only modifications such modifications as were made necessary because of local conditions?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That was a matter where the local people would pass upon it.

Maj. HUMES. In spending money in the various campaigns did you expend the money that was contributed by your association directly to candidates—to political committees?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No; nothing of that kind.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever contribute money directly to candidates or political committees in carrying on the work of the organization bureau?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Not of the organization bureau; no association money.

Maj. HUMES. All of that money that you put in was put in through the organization that you had created or coordinated?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In the various States?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And when the issue was the election of particular candidates your activities were in addition to the activities of the party—of the political committee—were they not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not exactly grasp the meaning of that question.

Maj. HUMES. When you went into a campaign to help elect a particular candidate for office, you worked through an independent organization of your own?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Rather than through the party or political organization of the candidate?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Mrj. HUMES. And in those fights you have supported particular candidates, prepared lists of candidates, and submitted them to your organization and supported them as regular slates, have you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No; I have never done that.

Maj. HUMES. I mean your organization.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Do you mean the local organizations in the different States?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Whatever they have done there, they have done locally. I have never done that.

Maj. HUMES. But you would father these local organizations?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. It is up to them to work out their details in those things.

Maj. HUMES. But you contributed to them financially in order that they might work out their details?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. You are getting it mixed. You are trying to bring me into political contests in these States outside of the wet and dry contests. The only fights where I had anything to do in these States were State-wide prohibition fights and local-option fights.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that you did not participate in the election of particular candidates?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I mean to say that I did not through my——

Maj. HUMES. When I say "you" I mean your organization, the organization which you represented. You could not participate, except through your organization, because you were not a resident of all these States. Did not your organization interest itself in the election of particular candidates as well as in the contests upon the wet and dry issue?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. There may have been some contributions made to the State assessments where they had a particular fight on in the State along that line, but our organization bureau did not interest itself in those fights, that I remember of.

Maj. HUMES. For instance, how about the fight in Tennessee; do you remember that?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not interested in the election of a governor down there?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How about the fight in Texas? Were you not interested in the election of a governor there?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In the primary fight for governor?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In Iowa?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I do not remember that we ever did anything in Iowa. Mr. Andreae may have; I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. You were in Iowa in the 1914 fight, were you not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Thornton?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Durand?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Durand?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Thompson was in Iowa, your field man, was he not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That year? I do not think so. I do not remember. I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Soergel?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Soergel? I do not remember that name.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Wirmel?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; I met Mr. Wirmel once.

Maj. HUMES. With your recollection refreshed as to those men, were they not in the State of Iowa fighting for particular candidates in 1914?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Well, as I said, Major, I had nothing to do with the Iowa campaign. I do not know who was in or out of there. If any of my men were in there, I do not recall it at this time.

Maj. HUMES. Your bureau contributed $12,500 to that fight, did it not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. All I know is what Mr. Gardiner said here the other day. I did not know about that.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that in practically every State you have not only fought on the constitutional question or the legislative question, the question of submission of the wet-or-dry question, but you have also made your fights for individual candidates?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I presume the local people have; yes.

Maj. HUMES. And was not a survey made of the whole nation with a view of determining the congressional districts that you could carry with men favorable to your cause?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Well, I never made such a survey.

Maj. HUMES. I am talking about your organization.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. They may have made it. Mr. Andreae probably did.

Maj. HUMES. And you were interested in the election of particular candidates as well as in the question of submission itself?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I presume they were, no doubt.

Maj. HUMES. And following the line of least resistance, it was preferable to secure the nomination and promote the interests of a candidate of a majority party in a given locality, because the chance of electing him was greater. That was the common experience, was it not?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. That was a matter that the local people used their judgment on.

Senator OVERMAN. Take it as a whole system. We had a constitutional amendment here pending in Congress and you had a business. You wanted to protect that business, and therefore you were interested in electing men opposed to this constitutional amendment?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; there were in a number of States matters of that kind.

Senator OVERMAN. And that was a part of that system, to elect men opposed to that amendment, so that you could protect your interests?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Where they were strong enough to do so. I have no doubt they did so, but those were fights that the local people carried on.

Senator OVERMAN. You left that to the local people, but contributed to the result?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. McDermott, is the working agreement between the United States Brewers' Association and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association still in force?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. When did those interests separate?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Right after the Pittsburgh investigation—before that, in fact, as I remember it. I could not give you the exact date; but after the campaigns were over the year before, when we lost out everywhere, it practically ceased then. In fact, I think there was nothing going on at the time. That is my recollection. Now, I could not say, offhand, exactly.

Maj. HUMES. Each organization, then, where you are active now, is carrying on its activities independent of the other?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes. Neither is very active.

Maj. HUMES. But where you do get into a fight you cooperate, do you not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No; we have not been into any fights the last two years at any place. This year I have not practically been in any. I made a trip around and advised our people not to go in.

Maj. HUMES. Then, during the last year or two, as I understand it, there has been very little money expended through the organization bureau?

Mr. McDERMOTT. That is my understanding.

Maj. HUMES. You would know, would you not, whether it had been spent or not?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. The constitutional amendment having been submitted to the States, is it part of your system now to try to defeat the amendment through the legislatures of the States?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes. That is up to the people of the different States this winter.

Senator OVERMAN. And you are joining in with the local associations to help defeat the amendment?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Well, we are not going to pay much attention to it, Senator. We are going to let them take care of themselves. We have done that already. We have not done anything this year.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you propose to contribute to that end?

Mr. McDERMOTT. No, sir. We have not contributed a cent. We do not intend to.

Maj. HUMES. During the last two years, then, the activities of the United States Brewers' Association and the expenditures of the United States Brewers' Association have been directed through advertising channels rather than through the organization bureau of which you are manager?

Mr. McDERMOTT. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. How did that change come about? Why did that change in program develop?

Mr. McDERMOTT. I think Mr. Gardiner explained that, the other day, that after the change of policy of going along with the brewers and distillers, and the loss of so many of these States, the work was curtailed, and then the funds, and we just gradually quit. For instance, I had several men in my bureau. I am the only one left now.

Maj. HUMES. When did you cease to expend money through the organization bureau, approximately; that is, I mean, the bulk of the funds of the association?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Do you mean the Gardiner organization?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; through Mr. Gardiner's organization?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I could not answer that exactly, but I think it was about three and a half or four years ago.

Senator OVERMAN. It was stated by Mr. Fox the other day that they had spent last year some $300,000. Was that done by advertising rather than in other ways?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Your old method, then, was dropped?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes; that has been dropped since the Pittsburgh investigation.

Senator OVERMAN. And now you propose to carry it on by pamphlets and advertising in the papers?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes, sir. They have been doing a great deal of advertising and publicity work, speakers in the different States, and so on.

Maj. HUMES. That figure was $537,000 instead of $300,000.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; I believe it was.

Maj. HUMES. We are a good deal in the same position with this witness as any of the rest, gentlemen. We could pick out particular matters here and keep up the examination for a week, but it is primarily a question of the system.

Senator OVERMAN. That is what I want to get—the system rather than any individual man.

Maj. HUMES. They are covered by the documentary evidence we have.

Senator OVERMAN. We decided, Senator Sterling, that we would make the investigation of the committee as impersonal as possible, and just prove the system. I think that is what Congress wants to know.

Senator STERLING. Yes. There are just one or two questions I should like to ask. Mr. McDermott, was a fight made in Ohio against prohibition, in the last campaign, by your organization?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. No. I explained that, I think, yesterday, Senator.

Senator STERLING. It may have been explained. I did not hear it.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. The fight was made entirely by the Ohio people.

Senator STERLING. And the national organization had no part in that fight?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. We had none whatever—nothing whatever to do with it.

Senator STERLING. Just one further question: In your fights against national prohibition and against the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution, do you participate in the election of members of legislatures in the several States where the question is to be submitted?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. We have not done a thing of that kind since the matter passed Congress. For the last three years we have not participated in any State in any election of members of the legislature or Congress.

Senator OVERMAN. You say that is left to the locals?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Yes, sir. Whatever the local people do, they do themselves; but, so far as our association, our bureau, is concerned, we have had nothing to do with them.

Senator STERLING. That is all I wish to ask.

Maj. HUMES. That is all, Mr. McDermott.

There are no more witnesses. The two from the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association were excused until later, you will remember, Senator; and we have now this documentary matter that we should like to submit.

Senator OVERMAN. Did Mr. Beck come down?

Capt. LESTER. He came yesterday afternoon. We had a short conference with him and Mr. Johnson. I think we had better give you the result of that——

Senator OVERMAN. He is to come later?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. When we get a chance we would like to talk to you privately about that, Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. All right.

Maj. HUMES. In line with the testimony that was introduced by Mr. Gardiner and the schedule of the bank account of the Pennsylvania State Association, here is the summary, based upon his testimony, that we would like to submit in order to show the funds that were raised by that association.

Senator OVERMAN. What is the sum total?

Maj. HUMES. The sum total over the period of four years is $922,000. In 1911 there was $104,209——

Senator OVERMAN. You need not read it by years. I just wanted to know the total for the whole four years. There is some evidence here that there was a million dollars for that period.

Maj. HUMES. This is the Pennsylvania State Association. The bank accounts of the United States Brewers' Association were offered yesterday, showing that the highest deposit in any one year was $1,400,000.

Senator OVERMAN. This is the Pennsylvania State Association?

Maj. HUMES. This is the Pennsylvania State Association summary showing the amount raised within the State alone. That was outside of, and, of course, in addition to, the money that went into the treasury of the United States Brewers' Association.

Senator STERLING. That approximates a million dollars. It is $900,000, is it?

Maj. HUMES. $922,000 in the period of four years. $300,000 is the largest amount. That was what was received by them in that one fund in 1914.

Senator OVERMAN. Was that election year?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Have you got how much was spent during that election year by the United States Brewers' Association? You say $300,000 was spent by the State association.

Maj. HUMES. We can figure out the withdrawals from the bank accounts of the State associations. It was practically all withdrawn each year. The balance carried over from year to year each time is ordinarily twenty or thirty thousand dollars.

Senator OVERMAN. In that election year, then, as I recollect, there was something over a million dollars collected.

Capt. LESTER. $1,400,000.

Senator OVERMAN. And then, in addition to that, this Pennsylvania matter.

Major, we want to talk about adjourning this committee before you take up that exhibit. You have no more witnesses here?

Maj. HUMES. No, sir; and I have not subpœnaed any more because of the uncertainty as to what the program of the committee was.

Senator OVERMAN. I believe I will take the responsibility, with Senator Sterling—he representing the minority and I representing the majority—of saying that we will adjourn this committee to-day over until Tuesday, the 3d of December, at half past 10, if that will be satisfactory to you?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. We would like a chance to talk with the committee in executive session about the procedure at that time.

Senator OVERMAN. Suppose you put that exhibit in, and we will talk about that now in executive session.

Maj. HUMES. We offer in evidence this audit, showing the receipts and expenditures of the association from October, 1913, to the 30th of June, 1915, as follows:

Income from the United States Brewers' Association, $330,000; from the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, $100,000; from the sale of stamps on the stamp plan that there has been evidence of already introduced, $136,194.01.

Interest on bank balances, $5,301.09.

Sale of Mr. Andrene's speeches, $300.88—

Making total receipts during that period of $571,795.98.

I want to get the more detailed expenditures here.

Senator OVERMAN. You are going to put that whole record in?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir. Among other disbursements were the following:

German-American Alliance, $42,633.41.

American Leader, $85,994.30—

the American Leader being the publication of the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers.

Many of the other expenditures will be itemized more in detail in the other documentary evidence that will be produced.

Senator OVERMAN. That is the audit of the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir. That is not the complete audit of all of their accounts, because they continue down after that time; but that is the audit to June 30, 1915. We have in the separate exhibits some evidence of their expenditures.

(The paper referred to, Exhibit No. 65, is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 65.

SCHEDULE OF BASIS OF DUES OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE BREWERS ASSOCIATION.

First 20,000 bbls.	or	part	thereof,	2¢	per	bbl.
Next 30,000 bbls.	"	"	"	2½¢	"	"
" 50,000 bbls.	"	"	"	3¢	"	"
" 75,000 bbls.	"	"	"	3½¢	"	"
" 100,000 bbls.	"	"	"	4¢	"	"
" 125,000 bbls.	"	"	"	and over 5¢	per	bbl.

The records of the Northwestern National Bank, Philadelphia, show the following sums as being the amounts deposited for various years by the Pennsylvania State Brewers Association:

1911	$104,209.61
1912	179,191.31
1913	146,754.49
1914	300,241.28
1915	191,754.95
Total	$922,151.64

Maj. HUMES. We offer in evidence an audit of the account of the National Association of Commerce and Labor showing how it was financed. I offer the whole audit, but will call especial attention to two or three items.

(The audit referred to, Exhibit No. 66, is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 66.

[Auditor's Report, National Association of Commerce and Labor, 30 June, 1915.]

[Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co., a copartnership all members of which are Certified Public Accountants. Monadnock Building, 53 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago. Telephone Harrison 1232. Chicago: Allen R. Smart, C. P. A. Edward E. Gore, C. P. A. New York. San Francisco, London, Eng.]

10TH SEPTEMBER, 1915.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR SIRS: In accordance with your instructions we have audited the accounts of the National Association of Commerce and Labor from the start of the Association in October, 1913, to 30 June, 1915, and now submit our report thereon together with the schedules enumerated on index attached hereto.

The general books were opened on 1st November, 1913, although there were sveral items of receipts and payments between May, 1913, and that date, which appear to be proper credits and charges to the Association, and we have accordingly included them in the accounts now submitted. We find that the transactions relating to the finances of the institution have been kept in four sets of accounts, viz: those kept by Mr. Adam Ortseifen, those kept by the Secretary, Mr. Gale M. Hartley, for the sale of discount stamps, the funds of which were formerly subject to the check of Mr. Wm. Bartholomae and now of Mr. Thos. F. Keeley; the general accounts of the institution and the accounts of the Hearthstone Magazine, both kept by Mr. Gale M. Hartley, the Secretary, all checks being signed by him and drawn on the account of Gale M. Hartley, Secretary. The transactions taken care of by Mr. Ortseifen have not been recorded in a regular set of books but we were able to obtain particulars of all items from the cancelled checks and the check stub books of the Continental & Commercial National Bank, and the Corn Exchange National Bank in which the funds had been deposited. Mr. Ortseifen's accounts included deposits representing contributions from the United States Brewers Association, The Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association and interest on bank balances, out of which he paid the salaries of the President, Secretary and two of the principal employes and remitted to the Secretary, from time to time as required, funds to cover the current expeuses of the Association. The receipts from the sale of discount stamps were deposited in a special account to the credit of Mr. William Bartholomae who held office as Treasurer to March, 1915, and thereafter to the credit of Mr. Thos. F. Keeley, now Treasurer. During Mr. Bartholomae's term the receipts were used to pay the salaries of the men engaged in the sale of stamps and other incidental expenses, only one item $12,000.00 being remitted to Mr. Ortseifen for the benefit of the general Fund. Since Mr. Keeley's appointment however the discount stamp expenses have been paid out of the Secretary's account and withdrawals from the stamp fund for general purposes up to 30th June aggregated $60,000.00 (in addition to the $12,000.00 mentioned above.)

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

The following is a summary of the Receipts and Disbursements for the period under review:

Receipts:	
U. S. Brewers Association	$330,138.00
Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association	100,000.00
Sundry State Organization Contributions	29,622.93
Sale of Stamps	136,194.01
Interest on Bank Balances	5,301.09
"Hans Dippel" Cash Returned	1,618.13
Recovered from Fire Insurance Co. for Loss	2,891.22
Hearthstone Magazine Receipts	10,611.78
Percy Andreae	4,852.80
German American Alliance	3,600.00
Sale of Mr. Andreae's Speeches, &c	468.88
	625,298.84
Disbursements:	
Office Expense	174,982.25
Publicity Expense	120,873.04
Organization Expense	145,609.72
Stamp Expense	22,057.25
"Hans Dippel" Expense	16,100.00
Hearthstone Magazine Expense	68,295.15
Furniture and Fixtures	4,554.60
Percy Andreae	5,411.46
	557,883.47
Cash on hand	67,415.37
	625,298.84

Particulars of the above may be found on Schedule 1 showing the Receipts and Payments classified under the names of Adam Ortseifen, Wm. Bartholomae, Thos. F. Keeley and Gale M. Hartley.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.

This Account is submitted along with a Balance Sheet showing the Assets of the institution and differs from the Receipts and Disbursements insofar as the latter includes certain items of expenditure through which assets were acquired and other items as revenue which are more properly deductions from the expenses. The following is a summary, details of which may be found on Schedule 2.

Income:	
Contributions——	
U. S. Brewers Association	$330,000.00
Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association	100,000.00
	430,000.00
Sale of Stamps	136,194.01
Interest on Bank Balances	5,301.09
Sale of Mr. Andreae's speeches	300.88
	571,795.98
Expenditure:	
Office	160,647.21
Publicity	120,373.04
Organization	112,886.79
Stamp	21,667.25
"Hans Dippel"	14,481.87
Hearthstone Magazine	55,177.62
	485,233.78
Balance	86,562.20
	571,795.98

This balance is made up as follows:

Cash in Banks	$67,415.37
Furniture and Fixtures	3,637.75
Rent paid in advance	12,444.67
The Hearthstone Magazine	2,505.75
Percy Andreae	558.66
	86,562.20

These items are given in Balance Sheet form on Schedule 3.

We present on Schedules 4 and 5 statements of Mr. Ortseifen's Receipts and Payments and on Schedule 6 statement of Mr. Hartley's transactions applicable to the period covered by Mr. Ortseifen's term.

INCOME.

As stated above the Revenue of the Association consists principally of contributions by the United States Brewers Association and the Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association. We have not obtained a verification of these contributions from any outside source, the explanation of the bank deposits representing these contributions being supplied by Mr. Ortseifen's assistant, Mr. Drier. The revenue from the sale of discount stamps has been recorded in a special cash book and the funds deposited in separate bank accounts, and while particulars of the sales are shown on a card ledger no general ledger has been maintained to show the aggregate of the sales, cash receipts or payments. An analysis of the cash receipts showing the amount received from brewers, maltsters and glass manufacturers is included in Schedule 2.

The following contributions have been received from local state organizations for special survey work, which we have deducted from the expenses in order to show the net revenue for the period.

Texas State Organization	15,001.64
Illinois State Organization	7,021.29
Ohio State Organization	1,000.00
Iowa Brewers Association	6,100.00
	$29,122.93

EXPENDITURES.

The Expenses have been classified under the five main divisions of Office Expense, Publicity, Organization, Discount Stamps and Hearthstone Magazine, which have been sub-divided into various headings. Particulars of the first four may be found on Schedule 2, and the Hearthstone Magazine Expenses on Schedules 16 and 17.

The Office Expenses had been erroneously charged with the cost of maintaining Mr. Andreae's automobile which, however, we eliminated and charged to his account. Mr. Andreae refunded the major portion of these expenses ($4,380.15) in March 1915 and made a subsequent payment of $357.75 in June 1915, the balance of $558.66 at 30th June, 1915 being paid by him in August.

The salaries and traveling expenses covering all the activities of the institution are shown on Schedules 7 and 10 for the six months ended 30th June, 1915, and we also submit on Schedule 8 particulars of the salaries for the period prior to that date. This last statement is incomplete for the reason that we were unable to obtain details of certain checks drawn in the name of the bookkeeper for the payment of salaries in cash. It appears that the particulars had been recorded on the check book stubs and these were destroyed in a fire which occurred in January 1915. For your information we have appended on the salary schedules a list of the current yearly salaries of which we are advised that the following employes are engaged on a verbal contract basis, entered into by Mr. Andreae, personally, for the current year ended 1st March, 1916.

Name.	Yearly salary.
Gale M. Hartley, Secretary	$6,000.00
L. H. Gibson	7,500.00
John Lloyd	3,120.00
Adolph Kummer	3,000.00
C. H. Wirmel	5,000.00
J. M. Gregory	3,900.00
	28,520.00

We have made a further analysis of the traveling and hotel expenses for the six months ended 30th June, 1915, in order to show as nearly as possible the amount expended in the various states and for general purposes, which is given on Schedule 9. In compiling this statement we experienced considerable difficulty in arriving at an accurate distribution owing to the condition of the records, which had not been kept with the view of giving information of this kind, and we had therefore to rely almost entirely on verbal information given by the office staff.

On Schedule 11 we submit particulars of expenses incurred by the executive committee.

A statement of the claim paid for the loss due to the fire which took place in January, 1915, is given on Schedule 14 and amounts to $1,691.22. You will notice that we have deducted this credit from the expenses as well as an item of $1,200.00 recovered from the Insurance Company for rent paid, owing to the loss of occupation of the premises.

The Publicity Expenses include an item of $83,994.30 paid to the American Leader (Foreign Press). We understand that a verbal contract with this concern has been made by Mr. Andreae, personally, which expires on 1st January, 1916.

Organization expense.—These consist of salaries and traveling expenses for field and survey work in various states (with the exception of the contributions to the German American Alliance). Certain campaign work was conducted in Kentucky and Virginia, under the auspices of the Association for which no contribution was made by the local organizations, although we understand that the Kentucky organization has promised to remit one half of the expenses incurred in that state. The Texas and Illinois campaign expenses, which were refunded, are shown on Schedule 13. These are not included in the total of the organization expenses.

Discount stamp expenses.—The expenses in connection with the sale of stamps, which were paid out of the funds in the hands of the Secretary, were charged to Publicity Expenses prior to 1st April, 1915, and after that date were shown separately. We have endeavored to rearrange and group all the expenses under the proper headings, although in many instances owing to the insufficiency of the records it was not always possible to determine the correct distribution. The selling of stamps was confined to about two salesmen during 1914 and in April 1915 a considerable force was assigned to this work.

"Hans dippel" account.—This account, which is given on Schedule 12, represents the cost of staging and promoting a play known as the "Passing of Hans Dippel," which was played in the Fall of 1914 in the cities of Cleveland, Toledo, Dayton, Columbus, Cincinnati, Zanesville, Springfield, and St. Louis. The accounts of the Association did not show the expense of this play as a separate item as all advances were charged to Publicity Expense. The Secretary has furnished us with a complete statement supported by vouchers showing the disbursement of the funds advanced, which we have verified.

The Hearthstone Magazine.—This publication was started in 1914 and succeeded the magazine known as "Town and Farm" which had been taken over by this Association in December 1913 from the Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association. The magazine is published monthly and the subscription terms are 25 cents per annum while the advertising rate, which was 25 cents per agate line at the start is now 70 cents. The operating loss during 1914 was $23,716.29 while for the six months ended 30th June, 1915, it amounted to $22,502.10 which excludes the cost of maintaining a department known as the "National News Bureau" which cost in addition $8,959.23 for the period, or a total cost to the Association of $55,177.62. We submit on Schedules 16 and 17 Profit and Loss Accounts for the year 1914 and the six months ended 30th June, 1915.

On Schedule 19 we present a statement of the circulation as nearly correct as we were able to obtain from the records, which shows that at 30th June this had reached 260,974 copies for the July issue. At the September issue this had reached 300,000 copies, which are distributed over the states as shown on Schedule 20. The revenue obtained from subscriptions represents only about 12% of the total, equal to 3 cents per copy, or 6% if the premiums are taken into consideration, equal to 1½ cents per copy, which is explained by the fact that the major portion of the subscriptions were retained by the solicitors.

The advertising revenue for the six months ended 30th June, 1915 was considerably less than that earned for the corresponding period of 1914 for the reason that the advertising rate of "Town and Farm" was $1.00 per line whereas the Hearthstone started at 25 cents per line. As the rate for the

Hearthstone has already been increased to 70 cents per line, the revenue from this source must within the near future show a very material increase. The number of lines sold for the last issue was about 1,200, equivalent to 1½ pages, but it would appear that at this rate about 6,000 lines per month or eight pages will require to be sold before the magazine is on a self sustaining basis.

The following is a summary of the Profit and Loss Accounts for the period to 30th June, 1915:

	The Hearthstone.	National News Bureau.	Total.
Revenue	$19,456.08	$379.08	$19,835.16
Expenditures	65,674.47	9,338.31	75,012.78
Loss	46,218.39	8,959.23	55,177.62

Details of this statement may be found on Schedules 16 and 17.

The Miscellaneous Revenue on Schedule 16 represents an unaccounted for balance which is not shown by the books, or, in other words, the difference between the cash remitted to the Association and the revenue according to the books kept for the magazine.

The records kept during 1914 are in memoranda form only and we found them of very little value in ascertaining the status of the business. The salaries and bills were paid by the Association but we found that in the books kept for the magazine many of these payments had been omitted and we were obliged to compile the expenses from the Association books. At 1st January, 1915, however a regular set of accounts were opened which would have been quite satisfactory if an effort had been made to keep the balance due to the Association in agreement with the Association books but as this had not been done we found it necessary to make a large number of adjustments.

The following is a statement of the Assets and Liabilities at 30th June, 1915:

Assets:		
Furniture and Fixtures		$1,445.95
Inventory—Paper		2,179.93
Post Office Deposit		290.85
Cash on Hand		123.81
Accounts Receivable		1,512.19
		5,552.73
Liabilities:		
National Association of Commerce and Labor		57,683.37
Less—Deficit		55,177.62
		2,505.75
Accounts Payable		3,046.98
		5,552.73

This statement is shown on Schedule 15 which also includes the balances at 1st January, 1915. No depreciation has been written off from the furniture and fixtures.

General.—In the course of our work we found that a large number of payments were not supported by properly receipted vouchers or detailed statements. We have been advised that many of these statements were lost at the time of the fire. All the transactions pertaining to the general operations are recorded in a distribution book, the totals of which are not posted to a general ledger and the accounts with the salesmen and employes have been kept in a very unsatisfactory manner. In short both the bookkeeping and the method of filing the checks and other documents pertaining to the accounts, were incomplete in almost every detail.

We are pleased to report however that the officers and staff assisted us in every way and we have no reason to believe that all the funds have not been fully accounted for in one way or another.

Yours respectfully,

BARROW, WADE, GUTHRIE & Co.

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SCHEDULE No. 3.—*Balance sheet, 30 June, 1915.*

ASSETS.

Cash in bank:		
Continental & Commercial Nat'l Bank	45,238.36	
Depositors State Bank	10,425.89	
Union Trust Company	11,751.12	
		67,415.37
Furniture and fixtures	4,554.60	
Less, Recovered from Fire Insurance	916.85	
		3,637.75
Proportion of rent paid in advance		12,444.67
The Hearthstone Magazine	57,683.37	
Less, Deficit	55,177.62	
		2,505.75
Percy Andreae		558.66
		86,562.20

LIABILITIES.

Balance, income and expenditure account	$86,562.20

SCHEDULE No. 2.—*Income and expenditure account from date of organization to 30th June, 1915.*

INCOME.

Contributions:		
U. S. Brewers' Association	330,000.00	
Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association	100,000.00	
		430,000.00
Sale of stamps:		
Brewers	56,254.66	
Maltsters	58,407.48	
Glass	21,531.87	
		136,194.01
Sale of Andreae speeches		300.88
Interest on bank balances		5,301.09
		$571,795.98

EXPENDITURES.

Office expenses:		
Salaries—		
Percy Andreae	$83,333.25	
Miscellaneous	22,942.14	
Traveling Expenses	32,588.25	
Telegraph and Telephone and Postage	4,976.10	
Printing, Stationery and Office Supplies	5,277.68	
Rent (proportion of advance) 7,050.18		
Less: Recovered (Daniels) 168.00		
Recovered Insurance 1,200.00 1,368.00		
	5,682.18	
Light and Heat	1,170.83	
Petty Cash Expenses	273.00	
Insurance	173.25	
Medical Services	42.00	
Moving Expense	138.25	
Water and Ice	57.55	
Towel Service	51.00	
Association Dues	91.25	
Miscellaneous	3,544.90	
Executive Board Expenses	827.95	
U. S. Brewers' Association	138.00	
Recovered from Fire Insurance	384.37	
		$160,647.21
Publicity expenses:		
Salaries	10,778.19	
Traveling Expenses	4,279.53	
Rent	90.00	
Association Dues	12.50	
Office Expenses and Postage	5,916.31	
Telegraph and Telephone	1,228.23	
Printing and Stationery	5,242.23	
American Leader (Foreign Press)	83,994.30	
National Model License League	8,831.75	
		120,373.04
Carried Forward		281,020.25

SCHEDULE No. 9.—*Summary of traveling & hotel expenses six months ended 30th June 1915*

General work expense:		
Mr. Andreae and Mr. Hartley	6,141.23	
Mr. Gibson and Others	2,845.95	
		8,987.18
State of Maine		2,702.61
Ohio		3,440.48
Illinois		644.85
Iowa		550.00
General stamp selling expenses		5,376.28
Expenses re translation work		410.03
Expenses attending labor conventions (Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and Michigan)		1,841.71
Chicago hotel expenses:		
Great Northern Hotel (Mr. Hartley and entertaining)	450.80	
Kaiserhof Hotel (Mr. Lloyd and entertaining)	627.85	
New Southern Hotel (Mr. Lloyd and entertaining)	195.48	
		1,274.13
		25,227.27

SCHEDULE No. 6.—*Receipts and payments contd.*

Gale M. Hartley, Secretary Accounts	1 Nov. 1913 to 31 Dec. '14	1 Jan. 1915 to 30 Apr. '15	Total.
Expenses Brought forward	113,324.71	39,311.79	152,636.50
Organization—Cont'd:			
Office Salaries	3,147.66	3,945.00	7,092.66
Office Traveling Expense	1,580.85		1,580.85
Office Expenses	467.05	464.45	931.50
Organization Expense	1,400.21		1,400.21
Attorneys' Fees	2,703.80	1,287.70	3,991.50
Attorneys' Fees, Special	2,500.00		2,500.00
Stamp Account Expenses	*81.60*	3,856.89	3,775.29
Hearthstone	35,069.50	20,595.95	55,665.45
Less Receipts	*6,944.71*	*2,136.58*	*9,081.29*
Hans Dippel Expense	10,100.00		10,100.00
Less Receipts	*1,598.38*	*19.76*	*1,618.13*
Percy Andreae Auto Expense	3,880.12	1,007.35	4,887.47
Less Paid		*4,380.05*	*4,380.05*
Total expenses	165,549.21	63,932.75	229,481.96
Cash on hand 1st January & 30th April 1915	3,452.51	2,096.75	2,096.75
	169,001.72	66,029.50	231,578.71

SCHEDULE No. 14.—*Fire loss account.*

31st January 1915.

Stationery and supplies	319.72
Furniture	653.00
Rugs	209.85
Desk lamps	54.00
Stamps	390.00
Moving expense	51.50
Labor	6.75
Sundries	6.40
	1,691.22

BREWERS.

1913—May 16	25,000
July 8	25,000
Sept. 10	25,000
Sept. 27	25,000
Nov.	20,000
Dec.	20,000
1914—Jan.	20,000
Feb.	20,000
Mar.	20,000
Apr.	20,000
May	20,000
June	20,000
July	20,000
Aug.	20,000
Sept.	20,000
	320,000

DISTILLERS.

1913—Nov.	10,000
Dec.	10,000
1914—Jan.	10,000
Feb.	10,000
Mar.	10,000
Apr.	10,000
May	10,000
June	10,000
July	10,000
1915—July	10,000
	100,000

(Prepared by Gale M. Hartley.)

Stamp expenses—Continued.		
Office Expenses	$8.48	
Insurance	119.80	
Recovered from Fire Insurance (stamps destroyed)	*390.00*	
		$21,667.25
"Hans Dippel" account:		
Salaries and Expenses	17,962.67	
Less: Box Office Receipts	3,480.80	
		14,481.87
Hearthstone Magazine deficit		55,177.62
		485.233.78
Balance		86,562.20
		$571,795.98

SCHEDULE No. 15.—*The Hearthstone Magazine—Balancing sheet 1st January, 1915, and 30th June, 1915.*

	1st January, 1915.	30th June, 1915.
ASSETS.		
Furniture and fixtures	1,139.45	1,445.95
Inventory:		
Paper	207.27	2,179.93
Premiums	256.06	
Post office deposit	61.64	290.85
Cash on hand	603.14	123.81
Accounts receivable		1,512.19
	$2,261.56	5,552.73
LIABILITIES.		
National Association of Commerce and Labor	28,266.29	57,683.37
Less: Deficit	26,988.60	55,177.62
	1,277.69	2,505.75
Accounts payable	983.87	3,046.98
	$2,261.56	5,552.73

SCHEDULE No. 16.—*The Hearthstone Magazine—Profit and loss account from 1st November, 1913, to 31st December, 1914.*

Revenue:		
Subscriptions	$4,106.38	
Advertising	6,698.52	
Miscellaneous	1,592.68	
		$12,397.58
Expenses:		
Composition, Printing, etc	8,106.17	
Salaries	8,578.31	
Editorials	553.25	
Premiums	1,033.92	
Paper	5,016.14	
Illustrations and Engraving	1,298.33	
Patterns	125.29	
Traveling Expenses	476.60	
Mailing Magazine	742.18	
Postage	2,201.16	
Circulars	597.34	
Rent	530.00	
Printing and Stationery	670.59	
Stencils	615.69	
Telephone and Telegraph	46.35	
Advertising	3,640.60	
Advertising Agents' Commission and Expenses	1,278.30	

SCHEDULE No. 13.—*Texas campaign account, 31st December, 1914.*

Receipts:		
Local organization	15,000.00	
Interest	1.64	
		15,001.64
Disbursements:		
Salaries—		
Roadmen	5,273.03	
Office	337.50	
Roadmen's expenses	9,070.67	
Printing, etc	77.65	
Exchange	15.00	
		14,773.85
Balance returned to Texas organization		227.79
		15,001.64

Illinois campaign account, 31st December, 1914.

Receipts:		
Local organization	7,021.29	
Interest	4.00	
		7,025.29
Disbursements:		
Salaries	3,570.48	
Expenses	3,403.21	
Printing, etc	51.60	
		7,025.29

SCHEDULE No. 2.—*Income and expenditure account from date of organization to 30th June, 1915* (Continued).

EXPENDITURES—continued

Brought Forward			281,020.25
Organization expenses:			
German American Alliance	42,633.41		
Less: Returned (Iowa)	3,600.00		
		39,033.41	
Survey Salaries		17,005.81	
Field Salaries		12,336.89	
Office Salaries		16,796.66	
Survey Traveling Expenses		15,680.10	
Field " "		8,129.86	
Office " "		1,580.85	
Office Expense		931.50	
Organization Expense		1,400.21	
Attorneys' Fees		4,591.50	
" " Special		2,500.00	
Iowa Brewers' Association		*1,000.00*	
Ohio State Organization		*6,100.00*	
			112,886.79
Stamp expenses:			
Salaries		12,256.53	
Traveling Expenses		5,376.28	
Printing		1,554.09	
Commission on books—			
Retail Organization 25% on 634 books @ $10 each 25% of $6,340.00	1,585.00		
Duttle Commiss on	383.30		
" Expenses	117.20		
Commission to Solicitors	468.00		
Express	2.15		
Stenographer	50.00		
Phone	8.90		
Printing, etc	54.75		
Miscellaneous	72.77		
		2,742.07	

SCHEDULE No. 29.—*The Hearthstone Magazine—Subscription list.*

State:	No.
Alabama	7,000
Arizona	2,900
Arkansas	2,200
California	28,600
Connecticut	2,800
Colorado	3,000
Delaware	800
Florida	1,900
Georgia	2,900
Idaho	4,500
Illinois	4,000
Indiana	12,900
Iowa	12,100
Kansas	8,800
Kentucky	8,200
Louisiana	10,500
Maine	4,300
Maryland	300
Massachusetts	3,000
Michigan	11,300
Minnesota	8,800
Mississippi	7,800
Missouri	2,500
Montana	7,400
Nebraska	1,900
New Hampshire	6,000
New Jersey	1,400
New York	4,800
North Carolina	16,700
North Dakota	7,500
Ohio	2,200
Oklahoma	23,200
Oregon	5,200
Pennsylvania	2,500
Rhode Island	18,300
South Carolina	1,000
South Dakota	3,500
Tennessee	2,000
Texas	5,000
Utah	20,500
Virginia	600
Vermont	5,500
Washington	700
West Virginia	2,200
Wisconsin	3,500
Miscellaneous, Canada and foreign	6,000
	1,300
	300,000

SCHEDULE No. 21.—*The Hearthstone Magazine—Salaries, six months ended 30th June, 1915.*

	Weeks and Rate	Amount	Present Yearly Salary
J. M. Gregory	8 weeks @ $60.00 and 17 @ $75.00	1,815.00	3,900.00
H. G. Sommerman	26 weeks @ 45.00	1,170.00	2,340.00
Ed. McIntyre	22 " @ 60.00	1,320.00	
R. C. McGregor	11 " @ 30.00 and 15 @ 35.00	855.00	1,820.00
Don Allen	9 " @ 25.00	225.00	
Edna Nangle	26 " @ 21.00	546.00	1,092.00
Anna Baller	26 " @ 12.00	312.00	676.00
Rose Sondusky	26 " @ 10.00	260.00	520.00
Marie Sigborne	26 " @ 9.00	234.00	468.00
E. McGuirk	22 " @ 9.00	198.00	
Elsie Ellsworth	5 " @ 9.00 and 21 @ 10.00	255.00	520.00
Matie Friedland	12 " @ 9.00 and 14 @ 10.00	248.00	
F. Kercher	26 " @ 8.00	208.00	416.00
Josephine Mahoney	16 " @ 12.00 and 11 @ 14.00	350.00	728.00
Belle Wharton	7½ " @ 10.00	75.00	572.00
Mabel Palmer	12 " @ 8.00 and 3 @ 9.00	121.67	
Miss Grantz	6 " @ 9.00	54.00	
Lottie Bond	4 " @ 8.00 and 22 @ 9.00	230.00	468.00
Estelle Coombs	14 " @ 8.00	112.00	
Helen Richelson	6½ " @ 8.00	52.00	
Kittie Bowser	9 " @ 8.00	72.00	
J. T. Goodson	14 " @ 15.00 and 4 @ 12.00	258.00	624.00
Helen Moore	17 " @ 7.00	120.59	416.00
Ruth Henrichs	2 " @ 8.00	16.00	
Ida Blessenburg	7 " @ 10.00	70.00	
H. Krause	1 " @ 12.00	12.00	
Alice Semlak	8 " @ 6.00	48.00	
Virginia Cobb	3 " @ 5.00	15.00	
Elsie Friedel	9 " @ 12.00	108.00	624.00
F. Hiltman	2-2/3 weeks @ $8.00	21.40	
J. L. Thomson	7 weeks @ 12.00	84.00	
Wm. Krause			260.00
Miss Peterson		36.01	
Miss Nelson		8.00	
A. Kling		30.00	
Sundry		51.09	
H. A. Phillips		15.00	
		9,605.76	15,444.00

Distribution.

Advertising Expense	1,206.76
Subscription Expense	1,325.61
Production Expense	959.67
Office Expense	2,616.00
National News Bureau	3,499.08
	9,605.76

SCHEDULE No. 22.—*The Hearthstone Magazine—Salaries, Period from 1st November, 1913, to 31st December, 1914.*

	Rate for week.	
J. M. Gregory	$60.00	$3,240.00
Don Allen	25.00	975.00
R. C. McGregor	30.00	1,020.00
H. G. Sommerman	45.00	1,395.00
Ed. McIntyre	40.00	935.00
Walter Andrews	35.00	225.00
R. O. Warner	35.00	100.00
E. Hummell	15.00	142.50
Ruth Hummell	7.00	51.00
Edna Nangle	18.00	805.00
Miss Douglas	9.00	14.25
Anna Baller	12.00	252.00
E. McGuirk	9.00	164.85
Matie Friedland	9.00	180.00
Miss Butler	10.00	25.00

SCHEDULE No. 20.—*The Hearthstone Magazine—Subscription list.*

State:	No.
Alabama	7,000
Arizona	2,900
Arkansas	2,200
California	28,600
Connecticut	2,800
Colorado	3,000
Delaware	800
D. C.	1,900
Florida	2,900
Georgia	4,500
Idaho	4,000
Illinois	12,900
Indiana	12,100
Iowa	8,800
Kansas	8,200
Kentucky	10,500
Louisiana	4,300
Maine	300
Maryland	3,000
Massachusetts	11,300
Michigan	8,800
Minnesota	7,800
Mississippi	2,500
Missouri	7,400
Montana	1,900
Nebraska	6,000
New Hampshire	1,400
New Jersey	4,800
New York	16,700
North Carolina	7,500
North Dakota	2,200
Ohio	23,200
Oklahoma	5,200
Oregon	2,500
Pennsylvania	18,300
Rhode Island	1,000
South Carolina	3,500
South Dakota	2,000
Tennessee	5,000
Texas	20,500
Utah	600
Virginia	5,500
Vermont	700
Washington	2,200
West Virginia	3,500
Wisconsin	6,000
Miscellaneous, Canada and foreign	1,300
	300,000

SCHEDULE No. 1.—*Receipts and disbursements from date of organization to 30th June, 1915.*

	Period ended 31st December 1914				Six months ended 30th June 1915					
	Adam Ortseifen treasurer	William Bartholomæ treasurer	Gale M. Hartley secretary	Total	Adam Ortseifen treasurer	William Bartholomæ treasurer	Thos. F. Keeley treasurer	Gale M. Hartley secretary	Total	Grand total
Balance on hand					$86,146.08	$67,843.92		$3,452.51	$157,442.51	
RECEIPTS										
U. S. Brewers' Association	$330,000.00		$138.00	$330,138.00						$330,138.00
Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association	90,000.00			90,000.00	10,000.00				10,000.00	100,000.00
Iowa Brewers' Association			1,000.00	1,000.00						1,000.00
Ohio State Organization								6,100.00	6,100.00	6,100.00
Stamps		$86,539.47		86,539.47		12,710.60	$36,943.94		49,654.54	136,194.01
Interest on bank balances	3,393.57	493.15	57.47	3,944.19	474.06	281.60	578.85	22.39	1,356.90	5,301.09
Recovered from fire insurance:										
Property loss					1,691.22				1,691.22	1,691.22
Rent loss					1,200.00				1,200.00	1,200.00
Rent (A. P. Daniels)			168.00	168.00						168.00
Sale of Andreae speeches			300.88	300.88						300.88
Texas account			15,001.64	15,001.64						15,001.64
Illinois account			7,021.29	7,021.29						7,021.29
Cuyahoga County Home Rule Association			500.00	500.00						500.00
German American Alliance			3,600.00	3,600.00						3,600.00
"Hans Dippel" receipts			1,598.38	1,598.38				19.75	19.75	1,618.13
Hearthstone magazine receipts			6,944.71	6,944.71				3,667.07	3,667.07	10,611.78
Percy Andreae—Auto expenses returned								4,852.80	4,852.80	4,852.80
	$423,393.57	87,032.62	36,330.37	546,756.56	99,511.36	80,836.12	37,522.79	18,114.52	235,984.79	625,298.84
Transfers:										
Adam Ortseifen			165,000.00	165,000.00				61,462.82	61,462.82	226,462.82
William Bartholomæ	12,000.00			12,000.00			78,141.46		78,141.46	90,141.46
Thos. F. Keeley								60,000.00	60,000.00	60,000.00
	$435,393.57	87,032.62	201,330.37	723,756.56	99,511.36	80,836.12	115,664.25	139,577.34	435,589.07	1,001,903.12
DISBURSEMENTS										
Office:										
Salaries—Percy Andreae	63,333.27			63,333.27	13,333.32			6,666.66	19,999.98	83,333.25
" —Sundry	5,536.58		9,235.65	14,772.23	2,036.66			6,133.25	8,169.91	22,942.14
Traveling expenses	3,316.00		18,712.19	22,028.19	725.00			9,835.06	10,560.06	32,588.25
Telegraph and telephone			3,301.87	3,301.87				717.11	717.11	4,976.10
Postage								957.12	957.12	
Printing and stationery			1,620.56	1,620.56				2,869.07	2,869.07	5,277.68
Office supplies								788.05	788.05	

SCHEDULE No. 1.—*Receipts and disbursements from date of organization to 30th June, 1915*—Continued.

	Period ended 31st December 1914				Six months ended 30th June 1915					Grand total.
	Adam Ortseifen treasurer	William Bartholomæ treasurer	Gale M. Hartley secretary	Total	Adam Ortseifen, treasurer	William Bartholomæ treasurer	Thos. F. Keeley treasurer	Gale M. Hartley secretary	Total	
DISBURSEMENTS—continued.										
Office—Continued.										
Rent (paid in advance) 5 years	$21,000.00			$18,667.00				$827.85	$827.85	$19,494.85
Less: Interest	*2,333.00*									
Light and heat	46.50		$764.37	810.87				359.96	359.96	1,170.83
Petty cash expenses			243.00	243.00				30.00	30.00	273.00
Insurance	173.25			173.25						173.25
Medical service								42.00	42.00	42.00
Moving expense								138.25	138.25	138.25
Water and ice								57.55	57.55	57.55
Towel service								51.00	51.00	51.00
Association dues								91.25	91.25	91.25
Miscellaneous			3,317.82	3,317.82				227.08	227.08	3,544.90
Furniture and fixtures			4,137.60	4,137.60				417.00	417.00	4,554.60
Publicity expenses:										
National Model License League			4,831.75	4,831.75				4,000.00	4,000.00	8,831.75
Salaries			6,228.19	4,228.19				4,550.00	4,550.00	10,778.19
Traveling expenses			2,696.35	2,696.35				1,583.18	1,583.18	4,279.53
Rent								90.00	90.00	90.00
Association dues								12.50	12.50	12.50
Office expenses			4,396.82	4,396.82				466.35	466.35	5,916.31
Postage								1,053.14	1,053.14	
Telephone and telegraph			1,228.23	1,228.23						1,228.23
Printing and stationery			5,133.63	5,133.63				108.60	108.60	5,242.23
American Leader	43,612.58		12,392.76	56,005.34	$12,911.92			15,077.04	27,988.96	83,994.30
Cuyahoga County Home Rule Association			500.00	500.00						500.00
Organization expense:										
German American Alliance	30,600.01		5,033.40	35,633.41	5,000.00			2,000.00	7,000.00	42,633.41
Survey salaries			13,465.81	13,465.81				3,540.00	3,540.00	17,005.81
Field "	4,374.93		3,717.00	8,091.93	1,866.64			2,578.32	4,244.96	12,336.89
Office "	6,250.00		3,126.66	9,376.66	2,375.00			5,045.00	7,420.00	16,796.66
Survey traveling expense			10,132.61	10,132.61				5,547.49	5,547.49	15,680.10
Field " "			6,214.60	6,214.60				1,915.26	1,915.26	8,129.86
Office " "			1,580.85	1,580.85						1,580.85
Office expense			467.05	467.05				464.45	464.45	931.50
Organization expense			1,400.21	1,400.21						1,400.21
Attorney's fees			2,703.80	2,703.80				1,887.70	1,887.70	4,591.50
" " (special)			2,500.00	2,500.00						2,500.00

Texas account			$14,773.85	14,773.85							14,773.85
" " cash returned			227.79	227.79							227.79
Illinois account			7,021.29	7,021.29							7,021.29
Stamp account:											
Salaries		6,458.23		6,458.23		1,666.64		$4,131.66	5,798.30		12,256.53
Traveling expenses		349.47	81.60	267.87		823.72		5,376.28	5,376.28		5,376.28
Printing								462.50	1,286.22		1,554.09
Commission on books								2,742.07	2,742.07		2,742.07
Office expense								8.48	8.48		7.40
Insurance		100.00		100.00		19.80			19.80		119.88
Hans Dippel account	6,000.00		10,100.00	16,100.00							16,100.00
Hearthstone mata ine			35,211.00	35,211.00				33,084.15	33,084.15		68,295.15
Percy Andreae auto expenses			3,880.12	3,880.12				1,531.34	1,531.34		5,411.46
Expenses of executive board		281.00		281.00		184.50		362.45	546.95		827.95
	181,910.12	7,188.70	200,215.23	382,314.05	38,048.54	2,694.66		127,826.22	168,569.42		557,883.47
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.											
Transfers:											
Gale M. Hartley	165,000 00			165,000.09	61,462 82		$60,000.00		121,462.82		286,462.82
" "	2,337.37		2,337.37								
Adam Ortseifen		12,000 00		12,000 00		78,141.46			78,141.46		90,141.46
	349,247.49	19,188.70	197,877.86	566,314.05	99,511.36	80,836.12	60,000.00	127,826.22	368,173.70		934,457.75
Balance:											
Union Trust Co			3,452.51	3,452 51				11,751.12	11,751.12		11,751.12
Continental & Commercial National Bank	27,267.37			27,267.37			45,238 36		45,238 36		45,238 36
Depositors State Bank		67,843.92		67,843 92			10,425.89		10,425.89		10,425.89
Corn Exchange	58,878.71			58,878 71							
	$435,393.57	87,032.62	201,330.37	723,756.56	99,511.36	80,836.12	115,664.25	139,577.34	435,589.07		1,001,903.12

SCHEDULE No. 4.—*Receipts—Adam Ortseifen, treasurer, 1st May, 1913, to 30th April, 1915.*

Date	Bank	Amount	U. S. Brewers' Association	Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association	Interest	Sundries	
						Description	Amount
16 May 1913	Continental	$25,000.00	$25,000.00				
8 July "	"	25,000.00	25,000.00				
10 Sep. "	"	25,000.00	25,000.00				
27 Sep. "	"	25,000.00	25,000.00				
22 Aug. "	"	46.58			$46.58		
29 Aug. "	"	65.26			65.26		
30 Sep. "	"	78.90			78.90		
30 Oct. "	"	129.97			129.97		
30 Nov. "	"	133.75			133.75		
30 Nov. "	Corn Exchange	30,000.00	30,000.00				
30 Nov. "	"	32.29			32.29		
10 Dec. "	"	20,000.00	20,000.00				
10 Dec. "	"	10,000.00		$10,000.00			
18 Dec. "	Continental	2,333.00				Kiser—Interest in advance	$2,333.00
30 Dec. "	"	100.65			100.65		
31 Dec. "	Corn Exchange	59.42			59.42		
7 Jan. 1914	"	20,000.00	20,000.00				
19 Jan. "	"	10,000.00		10,000.00			
29 Jan. "	Continental	86.24			86.24		
31 Jan. "	Corn Exchange	106.48			106.48		
2 Feb. "	"	20,000.00	20,000.00				
3 Feb. "	"	10,000.00		10,000.00			
28 Feb. "	"	142.51			142.51		
28 Feb. "	Continental	80.54			80.54		
2 Mar. "	Corn Exchange	20,000.00	20,000.00				
11 Mar. "	"	10,000.00		10,000.00			
31 Mar. "	"	154.04			154.04		
31 Mar. "	Continental	67.17			67.17		
9 Apr. "	Corn Exchange	20,000.00	20,000.00				
13 Apr. "	"	10,000.00		10,000.00			
30 Apr. "	"	180.29			180.29		
30 Apr. "	Continental	69.26			69.26		
4 May "	Corn Exchange	20,000.00	20,000.00				
18 May "	"	10,000.00		10,000.00			
31 May "	Continental	63.78			63.78		
31 May "	Corn Exchange	179.31			179.31		
2 June "	"	20,000.00	20,000.00				
20 June "	"	10,000.00		10,000.00			
30 June "	"	200.17			200.17		
30 June "	Continental	57.58			57.58		
2 July "	Corn Exchange	20,000.00	20,000.00				

13 July	"	Continental	12,000.00				Bartholomae, Treasurer	12,000.00
17 July	"	Corn Exchange	10,000.00		10,000.00			
31 July	"	"	217.01			217.01		
31 July	"	Continental	57.53			57.53		
3 Aug.	"	Corn Exchange	20,000.00	20,000.00				
31 Aug.	"	"	20,000.00	20,000.00				
31 Aug.	"	"	234.33			234.33		
31 Aug.	"	Continental	67.72			67.72		
30 Sep.	"	"	63.61			63.61		
30 Sep.	"	Corn Exchange	232.75			232.75		
31 Oct.	"	"	187.67			187.67		
31 Oct.	"	Continental	53.70			53.70		
30 Nov.	"	Corn Exchange	149.77			149.77		
30 Nov.	"	Continental	51.07			51.07		
21 Dec.	"	Corn Exchange	10,000.00		10,000.00			
31 Dec.	"	"	116.27			116.27		
31 Dec.	"	Continental	44.22			44.22		
31 Jan. 1915		Corn Exchange	90.42			90.42		
31 Jan.	"	Continental	39.78			39.78		
5 Feb.	"	Corn Exchange	10,000.00		10,000.00			
9 Feb.	"	"	60.00			60.00		
9 Feb.	"	Continental	1,691.22				Fire Insurance Recovered	1,691.22
28 Feb.	"	Corn Exchange	60.94			60.94		
28 Feb.	"	Continental	35.40			35.40		
10 Mar.	"	"	1,200.00				Fire Ins. recovered—for Rent	1,200.00
31 Mar.	"	"	29.10			29.10		
31 Mar.	"	Corn Exchange	24.03			24.03		
30 Apr.	"	Continental	18.12			18.12		
			451,091.85	330,000.00	100,000.00	3,867.63		17,224.22

[1] Bank record shows 12/17/13

[2] Seventeen

SCHEDULE No 5.—*Payments—Adam Ortseifen, treasurer, from 1st May, 1913, to 30th April, 1915.*

Date	Bank	Amount	Salaries				German American Alliance	American Leader	P. Andreae Expenses	Gale M. Hartley Secretary	Miscellaneous	
			P. Andreae	G. M. Hartley	L. H. Gibson	C. H. Wirmel					Description	Amount
31 May 1913	Continental	$3,333.33	$3,333.33									
31 May "	"	747.00							$747.00			
17 June "	"	281.00							281.00			
28 June "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Aug. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Sep. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Oct. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
13 Oct. "	"	200.00									A. J. Doyle	$200.00
18 Oct. "	"	500.00							500.00			
5 Nov. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
11 Nov. "	Corn Exchange	213.00							213.00			
14 Nov. "	"	150.00									A. J. Doyle, Exp.	150.00
17 Nov. "	"	5,000.00								$5,000.00		
1 Dec. "	"	500.00			$500.00							
1 Dec. "	"	416.66		$416.66								
1 Dec. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Dec. "	"	21,000.00									J. W. Kiser, Rent	21,000.00
1 Dec. "	"	46.50									" Coal	46.50
1 Dec. "	"	173.25									Rent, Ins	173.25
12 Dec. "	"	2,102.14									Office Supplies	2,102.14
12 Dec. "	Corn Exchange	235.23									Office Supplies	235.23
31 Dec. "	"	416.66		416.66								
31 Dec. "	"	250.00			250.00							
31 Dec. "	"	275.00							275.00			
31 Dec. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
5 Jan. 1914	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
6 Jan. "	"	600.00					$600.00					
26 Jan. "	"	5,000.00					5,000.00					
26 Jan. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
27 Jan. "	"	4,166.67					4,166.67					
3 Feb. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
4 Feb. "	Corn Exchange	416.66		416.66								
4 Feb. "	"	500.00			500.00							
4 Feb. "	"	2,080.00						$2,080.00				
4 Feb. "	"	208.33				$208.33						
20 Feb. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
20 Feb. "	"	120.00									Wm. A. Drier	120.00
2 Mar. "	"	500.00			500.00							
2 Mar. "	"	416.66		416.66								
2 Mar. "	"	416.66				416.66						

2 Mar.	"	"	2,400.00						2,400.00				
2 Mar.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
4 Mar.	"	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
24 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
30 Mar.	1914	Corn Exchange	500.00			500.00							
30 Mar.	"	"	416.66		416.66								
30 Mar.	"	"	416.66				416.66						
30 Mar.	"	"	2,400.00						2,400.00				
30 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
30 Mar.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
3 Apr.	"	Corn Exchange	4,166.67					4,166.67					
8 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
24 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00					5,000.00					
24 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
2 May	"	"	500.00			500.00							
2 May	"	"	416.66		416.66								
2 May	"	"	416.66				416.66						
2 May	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
4 May	"	Corn Exchange	2,660.00						2,660.00				
6 May	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
6 May	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
11 May	"	"	2,500.00					2,500.00					
18 May	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
1 June	"	"	4,166.67					4,166.67					
1 June	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
1 June	"	"	500.00			500.00							
1 June	"	"	416.66		416.66								
1 June	"	"	416.66				416.66						
1 June	"	"	2,160.00						2,160.00				
1 June	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
16 June	"	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
29 June	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
1 July	"	"	500.00			500.00							
1 July	"	"	416.66		416.66								
1 July	"	"	416.66				416.66						
1 July	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
6 July	"	Corn Exchange	2,172.00						2,172.00				
6 July	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
14 July	"	"	200.00									A. J. Doyle	200.00
17 July	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
27 July	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
3 Aug.	"	"	500.00			500.00							
3 Aug.	"	"	416.66		416.66								
3 Aug.	"	"	416.66				416.66						
3 Aug.	"	"	2,193.88						2,193.88				
3 Aug.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
3 Aug.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
14 Aug.	"	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
25 Aug.	1914	Corn Exchange	750.00							750.00			
27 Aug.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
4 Sep.	"	"	10,000.00						10,000.00				
8 Sep.	"	"	500.00			500.00							

SCHEDULE No 5.—*Payments—Adam Ortseifen, treasurer, from 1st May, 1913, to 30th April, 1915.*

Date	Bank	Amount	Salaries				German American Alliance	American Leader	P. Andreae Expenses	Gale M. Hartley Secretary	Miscellaneous	
			P. Andreae	G. M. Hartley	L. H. Gibson	C. H. Wirmel					Description	Amount
31 May 1913	Continental	$3,333.33	$3,333.33									
31 May "	"	747.00							$747.00			
17 June "	"	281.00							281.00			
28 June "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Aug. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Sep. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Oct. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
13 Oct. "	"	200.00									A. J. Doyle	$200.00
18 Oct. "	"	500.00							500.00			
5 Nov. "	"	3,333.33	3,333.33									
11 Nov. "	Corn Exchange	213.00							213.00			
14 Nov. "	"	150.00									A. J. Doyle, Exp.	150.00
17 Nov. "	"	5,000.00								$5,000.00		
1 Dec. "	"	500.00			$500.00							
1 Dec. "	"	416.66		$416.66								
1 Dec. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
1 Dec. "	"	21,000.00									J. W. Kiser, Rent	21,000.00
1 Dec. "	"	46.50									" Coal	46.50
1 Dec. "	"	173.25									Rent, Ins.	173.25
12 Dec. "	"	2,102.14									Office Supplies	2,102.14
12 Dec. "	Corn Exchange	235.23									Office Supplies	235.23
31 Dec. "	"	416.66		416.66								
31 Dec. "	"	250.00			250.00							
31 Dec. "	"	275.00							275.00			
31 Dec. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
5 Jan. 1914	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
6 Jan. "	"	600.00					$600.00					
26 Jan. "	"	5,000.00					5,000.00					
26 Jan. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
27 Jan. "	"	4,166.67					4,166.67					
3 Feb. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
4 Feb. "	Corn Exchange	416.66		416.66								
4 Feb. "	"	500.00			500.00							
4 Feb. "	"	2,080.00						$2,080.00				
4 Feb. "	"	208.33				$208.33						
20 Feb. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
20 Feb. "	"	120.00									Wm. A. Drier	120.00
2 Mar. "	"	500.00			500.00							
2 Mar. "	"	416.66		416.66								
2 Mar. "	"	416.66				416.66						

2 Mar.	"	"	2,400.00						2,400.00					
2 Mar.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33										
4 Mar.	"	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00			
24 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
30 Mar.	1914	Corn Exchange	500.00			500.00								
30 Mar.	"	"	416.66		416.66									
30 Mar.	"	"	416.66				416.66							
30 Mar.	"	"	2,400.00						2,400.00					
30 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
30 Mar.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33										
3 Apr.	"	Corn Exchange	4,166.67					4,166.67						
8 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
24 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00					5,000.00						
24 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
2 May	"	"	500.00			500.00								
2 May	"	"	416.66		416.66									
2 May	"	"	416.66				416.66							
2 May	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33										
4 May	"	Corn Exchange	2,660.00						2,660.00					
6 May	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
6 May	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
11 May	"	"	2,500.00					2,500.00						
18 May	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
1 June	"	"	4,166.67					4,166.67						
1 June	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
1 June	"	"	500.00			500.00								
1 June	"	"	416.66		416.66									
1 June	"	"	416.66				416.66							
1 June	"	"	2,160.00						2,160.00					
1 June	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33										
16 June	"	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00			
29 June	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
1 July	"	"	500.00			500.00								
1 July	"	"	416.66		416.66									
1 July	"	"	416.66				416.66							
1 July	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33										
6 July	"	Corn Exchange	2,172.00						2,172.00					
6 July	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
14 July	"	"	200.00									A. J. Doyle		200.00
17 July	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
27 July	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
3 Aug.	"	"	500.00			500.00								
3 Aug.	"	"	416.66		416.66									
3 Aug.	"	"	416.66				416.66							
3 Aug.	"	"	2,193.88						2,193.88					
3 Aug.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
3 Aug.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33										
14 Aug.	"	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00			
25 Aug.	1914	Corn Exchange	750.00							750.00				
27 Aug.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00			
4 Sep.	"	"	10,000.00						10,000.00					
8 Sep.	"	"	500.00			500.00								

SCHEDULE No. 5.—*Payments—Adam Ortseifen, treasurer, from 1st May, 1915, to 30th April, 1915*—Continued.

Date	Bank	Amount	Salaries				German American Alliance	American Leader	P. Andrese Expenses	Gale M. Hartley Secretary	Miscellaneous	
			P. Andrese	G. M. Hartley	L. H. Gibson	C. H. Wirmel					Description	Amount
8 Sep. "	Corn Exchange	$416.66				$416.66						
8 Sep. "	"	416.66		$416.66								
8 Sep. "	"	3,129.88						$3,129.88				
8 Sep. "	"	5,000.00								$5,000.00		
8 Sep. "	Continental	3,333.33	$3,333.33									
25 Sep. "	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
29 Sep. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
30 Sep. "	"	5,000.00					$5,000.00					
1 Oct. "	"	500.00			$500.00							
1 Oct. "	"	416.66		416.66								
1 Oct. "	"	416.66				416.66						
1 Oct. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
7 Oct. "	Corn Exchange	2,241.23						2,241.23				
12 Oct. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
22 Oct. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
22 Oct. "	"	6,000.00									Hans Dippel A/C	$6,000.00
2 Nov. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
5 Nov. "	"	500.00			500.00							
5 Nov. "	"	416.66		416.66								
5 Nov. "	"	416.66				416.66						
5 Nov. "	"	2,521.21						2,521.21				
5 Nov. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
10 Nov. "	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
16 Nov. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
3 Dec. "	"	500.00			500.00							
3 Dec. "	"	416.66		416.66								
3 Dec. "	"	416.66				416.66						
3 Dec. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
3 Dec. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
4 Dec. "	Corn Exchange	2,193.88						2,193.88				
5 Dec. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
21 Dec. "	"	4,942.50						4,942.50				
21 Dec. "	"	2,518.00						2,518.00				
21 Dec. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
21 Dec. "	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
23 Dec. "	"	500.00			500.00							
5 Jan. 1915	"	416.66		416.66								
5 Jan. "	"	416.66				416.66						
5 Jan. "	"	2,395.72						2,395.72				
5 Jan. "	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
9 Jan. "	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		

19 Jan.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
19 Jan.	"	"	2,207.50						2,207.50				
30 Jan.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
2 Feb.	"	"	500.00			500.00							
2 Feb.	"	"	416.66		416.66								
2 Feb.	"	"	416.66				416.66						
2 Feb.	"	"	2,670.07						2,670.07				
2 Feb.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
5 Feb.	"	Corn Exchange	5,000.00								5,000.00		
10 Feb.	"	"	120.00									Wm. A. Drier	120.00
13 Feb.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
20 Feb.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
25 Feb.	"	"	125.00			125.00							
25 Feb.	"	"	83.34		83.34								
25 Feb.	"	"	5,000.00					5,000.00					
1 Mar.	"	"	625.00			625.00							
1 Mar.	"	"	500.00		500.00								
1 Mar.	"	"	416.66				416.66						
1 Mar.	"	"	1,813.88						1,813.88				
1 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
1 Mar.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
10 Mar.	"	Corn Exchange	725.00							$725.00			
18 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
22 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
30 Mar.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
5 Apr.	"	Continental	3,333.33	3,333.33									
5 Apr.	"	"	625.00			625.00							
5 Apr.	"	"	500,00		500.00								
5 Apr.	"	"	416.66				416.66						
5 Apr.	"	"	3,824.75						3,824.75				
7 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
24 Apr.	"	"	5,000.00								5,000.00		
8 May	"	"	1,462.82								1,462.82		
			451,091.85	76,666.59	7,333.24	8,625.00	6,041.57	35,600.01	56,524.50	3,491.00	226,462.82		30,347.12

SCHEDULE No. 6.—*Receipts and payments from 1st November, 1913, to 30th April, 1915, Adam Ortseifen, Treasurer; Gale M. Hartley, Secretary Accounts.*

	1 Nov., 1913, to 31 Dec., '14.	1 Jan., 1915, to 30 Apr., '15.	Total.
Balance, 1st January, 1915	.....	$3,452.51	.....
RECEIPTS.			
Adam Ortseifen, Treasurer	$165,000.00	61,462.82	$226,462.82
Adam Ortseifen, For Office Supplies	2,337.37	.....	2,337.37
Other Receipts:			
Interest on Bank Balance	57.47	14.17	71.64
Sale of P. Andreae Speeches	300.88	.....	300.88
Ohio Association	.....	1,100.00	1,100.00
Iowa Brewers' Association	1,000.00	.....	1,000.00
U. S. Brewers' Association	138.00	.....	138.00
Rent	168.00	.....	168.00
	169,001.72	66,029.50	231,578.71
EXPENSES.			
Office Expenses:			
Salaries	11,056.15	3,161.75	14,217.90
Office Traveling Expenses	18,793.34	5,392.81	24,186.15
General Expenses	1,536.67	2,907.15	4,443.82
Light & Heat	764.37	302.92	1,067.29
Printing, Stationery, and Supplies	1,620.56	1,794.09	3,414.65
Telegraph, Telephone, and Postage	3,301.87	638.58	3,940.45
Petty Cash Expenses	243.00	30.00	273.00
Office Furniture and Fixtures	4,137.60	188.20	4,325.80
Publicity Expenses:			
National Model License League	4,831.75	3,000.00	7,831.75
Salaries	6,278.19	2,362.00	8,640.19
Telegraph & Telephone	1,228.23	.....	1,228.23
Traveling Expenses	2,646.35	4,652.07	7,298.42
Printing and Stationery	5,133.63	.....	5,133.63
Postage and Miscellaneous	4,396.82	2,975.37	7,372.19
American Leader	12,392.76	.....	12,392.76
Organization:			
German American Alliance	5,033.40	.....	5,033.40
Less refund	5,600.00	.....	5,600.00
Survey Salaries	13,465.81	3,640.00	17,105.81
Field Salaries	3,717.00	875.00	4,592.00
Survey Traveling Expense	10,132.61	5,489.49	15,622.10
Field Traveling Expense	6,214.60	1,902.36	8,116.96
Carried forward	113,324.71	39,311.79	152,636.50

SCHEDULE No. 7.—*Salaries, 1st January to 30th June, 1915.*

	Present yearly salary.	Salaries paid from 1st January to 30th June, 1915.							
		Office.	Publicity.	Organization.			Stamp.	Total.	
				Survey.	Field.	Office.			
Percy Andreae	$40,000.00	$19,893.98						$19,999.98	December to May.
Gale M. Hartley	6,000.00	2,916.66						2,916.66	" " "
L. H. Gibson	7,500.00					$4,250.00		4,250.00	" " June.
John Lloyd	3,120.00					1,560.00		1,560.00	January " "
Arthur Von Koenig	5,000.00						$1,249.98	1,249.98	March to May.
W. R. Sweaney	3,640.00		$420.00				910.00	1,330.00	February to June.
C. N. Sparks (resigned)		80.00		$600.00		250.00	260.00	1,130.00	January to May.
H. B. Warner	1,820.00	70.00		420.00		105.00	210.00	805.00	January to June.
F. J. Cavender	1,820.00	35.00		420.00		175.00	280.00	910.00	" " "
N. C. Hoover	1,820.00	35.00		420.00		175.00	315.00	945.00	" " "
H. W. Jansen	2,080.00	40.00		430.00		140.00	355.00	965.00	" " "
Geo. F. Long (resigned)		60.00		330.00		90.00		480.00	January to April.
Braxton Bragg (resigned)		90.00		330.00		90.00		510.00	" " "
William Cohn	2,340.00	45.00		490.00		225.00	315.00	1,075.00	January to June.
E. J. Millburn	2,600.00		550.00				650.00	1,200.00	" " "
E. C. Wendell	1,560.60		80.00				390.00	470.00	March to June.
T. A. Dean (resigned)				100.00		300.00		400.00	January to February.
C. H. Wirmel	5,000.00				$2,499.96			2,499.96	January to June.
Adolph Kummer	3,000.00				1,500.00			1,500.00	" " "
Max Henrici	3,440.00		1,520.00					1,520.00	" " "
H. E. O. Heinemann (special)			1,340.00					1,340.00	
F. J. Powers	1,200.00		400.00					400.00	
F. F. Rondeau (special)							90.00	90.00	May and June.
A. Laird	3,600.00								
E. T. Bush (resigned)							833.32	833.32	December and January.
Wm. Drier (special)		120.00						120.00	Year to March, 1915.
Miss M. J. Winner	1,300.00	625.00						625.00	January to June.
Mrs. Mabel Ahern	1,170.00	607.50						607.50	" " "
Mrs. M. B. Harris	1,300.00	632.50						632.50	" " "
Flora Lyon	780.00	390.00						390.00	" " "
Minnie Warner	1,092.00	543.00						543.00	" " "
Helen Munson	936.00	468.00						468.00	" " "
Marie Gallagher	624.00	72.00	240.00					312.00	" " "
Loretta E. Gan	1,040.00	512.00						512.00	" " "
Henrietta Miller	780.00	251.25						251.25	" " "
Ray Tindolph	1,144.00	577.00						577.00	" " "
D. C. Pemberton					245.00			245.00	
	105,706.00	28,169.89	4,550.00	3,540.00	4,244.96	7,420.00	5,798.30	53,723.15	

SCHEDULE No. 8.—*Salaries for period ended 31st December, 1914.*

	Ortseifen	Office	Publicity	Organization			Total
				Office	Field	Survey	
Percy Andreae	$63,333.27						$63,333.27
Gale M. Hartley	5,416.58						5,416.58
L. H. Gibson	6,250.00						6,250.00
John Lloyd		$180.08		$468.08	$540.00	$900.40	2,088.56
A. Von Koenig		833.32	$200.00				1,033.32
C. H. Wirmel	4,374.93						4,374.93
R. Tindolph		981.00					981.00
F. E. Lyon		705.00					705.00
Max Henrici		20.00	2,415.19	60.00			2,495.19
H. Kummer				48.08	2,327.00	125.00	2,500.08
D. C. Pemberton				250.00	200.00	867.37	1,317.37
H. B. Warner		30.00		90.00		480.00	600.00
F. J. Cavender		35.00		105.00		560.00	700.00
T. A. Dean				200.00	200.00	1,089.90	1,489.90
B. M. Harris		202.50					202.50
William Baker		10.00					10.00
J. Lobenhofer		1.50					1.50
Louis Dugdale		5.00					5.00
B. Pastino		553.50		274.50		22.50	850.50
E. Cameron		3.75					3.75
A. Styck		37.50					37.50
M. Bechtold		35.00					35.00
L. White		3.00					3.00
L. Dunas		4.00					4.00
M. Clossen		112.50					112.50
W. Reno		15.00					15.00
G. Reibman		12.00					12.00
E. Pocock		40.25					40.25
H. Munson		660.00					660.00
H. E. O. Heineman			1,750.00				1,750.00
J. Meeker			200.00				200.00
F. J. E. Lloyd			550.00				550.00
T. J. Powers			600.00	500.00			1,100.00
Joe Glaser		1.25					1.25
W. J. Coonley		18.00					18.00
Chas. Bloom		142.00					142.00
Palmer C. Slocum			125.00				125.00
Rodney J. Diegle			260.00				260.00
E. Nelson Sparks				150.00		1,085.00	1,235.00
V. C. Hoover				105.00		560.00	665.00
William Cohn				105.00		560.00	665.00
H. W. Jansen		275.00		105.00		500.00	880.00
D. S. Matchette				80.00	80.00	565.00	725.00
T. J. Finn				60.00	60.00	420.00	540.00
John Devaney					20.00		20.00
William Drier	120.00						120.00
M. J. Winner		1,440.00					1,440.00
M. Ahern		975.50					975.50
Mabel E. Johnson		20.00					20.00
Marie Gallagher		260.00	108.00	262.00			630.00
Lillian Baker		10.00					10.00
Minnie Warner		858.00		12.00			870.00
Mabel Ruxton		162.00		144.00		18.00	324.00
Loretta Egan		594.00		108.00		18.00	720.00
Miscellaneous undistributed salaries (cash)			20.00		290.00	5,694.64	6,004.64
	79,494.78	9,235.65	6,228.19	3,126.66	3,717.00	13,465.81	115,268.09

SCHEDULE No. 10.—*Traveling and hotel expenses, six months ended 30th June, 1915.*

	Office		Publicity		Organization		Stamp Expenses	Total
	Traveling	Miscellaneous	Traveling	Miscellaneous	Field Trav.	Survey Trav.		
Mr. Andreae and Mr. Hartley	$4,783.31	$1,357.92						$6,141.23
L. H. Gibson	1,400.00	700.00						2,100.00
I. Lloyd	150.00	356.30				$525.60		1,031.90
Geo. F. Long	100.00					357.20		457.20
E. J. Millburn							$605.76	605.76
Arthur Von Koenig							699.50	699.50
Max Henrici				$410.03				410.03
C. H. Wirmel					$978.21			978.21
Adolph Kummer					800.00			800.00
D. L. Matchett					73.55			73.55
O. M. Patterson					63.50			63.50
V. C. Hoover		30.00				570.08	347.20	947.28
H. B. Warner						579.40	125.00	704.40
Braxton Bragg						552.08		552.08
C. N. Sparks						970.27	100.13	1,070.40
F. J. Cavender						518.88	242.44	761.32
Wm. Cohn						681.90	550.84	1,232.74
18—E. C. Wendel							464.98	464.98—18
19—W. R. Sweaney							1,300.35	1,300.35—19
20—H. W. Jansen	50.00					556.63	451.58	1,058.21—20
21—E. T. Bush							88.50	88.50—21
22—V. Laird							400.00	400.00—22
23—Soward	35.60							35.60—23
24—F. E. J. Lloyd		200.00						200.00—24
25—T. A. Dean		100.00				235.45		335.45—25
26—E. H. Jandon			$123.50	462.70				586.20—26
27—J. M. Gregory			305.00					305.00—27
28—T. B. Wadleigh				150.00				150.00—28
29—L. H. Hammerling				131.95				131.95—29
30—Great Northern Hotel		450.80						450.80—30
31—Kaiserhof Hotel	109.90	517.95						627.85—31
32—New Southern		195.48						195.48—32
33—Miscellaneous		22.80						22.80—33
	6,628.81	3,931.25	428.50	1,154.68	1,915.26	5,547.49	5,376.28	24,982.27

SCHEDULE No. 19.—*The Hearthstone Magazine circulation.*

Month	Printer's reports			Post office		Sample and waste copies	Number of copies to lb.	
	Paper used in lbs.	Paper used less 3½% waste	Quantity	Lbs.	Numbers		Printers	Post office
Dec., 1914	11,076	10,688	170,000				15.3	
Jan., 1915	32,395	31,261	200,000	24,474	171,318	28,682	6.1	7
Feb., 1915	35,324	34,088	220,000	27,120	189,840	30,160	6.2	7
Mar., 1915	41,788	40,325	250,000	31,991	214,339	35,661	5.9	6.7
Apr., 1915	41,788	40,325	250,000	34,109	221,708	28,292	5.9	6.5
May, 1915	26,567	26,036	245,000	25,738	240,701	4,299	9.2	9.7
June, 1915	29,496	28,563	260,000	26,347	257,170	2,830	8.8	9.7
July, 1915	30,090	28,937	265,000	27,322	260,974	4,026	8.8	9.5
	248,524	240,223	1,860,000	197,101	1,556,050	133,950		

	W. E. Duff	Batch	Postal sub-agency	C. S. Fleet	Atlanta Cir. Co.	Miscellaneous	Total
July, 1914	5,243					305	
Aug., 1914	844	487	200	1,828		984	
Sept., 1914	7,028	319	823	5,236		2,254	
Oct., 1914	13,337	211	2,035	800	4,250	2,189	
Nov., 1914	10,678	2,555	8,642		10,950	1,698	
Dec., 1914	14,815	4,402	11,366		11,910	3,198	
	51,945	7,974	23,066	7,864	27,110	10,628	128,587
Jan., 1915	11,642	4	10,066		11,875	3,170	
Feb., 1915	9,693		14,771		6,225	3,075	
Mar., 1915	6,980		11,518		225	2,161	
Apr., 1915	10,135		4,371	815	775	2,748	
May, 1915	8,068		1,380	1,192		1,417	
June, 1915	7,793		339	914	225	1,173	
	54,311	4	42,445	2,921	19,325	13,744	132,750
	106,256	7,978	65,511	10,785	46,435	24,372	261,337
Subscriptions at average of 25¢	$26,564.00	$1,994.50	$16,377.75	$2,696.25	$11,608.75	$6,093.00	$65,334.25
Commissions:							
@ 25¢	26,564.00	1,994.50	16,377.75		11,608.75		56,545.00
@ 21¢				2,264.85			2,264.85
Sundry						201.40	201.40
Total commissions	26,564.00	1,994.50	16,377.75	2,264.85	11,608.75	201.40	59,011.25
Net receipts				431.40		5,891.60	6,323.00

Revenue as above	$6,323 00
Received from brewers	335 00
Received through mail, etc	1,751.52
Revenue per profit and loss accounts	8,409.52

Maj. HUMES. To explain fully the activities of the National Association of Commerce and Labor we submit a report, marked "Exhibit No. 74," from L. H. Gibson and Gale M. Hartley, the field men and organization men of that bureau, to the United States Brewers' Association, submitted through Mr. Andreae, covering the campaigns of 1914, and I will read simply a portion of it in order that you may have an idea of their activities.

EXHIBIT No. 74.

Miscellaneous.

NOVEMBER 14, 1914.

The president and the board of trustees, of the
United States Brewers' Association, New Orleans, La.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to present the enclosed report of the operations of my organization during the past twelve months. The report has been prepared under my direction, by Mr. L. H. Gibson, who is in charge of the organization and publicity departments of my bureau, and, as it covers the ground as fully as is possible in a written document, I take leave to submit it in its entirety for your information.

I enclose likewise a statement of the expenditures connected with the work reported on, showing a total expenditure over eighteen months of $271,685.09 and total receipts as follows:

From the U. S. Brewers' Association	320,000.00
From the Nat'l Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association	90,000.00
Interest on funds in bank	2,907.14
	$412,907.14

The balance on hand November 1, 1914 was $141,222.05, against which liabilities of a corresponding amount have been incurred, as set forth in my letter to the Chairman of the Finance Committee dated October 15, 1914.

I have not dwelt especially upon the activities of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, which was formed at the instance of the U. S. Brewers' Association in Atlantic City in October, 1913, because the activities of that Association are practically identical with those covered by the report. The only feature relating to that Association not mentioned in the report is the method adopted by the National Association of Commerce and Labor to collect funds from its members by means of discount stamps to be purchased from that Association and affixed to invoices of goods delivered, either by those members themselves, or by the brewing firms with which they have dealings. By means of this method it has been hoped that it will prove possible to obtain such additional funds as will be sufficient to extend the operations described in the enclosed report in such manner as to carry out in its entirety the work outlined by me when I undertook to organize those elements of the country which are either directly or indirectly interested in defeating the aims of the prohibitionists.

It will be remembered by all at whose instance and desire I undertook the task entrusted to me that the amount which I estimated it would require annually to carry out this work was about five times greater than that which has actually been placed at my disposal. In other words, I have been obliged to reduce my plan of operations to one-fifth of that which was originally contemplated, and the cessation of payments to my funds by the United States Brewers' Association since October 1st has of course not only placed me in a position of considerable uncertainty as to the future prosecution of my work but has jeopardized the permanent value of the work already done. I am not aware to what extent these facts are known to the industry at large, but a knowledge of them is certainly required to enable those interested to draw a fair comparison between that which has been accomplished and the means placed at my command with which to accomplish it.

I am, very respectfully,

[Percy Andreae.]

NOVEMBER 14, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: With the close of the campaigns of 1914, a review of the work accomplished by your bureau during the past year will undoubtedly be of interest.

Under your direction the plans outlined by you have been carried in nearly all instances to a successful fruition by those who have been privileged to follow your command. A brief résumé of the work of the several departments of your bureau will best tell the story.

Undoubtedly one of the most important factors developed, from an organization standpoint, is that of the relationship you have established with the so-called foreign-language elements though their representative publications in the United States. At this date, 683 newspapers with a total circulation of approximately 7,500,000 are republishing in twenty-nine languages the articles on Personal Liberty appearing bi-weekly over the name of Louis N. Hammerling in the American Leader and working towards a general organization among the readers of these newspapers in defense of the people's liberties.

For your information I want to say that the documentary evidence will establish that the articles in the American Leader, referred to, over the name of Louis N. Hammerling, were really written by Mr. Andreae; and in order to conceal the identity of the authorship Mr. Hammerling's name as president of the Foreign Language Newspaper Association was used as the author, and that was part of the written contract between Hammerling and Andreae.

The effectiveness of this work among the foreign language citizens was clearly demonstrated in the campaign in Ohio, where in all of the cities where the naturalized foreigner was to be found, decisive victory came to those opposing prohibition, and advocating home rule, and the activity to which the foreign citizens were aroused in that State was probably one of the greatest contributing factors to our success.

Equal in importance to the development of this element of organiaztion were the measures adopted to bring the German-American Alliance into harmonious accord with your plans. The very effective work accomplished by the Indianapolis Bureau of the German-American Alliance established under your direction has been most strikingly evidenced in the campaigns waged in Texas, Iowa and Ohio. Specific reference to those campaigns, with the work done by the German-American Alliance Bureau, will be made later in this report.

As another important phase of the work developed from a national organization standpoint, we may mention the action of the United Brewery Workers, who through their official publication, have carried on an aggressive publicity campaign, the articles being supplied from this office, and appearing regularly in their columns.

Senator STERLING. By "this office," what office is meant?

Maj. HUMES. The Andreae office; the office of the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Senator STERLING. Oh, yes.

Maj. HUMES (reading):

These articles have been copied in many of the labor papers of the United States, and have contributed their share in rousing organized labor to opposition to prohibition.

See your report to the President of the U. S. Brewers' Association of April 23, 1914.

In reference to nation-wide prohibition the work done under your direction in apprising Congress of the sentiment existing throughout the country against national prohibition requires special mention. You will recall that early in January of this year, you called a meeting of many prominent brewers and liquor men to meet with you here in Chicago for the purpose of canvassing the situation as it affected nation-wide prohibition in their several States. (See your report to the President of the U. S. Brewers' Association of January 23, 1914.) At this meeting there were forty-four present, as representatives from sixteen States. The resolution of protest against nation-wide prohibition to be sent to Congress placed before the meeting by you, was adopted, and an aggressive campaign immediately begun to see that such protests, either in petition or individual form, were circulated throughout the country for signature. The work done by the brewers, distillers, wholesale liquor dealers, and the members of the allied trades, resulted in thousands of protests being filed in Washington, and this work was further augmented by that of the United Brewery Workers, German-American Alliance, and the foreign language elements, with the result that it is estimated that more than four million people in the United States made it apparent to Congress that they were opposed to nation-wide prohibition. In order to insure the proper attention

to the protests as they poured in upon the senators and congressmen in Washington, you directed two of your staff to proceed to Washington and, with the assistance of friends on the spot, to follow up these protests and arrange for their proper presentation to the Congress. In illustration of the effect of this campaign it may be pointed out that previous to the time that the protests were filed with Congress, the general concensus of opinion at the national capitol was that if either the Hobson, Sheppard, or Works resolutions should be pressed to a vote, the necessary two-thirds in both branches would register in favor of submitting a nation-wide prohibition resolution to the various States for ratification or rejection. Within six weeks after the protests began to pour in upon Congress, the sentiment had undergone such a thorough change that it was the general opinion in Washington that nation-wide prohibition would not receive more than a majority vote instead of the two-thirds vote in either branch of the national Congress. When the protests began to grow by thousands, and even millions, the sentiment underwent a further change, to the extent that it became the fixed opinion of the best informed in Washington that it was doubtful whether prohibition would even receive a majority of the votes. A further indication of the effectiveness of this protest work can be found in the changed attitude of those in charge of the prohibition campaign at Washington. At first the prohibitionists insisted upon their measure being reported out of committee, and pressed to a vote. Later, with the change of sentiment, largely caused by these protests, they did everything in their power to keep the Rules Committee from reporting a special rule to bring the measure to a vote, fearing that it would be overwhelmingly defeated as the result in part at least of the protests filed with Congress and their effect upon the members.

The rapidity with which the various liberal elements responded to your call upon the protest matter can be shown by one instance. When word was received by you that the Judiciary Committee of the House had reported the Hobson resolution to the House, and that a special rule would likely bring it to the floor for a vote, within twelve hours after that information had been received every brewer and the allied elements of your organization had been informed of the action, and urged to forward immediately telegraphic or written personal protests from as many people as could be secured to send such protests.

Senator STERLING. Maj. Humes, right there, what do you understand to be included in "the allied elements of your organization"?

Senator OVERMAN. Everybody that sold to barrooms—persons who dealt in pickles and cigars and bottles and cheese; everything that barrooms use.

Maj. HUMES. You will notice from the record that there have been organized all over the country organizations known as manufacturers' and dealers' clubs and associations. It was through those organizations that there has been an effort made, and a very successful effort in most instances, to bring together all of the business interests who deal with or sell to the brewers or the liquor dealers in any way.

Senator STERLING. Those are some of the associations referred to by Mr. McDermott in his testimony awhile ago?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir; and the National Association of Commerce and Labor is supposed to be an organization of those allied interests. The records that have been offered in evidence show that at Atlantic City in 1913 this meeting was called in connection with the meeting of the United States Brewers' Association, and during their convention, for the purpose of organizing all of these allied trades into an organization to be identified with the brewers and financed by the brewers, but with a view of preventing the public generally from knowing of the alliance.

Senator OVERMAN. And blacklisting everybody who took part in advocating prohibition.

Maj. HUMES (reading):

Fifteen hundred telegrams were sent from your office upon that subject, and the response was so ready that by the afternoon of the next day every Senator and Congressman had received hundreds of telegraphic protests, which were further strengthened and augmented by thousands of written protests.

It was at about this time that the hotel men of the United States invited you to address them upon the subject of nation-wide prohibition at a special meeting of their association held in New York City. As a result of your address they adopted resolutions and appointed a committee to take a poll, upon a specified date, of their guests and their attitude toward nation-wide prohibition, such poll to be carried forward under your direction, through your Bureau. The committee appointed by the hotel men sent to the 22,000 hotels in the United States, a letter urging them to assist in the taking of such poll, and it is gratifying to note that nearly 8,000 responded favorably, and expressed their willingness to assist in the taking of the poll at any date specified. These 8,000 hotels are the principal ones in the country. (See your report to the President of the U. S. Brewers' Association on April 23, 1914.)

While referring to the wide publicity of the movement against nation-wide prohibition obtained through your address at the Hotel-men's Convention, it may be noted that the publicity secured through the foreign language newspapers undoubtedly came as the result of your address to the 600 publishers of foreign language newspapers in New York City February 7th. This address led to a wide discussion by leading statesmen and educators throughout the country, and brought added publicity through most of the leading newspapers in the United States. It also led to meetings in various centers of the country between you and the publishers of foreign language newspapers, at which discussions of the ways and means of utilizing the enormous influence of this organized press in furtherance of liberal ideas was held.

The address delivered by you July 22nd at Cleveland, on the Need of a National Liberty Day, secured wide publicity, and many State organizations thought it of sufficient merit to use it extensively in their State campaigns.

Your publicity department early in July established a weekly news service, which is being sent to the weekly and semi-weekly newspapers throughout the United States, and from which excellent results have followed showing that in the few months during which this news service has been in operation 614 weekly newspapers published in 32 states have accepted the service and have published 1308 special articles emphasizing the liberal side of the temperance question.

Another phase of general publicity is the monthly magazine issued through your Publicity Department which goes to 150,000 bona fide subscribers in the various States of the Union. This magazine is one devoted to topics of interest to both men and women, and in every issue carries an article favorable to the liberal cause. It is in every way a legitimate magazine and receives a considerable advertising patronage. It is largely read among the farming population, and the circulation is increasing appreciably every week.

Senator OVERMAN. What magazine is that?

Maj. HUMES. The Hearthstone was the name of it. It has since been abolished. (Reading:)

Another effective means of publicity established by you was when arrangements were recently made to take over control of, and direct the movements of the National Model License League. This organization has an established name throughout the country, and is the means of securing extensive dissemination of friendly matter. The fact that you are directing its movements will bring it into more harmonious accord with the general plans of publicity and organization established in national and state campaigns.

Early in June, 1913, the brewers of Iowa requested you to outline a plan of campaign for their State and expressed a willingness to follow the details of such plan when they were perfected. The brewers of Iowa stated that they were confronted with complete annihilation unless it were possible to so educate the people of the State that a majority in either branch of their Legislature would oppose state-wide prohibition and favor some constructive form of legislation that would result in option elections instead of the present petition system. Following your instructions, your organization department had a complete survey of the State made to ascertain the actual conditions existing in the State, and upon this survey an analysis of those conditions was made, and a general plan of campaign outlined. The first fight in connection with that campaign oc-

curred at the primaries held in Iowa June 1st, 1914. Previous to that time the Indianapolis German-American Alliance Bureau, at your direction, sent several of its very best men into the State to awaken the Germans to a realization of the detriments that state-wide prohibition would bring to Iowa. Correspondence with the leading clergy throughout the State was established from headquarters resulting in the enlistment of the liberal clergy throughout the State in an aggressive campaign against the fanatical dry element, and through the work of these and other men the German-American Alliance was made a strong and effective ally in the fight. At the same time that the men from the Indianapolis bureau entered the State your organization department sent labor organizers into Iowa, whose duty it was to arouse as far as possible the labor element of the State, and in this direction excellent work was also accomplished. Perhaps the most gratifying condition found to exist in Iowa was the complete willingness of the brewers of that State, and their counsel, Mr. Henry Thuenen, of Davenport, to follow out the plans of campaign suggested by you. It is to the great intelligence shown and the extraordinarily effective work accomplished by the representatives of the industry in Iowa in carrying out the plan of campaign that the satisfactory outcome of the same has been primarily due. The result of the primaries in Iowa can best be described by a quotation from a letter received from Mr. Thuenen in which he spoke of the excellent results obtained by him, as follows:

"I am free to say that in my judgment, this contest could not have possibly been successful had it not been for the effectiveness of the organization created by us under your direction. Generally after a contest of this character one can figure a great many things which were neglected or which should have been done, but as I look back upon this contest I feel that every element of organization possible in the State was developed to its best and greatest strength, and that without this organization we must have met with an humiliating defeat."

The result of the primary election in Iowa is said to have been equalled in the general election held in that State November 3rd.

Early in December, 1913, three of the leading brewers of Texas visited your bureau in this city and requested you to suggest plans for a campaign to be conducted in that State. These gentlemen stated that they were confronted with a campaign which might result in the election of a prohibition Governor, the Submission of a Prohibition Constitutional Amendment, either by the approval of the voters at their primaries, to be held in July, or by the submission by the legislature if two-thirds of both branches of that body should consist of prohibitionists. From this it may be seen that the contest in Texas was extremely complicated, presenting as it did at least three phases. Upon their request to you and under instructions from you, your organization department made a survey of the State of Texas, and a complete analysis was made of the conditions existing in the State based upon the survey. This was a stupendous undertaking, from the fact that there are two hundred and fifty-three counties in the State, and that the analysis not only had to be made from a state-wide standpoint, but also from the standpoint of the Senatorial District, the straight House Legislative District, and the Flotorial Legislative District. Upon the completion of the survey and when the analyses had been partially completed, a conference was held with Mr. R. L. Autrey, who had been designated by the brewers of Texas to represent them in the active campaign, and Mr. Rollins M. Colquitt, who had been chosen as the Manager of the campaign. The reports covered by the survey, together with the analyses, were turned over to Mr. Colquitt, and taken by him to Texas. Following the conference referred to, the Indianapolis bureau of the German-American Alliance, at your request, sent several very capable men into Texas, where they proceeded to develop the elements of organization in that direction along identically the same lines followed in Iowa. Your organization department likewise sent an active and intelligent labor man into the State, and so effective was his work that, for the first time in the history of the Texas State Federation of Labor, it passed by an almost unanimous vote a resolution at its El Paso Convention, denouncing the iniquities of state-wide prohibition, and pledging its support to the anti-prohibition candidate for governor, and against the submission of state-wide prohibition. In explanation of this action it might be well to state at this time that the prohibitionists of Texas had nominated Thomas H. Ball for Governor. Mr. Ball was one of the strongest men that could possibly have been put forward by the prohibitionists. The Anti-prohibitionists had centered upon James E. Ferguson, who was well and favor-

ably known as a banker and farmer, but who did not have an extensive acquaintance throughout the State as a politician. The prohibitionists had also petitioned for the Submission at the primaries of a resolution binding the Legislature to submit in 1915 the question of state-wide prohibition. It is herewith appropriate to state in Texas if the voters approve a resolution of this character at the Democratic Primaries, that it binds the Legislature to its fulfillment. That the plan of campaign suggested by you to those in charge of the fight in Texas gradually unfolded itself and proved to be all claimed for it, is evidenced by a letter received by your organization department from Mr. Rollins M. Colquitt, Manager of the Texas campaign, under date of June 2nd, when the entries for the Primaries had been closed. The quotations from Mr. Colquitt's letter are as follows:

"I have found the reports extremely valuable, especially in providing complete information for the men who are going to handle special districts and who had some particular work to perform." ———

"The County Chairmen ——— have used the different elements of organization suggested in the reports to the best advantage and I believe when the vote is counted in July that the effect of this organization will be apparent."

"In several of the counties we have succeeded in accomplishing wonderful results."

That Mr. Colquitt's prediction was fully substantiated by the vote in July, is of course, a matter of history. Mr. Ferguson, the Anti-prohibition candidate, succeeded in defeating Thomas H. Ball, the Prohibition candidate. Submission was defeated, and a sufficient number of Senators were elected to make it impossible for the prohibitionists to have two-thirds of this body, while the Anti-prohibition membership in the House is also sufficiently large to make it impossible for the prohibitionists to have two-thirds of that body.

The character of the work done by the organization department of your Bureau in Texas has been referred to in a letter received from Mr. R. L. Autrey, from which the following extracts have been taken:

"I will tell you frankly that the data gathered by your men under your plan of survey is very valuable. In fact, it is indispensable to the manager of a campaign who is not acquainted with the ground over which he expects to operate.—The Texas campaign took a turn of radical departure from the old line of political fights. In fact, it assumed an antithetical aspect to the old political style of campaigns and its success turned and hinged on that very feature, attacking the old politician and throwing him into the discard."

From the above remarks of Mr. Austry, and the already quoted letter from Mr. Colquitt, it will be seen that the willingness of the brewers of Texas to cooperate fully in the plan suggested by you was as enthusiastically granted as by the brewers of Iowa, and consequently it is of some gratification that we could at least contribute some share to the excellent results secured in that State by those in charge of the general campaign there.

Upon the completion of the survey in the State of Texas, the brewers of Illinois requested that a survey be made of that State in time if possible for use in the local option elections held April 27th, and for such future use as they might desire to make of it. The survey in Illinois was completed early in March, and was turned over to Austin Doyle, of the Illinois Brewers' Association, and by him distributed to the representatives of the Illinois Brewers' Association in several sections of the State. It is our understanding that the survey reports were used with a great degree of success in the local option campaigns, and have been used in a general way in the recent state campaign.

In April of this year your organization department, upon your instructions, was represented at a conference held at the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Virginia, to discuss the campaign about to be waged in that State. At this meeting your representatives suggested a survey of the State, and a campaign based upon the plans which such a survey might deveolp. Those in charge of the fight in Virginia were not willing to make the preliminary expenditure which the survey would entail to ascertain the conditions existing in the State and the possibilities from an organization standpoint. When this matter was reported to you from this Department, your instructions to proceed and survey the State were followed, and upon the completion of the survey the data gathered, together with the analysis based upon the information contained in the survey, was placed before Mr. Paul Garrett, who was managing the Virginia campaign, President Schmidt of the United States Brewers' Association, and Mr. John Gardiner, at a meeting held in Cincinnati. Under your instructions a man

was sent to Virginia, representing your Bureau, in order to give such advice as might be required regarding the method of utilizing the information contained in the survey. His work largely developed in arousing the tobacco people of Virginia to the necessity of actively opposing state-wide prohibition. If this phase of the campaign in Virginia could not prevent the unfortunate issue in that State, we at least know that certain documentary evidence regarding the real attitude of the prohibitionists towards the tobacco industry procured by our operatives in Virginia has been used with striking effect in other tobacco growing districts of the Union, causing the tobacco interests to realize for the first time that an attack upon tobacco will inevitably follow and is in many instances indeed already co-extensive with the campaign for prohibition.

About the middle of June, representatives of this Department accompanied you to Louisville, Kentucky, where a conference was held with those representing the industry in that State, at which meeting you were requested to make a survey of the State of Kentucky looking to a state-wide prohibition contest, which seems to be inevitable there.

See your letter to the President of the U. S. Brewers' Association of June 18, 1914.

At this meeting you were asked whether it would be possible to make an immediate survey in 16 counties of the State where county option elections were threatened by the prohibitionists as a result of the county option bill passed in Kentucky by the last legislature. The survey in these sixteen counties was started immediately, and the reports from the counties were placed in the hands of Mr. Sidney Story, who had been chosen by the interests in that State to supervise the county option elections, so far as it was possible to have the people in the various counties accede to suggestions or direction from a central head. It was generally conceded at this meeting by those who had been active in affairs in Kentucky that there was a likelihood that all but two of the sixteen counties would be lost to the prohibitionists. The survey of the sixteen counties showed that two of the counties could certainly be carried against the prohibitionists; that three of them were substantially hopeless, and that eleven of them presented a fair opportunity for organization. Instead of sixteen counties holding elections, fifteen of them held elections, and of the fifteen counties nine went for prohibition and six went against prohibition.

To assist the people in Kentucky your instructions to this Department to send experienced men from the Department into Kentucky to assist them in outlining and perfecting plans of organization, were complied with, and the work done by these men was of undoubted assistance in producing the results which followed in the county option elections. The survey of the balance of the State has been completed, and at the earliest possible moment a complete analysis, based upon the survey, with recommendations for the plan of campaign, will be placed in the hands of those in charge of affairs in Kentucky.

Should you desire to make this report public, it might be well to state for the information of those who have not been in close touch with the work of your bureau during the past year, that the men assigned to State campaigns in cases where those campaigns were conducted upon the basis of a survey previously made by you have been at the expense of your bureau.

Undoubtedly the greatest success which has to be recorded at the recent elections was the result in Ohio. (See your report to the President of the U. S. Brewers' Association of June 30, 1914.) Early in June representatives from your organization department accompanied you to Cincinnati, where, at a conference held with those interested in the industry in that State, your advice and counsel was asked as to the advisability of submitting a constitutional amendment which would have the effect of repealing the County Option law, and inhibiting future Legislatures from passing statutory state-wide prohibition. It was pointed out in that meeting that should such action be taken, that the Anti-Saloon League might retaliate with a constitutional amendment providing for state-wide prohibition. Your argument in reply to this objection was that should the league be foolish enough to submit State-wide prohibition, it would add to the prospects of securing the passage of the amendment repealing County Option. It was extremely fortunate that the man in charge of the Ohio campaign, Mr. Graham P. Hunt, was one who had enlisted under your banner some four or five years ago, while you were in charge of affairs in Ohio, and had received the full knowledge and benefit of your work in that State which had resulted so successfully in writing mandatory license into the Con-

stitution of the State. At the meeting referred to, in Cincinnati, when it was decided to initiate a constitutional amendment providing for the repeal of the County Option law, your instructions issued to this department to throw as many available men into the State to assist in the circulation of the petitions was immediately complied with, and the whole force which had been engaged in the survey work in other States, was immediately placed at the disposal of Mr. Hunt to arrange for the circulation of the petitions. As a result of the efforts put forth by this force, augmenting the force already at the disposal of the Ohio campaign manager, 304,062 voters of Ohio affixed their signatures to the petitions for the amendment in less than thirty days' time, and this mammoth petition was filed with the Secretary of State on August 4th. True to the prediction made at the meeting in Cincinnati in June, the Anti-Saloon League, upon the announcement that the liberals would petition for the repeal of County Option, began the circulation of petitions providing for Constitutional prohibition, and filed on August 4th, with the Secretary of State, 175,000 signatures, or 129,000 less than those signing the liberal petition. In the waging of the contest in Ohio, Mr. Hunt very frankly stated that he was depending more largely upon your counsel and advise, and the assistance which the men under your direction would render to successfully carry on the campaign, than he was on anything else. Your organization department put all of its available men in Ohio and kept them there from early in September until the election was held.

The address delivered by you at Cleveland in July and your conferences with the publishers of the foreign language press aroused the foreign language element to an activity never before known, and, as stated before, contributed largely to the success of the Ohio campaign. The foreign language newspapers rallied to the liberal support in a way that astonished those who had been familiar with the conduct of past campaigns in that State. The German-American Alliance, co-operating with you, was stirred to renewed activity. One of the remarkable features of the campaign came as a result of the excellent work performed by the United Brewery Workers, and through them by all liberal elements of organized labor. The Brewery Workers of Ohio established labor headquarters in all of the labor centers of the State, and were in complete harmony with the local liberal organizations in those countries. As a result of the magnificent work done by this element, strengthened by the work of the labor representatives from your bureau, the State Federation of Labor at its meeting in Youngstown early in October, passed a resolution opposing state-wide prohibition, and in favor of a constitutional amendment repealing the County Option law. Your plans of campaign were strictly followed in Ohio with the result that prohibition was defeated by approximately 85,000 votes, and strictly local option is written into the constitution of the State, with an inhibition against statutory state-wide prohibition by a majority approximating 15,000. The constructive plan carried forward by you during the past five years in Ohio has resulted in mandatory license being written into the constitution of the State; with local option a part of the organic law, and with the legislature of the State curtailed in its power to the exent that it cannot pass statutory prohibition.

As a summary in closing, it might be well to state that the constructive system of organization embodied in your educational plan of campaign has proven to be effective wherever tried, and wherever it has been applied by those in charge of the campaign.

Respectfully submitted.

L. H. GIBSON.
GALE M. HARTLEY.

[Memorandum attached to foregoing.]
(See Folder of Asher Cooperage Works.)

The principal means for publicity used by your publicity department are The Hearthstone and The National News Bureau.

You began obtaining subscriptions for The Hearthstone about July 1, 1914. With a view of obtaining the circulation deemed best for your particular purpose, you eliminated the large cities and devoted your entire attention to the small town and rural community. In December you will print and distribute 130,000 copies of The Hearthstone, each one of them going directly to the homes where it will be read by an average of four persons. You are obtaining indi-

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., in room 226, Senate Office Building, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), King, Wolcott, Nelson, and Sterling.

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Hammerling, you will be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LOUIS N. HAMMERLING.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Where do you reside?

Mr. HAMMERLING. 104 East Fortieth Street, New York.

Maj. HUMES. What is your business?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am president of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers.

Maj. HUMES. The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers is a corporation?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. When was it organized?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1908.

Maj. HUMES. Who were the incorporators?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The incorporators were E. M. Grilla, Mr. Carpenter—I do not remember his initials, but he was an attorney.

Maj. HUMES. Edwin E. Carpenter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He was an attorney for the company when it was organized—Oliver C. Carpenter, I think was the name; and Mr. Gates. I think he was Mr. Carpenter's assistant.

Maj. HUMES. At whose instance was the charter secured?

Mr. HAMMERLING. At Mr. Carpenter's, I think.

Maj. HUMES. At whose instance did they get this charter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mine.

Senator NELSON. What did you organize it for? What was your object?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I bought out an advertising agency called the Italian-American Advertising Agency.

Senator NELSON. You are not an Italian?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, I am not; but I used to deal with these papers, and we saw that to get around the Italian na- there was not much business to do with the Italian changed it to the association.

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Maj. HUMES. And you bought out Mr. Grilla in the transaction?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. And acquired your interest?
Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that he had a daily paper and he could not give it much time.
Senator NELSON. For what purpose did you get it?
Mr. HAMMERLING. To get advertising in the foreign-language newspapers.
Senator NELSON. Political or business?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Commercial.
Senator NELSON. Commercial exclusively?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. We took political advertising when they gave it to us.
Senator NELSON. Was not that a part of your scheme—to get political as well as commercial advertising?
Mr. HAMMERLING. It was not a scheme. Every advertising agency does that.
Senator NELSON. Was not that your plan?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No.
Senator NELSON. You had nothing of that kind in view?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No.
Maj. HUMES. Where had you resided prior to your coming to New York?
Mr. HAMMERLING. In Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Maj. HUMES. What had been your business there?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I was connected with a Polish paper there and handled advertising for the United Mine Workers' Journal and that Polish paper, and I took contracts for printing.
Maj. HUMES. What induced you or who induced you to go to New York?
Mr. HAMMERLING. The Republican national committee.
Maj. HUMES. In 1908?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No; in 1904. I came to New York in 1904, and I handled the campaign for them with the foreign papers—the advertising.
Maj. HUMES. What did you do from 1904 until 1908?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I did advertising in these papers that I just mentioned.
Maj. HUMES. You continued your connection with this Italian agency from 1904 to 1908?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I had no connection. I did it under my own name.
Maj. HUMES. Under your own name until 1908?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. At whose suggestion did you organize the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I made the suggestion. In May, 1908, to be exact, I decided with Mr. Grilla to go into the business in New York, and in November we began business, the first part of November.
Senator OVERMAN. What date was that?
Mr. HAMMERLING. The first part of November, 1908.
Senator OVERMAN. That is, after you had left Wilkes-Barre at the instance of the Republican campaign committee, you went to New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Senator Nelson asked you a question as to whether this advertising agency had anything to do with political advertising.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Why, before I ever dreamed of advertising I was asked by Senator Quay and Senator Penrose to come down and help them handle this campaign.

Senator NELSON. That was in 1904?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Before you formed the company?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not return to Wilkes-Barre after the 1904 campaign?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How did you stay in Wilkes-Barre at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was elected in 1908 again, so I was there until 1908.

Maj. HUMES. You were elected what?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A delegate to the Republican national convention.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have charge of political advertising for the Republican national committee in 1908?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; in some of the foreign-language papers.

Maj. HUMES. Who suggested to you the organization of this association of foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am telling you that when I agreed to take the Italian agency I saw that we could not do business under that name, so we changed it. I do not remember exactly who was at the meeting. I consulted a few publishers of different languages. I know a good many of them.

Maj. HUMES. When you decided to launch this new organization, what means did you take of bringing together the publishers of the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I sent out a circular letter with a blank telling them that if they would subscribe to the preferred stock of the association we could build up a great business. They did not need to pay cash, I said, for one-half of the advertising that we were to place could be used to reduce their indebtedness for the stock, from one share to four shares. Nobody had more than that. The stock was sold as preferred stock.

Maj. HUMES. To whom was it sold?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the publishers of these newspapers.

Senator NELSON. How much stock did your company issue?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Fifty thousand dollars of preferred.

Senator NELSON. How much common?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Fifty thousand dollars.

Senator NELSON. What was the preferred stock per share?

Mr. HAMMERLING. One hundred dollars.

Senator NELSON. What was the common?

Mr. HAMMERLING. One hundred dollars.

Senator NELSON. Did you sell the stock at par?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Both common and preferred?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Both common and preferred.

Senator OVERMAN. How much stock did you have?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Two hundred and ninety shares of the common.
Senator OVERMAN. You have a majority of the stock?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Of the common; yes.
Maj. HUMES. How many shares of the common stock are outstanding other than what you have?
Mr. HAMMERLING. There are 470 shares outstanding, including mine.
Senator OVERMAN. Are there any stockholders except the publishers?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Of the preferred stock; no.
Senator OVERMAN. Of the common?
Mr. HAMMERLING. There are no publishers who own the common stock.
Senator OVERMAN. Who are the principal stockholders of common stock?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I have a list of them. There is Carmalita Lewis and John Mitchell——
Senator OVERMAN. You can furnish a list of the stockholders?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Senator NELSON. You can put that list in afterward.
Mr. HAMMERLING. Very well.
Senator NELSON. That would save the time of hunting it up. You started in to do political advertising, did you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Senator NELSON. You did political advertising after your company was formed?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I did in 1912 advertising for the Republicans.
Senator NELSON. What I want to know is how you managed that business. Did you collect for all the newspapers? Did you collect the fee for the publishing of political advertisements for the whole lot?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No.
Senator NELSON. Did you collect the money?
Mr. HAMMERLING. We sent the bill.
Senator NELSON. They all paid you?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Senator NELSON. How did you distribute those funds that you received?
Mr. HAMMERLING. By check.
Senator NELSON. What proportion?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Less the commission.
Senator NELSON. What was your commission?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Anywhere from 10 to 15 per cent. It depends on what the papers give.
Senator NELSON. How did you distribute the money?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Why, the State committee submits a list of papers to the national chairman that they want to use, and the papers have regular rates; they have a rate card showing what they charge for advertising. In 1916 they bought 30,000 lines in the dailies, 20,000 lines in the semiweeklies, and 10,000 lines in the weeklies, according to the rate which was paid.
Senator NELSON. And you collected this rate then?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. You collected this full rate for the advertisement and retained from 10 to 15 per cent commission?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know the total amount that you collected in that year?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1916?

Senator OVERMAN. In 1912.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Over $100,000; I think $104,000 or $105,000.

Senator OVERMAN. Did the national committee furnish that money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The Republican national committee paid it.

Senator KING. Maj. Humes, I suppose you have in an orderly way prepared to present whatever you deem may be testified to by this witness?

Maj. HUMES. I have a summary of what I think ought to be shown by this witness.

Senator KING. Then I shall not ask any questions until you get through.

Senator NELSON. Proceed, Maj. Humes.

Maj. HUMES. When you organized this American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, how did you put yourself in touch with the foreign language newspapers and with the advertising?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We sent out a circular. We had the paper subscribe to the stock. They sent in the rates and we began to do business.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not start this association with a banquet?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No. We had the first banquet a year after, in 1909. We had it at the Republican Club in New York.

Maj. HUMES. About when was this banquet held in 1909?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In November, to celebrate the first year.

Maj. HUMES. Who was invited to be present at that banquet?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Business men and publishers.

Maj. HUMES. How many publishers were present?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Every one of them from New York and Philadelphia and all of the neighboring places, and some of them came from as far away as Chicago. The list shows.

Maj. HUMES. Were all of the foreign language newspaper editors there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, not all of the 700; no.

Maj. HUMES. Were all the publishers present, all who attended this banquet, given presents by you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We always gave a souvenir—a fountain pen or a pencil—every year.

Maj. HUMES. Didn't you give a number of presents that year to these publishers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Maj. HUMES. Who presided at that banquet?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did.

Maj. HUMES. Whom else did you invite to attend the banquet? I mean other than publishers.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of big men?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; men of prominence?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think Mr. Cortelyou was one, the new president of the Consolidated Gas Co. I really could not remember, but a good many prominent business men. We invited them so that they could see that we had not any horns.

Senator OVERMAN. Was Mr. Cortelyou the chairman of the Republican national campaign committee at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; Mr. Hitchcock was.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the first time you ever appeared in public as president of the association was when you were introduced to make a speech at that banquet as the president of the association?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know who introduced me. I think I did the introducing.

Maj. HUMES. Is not that the first time that you ever publicly appeared as the president of this association?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. I got all the business. I was soliciting advertising.

Maj. HUMES. And you also invited to this banquet a number of the big advertising concerns of the country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. The Standard Oil advertising managers and the American Tobacco Co.?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And a number of big advertising agencies?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You also invited the Attorney General of the United States to be present, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not that year. The next year I did.

Maj. HUMES. Was he not there that year?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember. I have not the list before me.

Maj. HUMES. You had three or four members of the Cabinet present.

Mr. HAMMERLING. One year; yes.

Maj. HUMES. What year was that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think 1911. I am sure that it was.

Maj. HUMES. You got these men of prominence and men who occupied conspicuous places in the Government to attend these banquets, and then capitalized that with the publishers of the foreign-language newspapers over the country, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know how I capitalized that. These men in public life were very glad to come.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not seek to secure the attendance of prominent men at these banquets in order to give you standing with the foreign-language newspaper editors and induce them to think that you had standing with the Government?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I had all the standing I wanted among them. I kept out of the business all of the crooks in the advertising business, the medical fellows, and the stock sellers, and all of those people. Senator Nelson is here and he can ask the Swedish newspapers in his State. I did not need any influence with these papers.

Maj. HUMES. When you bought your interest in this Italian newspaper how much did you invest?

Mr. HAMMERLING. With Mr. Grilla?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think I agreed to invest about $14,000, but it might cost me $20,000 before I was through, because his statement

of indebtedness was not correct, and some bills came in afterwards, and I paid them.

Maj. HUMES. How much did you actually pay to him in cash?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think about that, though I would not swear to it, about $20,000, I would say.

Maj. HUMES. Where did the fund come from that made it possible for you to make that investment?

Mr. HAMMERLING. From my own pocket.

Maj. HUMES. What business had you been in just prior to your going to New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was telling you. I was doing advertising for a paper called the United Mine Workers' Journal, getting subscriptions, and for a Polish paper, and I was doing printing. I was doing printing for the State of Pennsylvania in the foreign languages, amounting to thousands of dollars, and all kinds of printing. I do not remember, but I think I did printing for the Bethlehem Steel Co. and for different companies, getting out pamphlets and booklets, and then they had a law in Pennsylvania requiring them to post about accidents in factories and in the mines, and I made a canvass throughout the State and I got an enormous amount of business.

Maj. HUMES. What part did you play in securing the passage of the act of assembly in Pennsylvania requiring the publication of certain official advertisements in the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. None whatever.

Maj. HUMES. There was one passed during the period of your activity, was there not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No. It was passed in 1914, and the attorney general declared it unconstitutional.

Maj. HUMES. Was there not an act passed along about 1905 or 1907 requiring municipal advertising to be published in foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I never got a fee for advertising for the State of Pennsylvania in my life.

Maj. HUMES. What were you worth financially when you went to New York and bought out Mr. Grilla?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would say that I think that is a personal matter.

Maj. HUMES. I think perhaps that is true, but it is a pertinent matter of inquiry. What were you worth financially when you bought out Mr. Grilla?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A couple of hundred thousand dollars.

Maj. HUMES. Over what period of time had you made that much money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About 10 years.

Maj. HUMES. In the foreign advertising in Pennsylvania and the work you did outside in 1904?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In advertising and printing.

Maj. HUMES. You bought an interest in the Polish paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What did you pay for your interest in that paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Three hundred dollars.

Maj. HUMES. When did you acquire that interest?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In May, 1900.

Maj. HUMES. Did you make all of the $200,000 out of that $300 investment?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I did not. I made it with my work.

Maj. HUMES. What other work did you engage in beside this printing and publishing business?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is enough.

Maj. HUMES. Was not that all in connection with your paper that you purchased?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I got contracts in printing with some of the largest printers in the United States.

Maj. HUMES. When the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers was organized and you became president of it, you retained practically all of the common stock?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. I paid for it too, 100 cents on the dollar.

Maj. HUMES. You had $50,000 of it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you disposed of some of the preferred stock to the publishers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How much of that preferred stock is outstanding today?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Ten thousand five hundred dollars.

Maj. HUMES. Who owns that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The publishers; about 50 of them.

Maj. HUMES. But none of the publishers own any of the common stock?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Maj. HUMES. When did you first secure large advertising contracts from the Standard Oil Co. and the American Tobacco Co. and some of those concerns?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About 1909.

Maj. HUMES. Immediately after the organization of your paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the original purpose of the organization of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers was to exercise political control over the foreign-language publications of the country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No. I have as much political control over them as the pope has in a synagogue, if you will permit the expression, for the reason that I would have as much influence with a newspaper in Milwaukee as I would with the Jewish Forward in New York. It is not a fair thing to belittle 800 newspapers of great importance by saying that I, through handling 5 per cent of the entire national advertising in the United States, would control them. That is all I handled—about 5 per cent.

Maj. HUMES. When did you first meet Percy Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In the first part of the year—I would say, in the spring, about April—at the Holland House in New York City.

Maj. HUMES. What year?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Nineteen thirteen. I met him through Adolphus Busch, president of the Busch industries in St. Louis.

Maj. HUMES. Did you enter into a contract with him at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No. Mr. Busch sent for me. I never saw him before in my life, but I came, naturally, knowing what he represents. I am supposed to be a solicitor. I came in there, and he said, "Are you Hammerling?" I said, "Yes." He had a good many of his people standing around, just as if he would be a king. He said, "Charles Nagel told me that you can do us some service in the fight against prohibition." I said, "I am the boy if you have any advertising, and I am here." He said, "I designate a man by the name of Percy Andreae, who has my authority to do business." I said, "Do you guarantee the bills, Mr. Busch?" He said, "Yes." So I went away. A few weeks later Mr. Andreae asked me to meet him in Chicago. I met him in Chicago in some club—I do not remember where it was—he and his secretary, a man named Hartley. Mr. Andreae said that he had gotten not only Busch to guarantee this campaign, but he got the United States Brewers' Association. I said, "So much the better; we can do more business." He said they did not give him as much money as he intended they should, but he would like to make a deal. He said that his idea would be to write articles in the foreign-language newspapers showing there should not be prohibition; and I said, "Mr. Andreae, I am siliciting advertising, and if you write a million articles not one of them would publish it, no matter how good you are, for the reason that you are unknown to them, in the first place, and, in the second place, what they want is money." He said they could not go into an advertising campaign, for they had not enough money for that. I said to him, "How about you writing the articles and their being published in my name?" He said, "That is a good idea. What would it cost?" I said, "There will be no cost to it; but you will have to help me get the brewers to do advertising in the papers." He said he thought he could do that, and I agreed that I would stand to my promise provided he would stand by his; and we worked it out that all the expense Mr. Andreae would have to pay would be to pay for the translators, expressage, and so forth. We were not supposed—the association was not supposed—to make any money out of it outside of handling it, but we were to make our money on the commission that we got in the advertising that we furnished in the foreign papers. We did not get much advertising, and the complaint of Mr. Andreae was that the brewers' association got sore at him because he was getting to be too big a man. That is the way I began to handle his business, and I think in three years every issue, which would be about 66 articles, published an article in the American Leader and sent it out in 34 languages to these papers.

Senator NELSON. Editorials?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Articles. The papers do not publish editorials, our papers, that they write themselves.

Maj. HUMES. Was that all of the contractual relations that existed between you and Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. During three years' time he made a speech, I think, at one of our gatherings, and he made speeches somewhere else, and finally he was kind of knocked down by the brewers. I liked him; he was a very honorable man in the way that he dealt with us. We appointed him to a position of vice president of the association, as our minutes will show.

Maj. HUMES. When was that? That was after he had severed his conection with the brewers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; during the time. We appointed him so that it would help him to make speeches, and he did make some speeches, and that is all we know about it.

Maj. HUMES. There was no agreement between you and Mr. Andreae by which you were to undertake to control the policy of these foreign-language newspapers or what they should publish?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; there is no contract. We never had any contract; only letters.

Maj. HUMES. You had correspondence?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Under that agreement Mr. Andreae or the National Association of Commerce and Labor was to furnish a certain number of translators to translate this material?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; we were to furnish it; we were to do the translation.

Maj. HUMES. They paid for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; they paid for it.

Maj. HUMES. They were to pay you so much for translators?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For translators, or whatever it cost to handle it; clerks and stenographers and everything else.

Maj. HUMES. Do I understand you to say the only part you played in that was to do the mechanical part of printing, translating, and mailing to the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the papers; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not to undertake to use your influence or persuasion to secure the publication of these articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would not state here that the papers would not have wanted to please me, but I have issued no such instructions. We had a traveling man to go around among the papers and see if they would publish it, but nothing of the kind such as telling the newspapers that they had to publish.

Maj. HUMES. Did you try to use your influence with them to get them to publish these articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you employed a man by the name of Joudan to travel about the country, to visit all of these foreign-language newspapers, and persuade them to print these personal-liberty articles and other editorial matter favorable to the liquor interests?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You did not do that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mr. Joudan was employed by Mr. Andreae, but he was employed to see if the papers, it is true, would publish these personal-liberty articles and also check up as to circulation, etc.

Maj. HUMES. Was he an employee of Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He was an employee of Mr. Andreae; yes; paid directly. The checks and the correspondence will show that.

Maj. HUMES. He represented himself to be an employee of your association?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Exactly.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, Mr. Andreae was paying the salary of one of your employees, or one who was representing himself to be

one of your employees, for the purpose of visiting the foreign-language press and securing favorable editorial and news comment from them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a letter purporting to be signed by you, dated January 9, 1914, which is marked "Exhibit Hammerling No. 1," and ask you if that is a letter that you wrote to Percy Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is my signature.

Maj. HUMES. Is not that a statement of your understanding of the contract?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have not read it. Hundreds of letters are signed and sent out.

Maj. HUMES. This is signed by you.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. I dictate to 20 different people a day. We have a mark there, "NR," indicating that I do not read them.

Senator WOLCOTT. What does that "NR" mean?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It means "not read." I could not personally read all of them.

Maj. HUMES. I will submit the letter in evidence.

(The letter referred to, marked "Hammerling Exhibit No. 1," is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT NO. 1.

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc. Woolworth Building. Telephone Barclay 5592–5593. Chicago Office, People's Gas Building.]

NR

NEW YORK, *January 9, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Imperial Hotel, New York City.

MY DEAR SIR: As per conversation of last night, I beg to confirm as follows: That the Association membership is comprised of a total of 619 newspapers published in the United States and Canada. In the United States there are 583 of these papers published and the balance, or 36 newspapers, is published in Canada. These papers are printed in 29 different languages and eliminating the Chinese and Japanese leaves 27 languages.

The article on "Personal Liberty" which you write for the "American Leader" and which is published under my name is to be translated and supplied twice a month to 583 newspapers, printed in 27 different languages and as you will see by the enclosed list, this will require the services of eight translators to do the work thoroughly. Besides doing the translating, these translators will have to do the checking and marking of the papers containing the articles and forward same from time to time to you.

Opposite each one of the translators on the statement enclosed, you will notice what each will cost; or, otherwise, the eight translators will cost $1,250.00 per month. We shall hire these translators for one year. Naturally with some of them it may be necessary to take them away from other positions and it may require a longer contract.

The additional expense will be $100.00 per month for a Stenographer and $50.00 for printing and postage per month. One of our Directors will take a trip once, maybe twice or more as is necessary, to see the papers and make arrangements so that we may get their unanimous support and approval. The expenditure on this account will be $400.00 per month as salary and we figure $180.00 per month for travelling expenses, which is $6.00 per day and is figured to cover railroad and hotel expenses. This will make a total expenditure per month of $1,980.00 providing the travelling man is required to travel all year; if he does not, this will reduce the expenditure by $580.00 or make the total of $1,400.00 per month. This represents the total cost and there will be no other expenses connected therewith.

It is advisable that we begin with the translation of the first article so that the campaign may be presented in the newspapers just as it appears in the "Leader."

We shall arrange with these newspapers to either have the articles appear as being especially written for each particular paper by myself, to be commented upon editorially by the Publishers, or as being prepared by the newspapers themselves.

On the enclosed statement we show the languages which each translator will have in charge as well as the itemized expenditures. We also enclose herewith two memorandums of agreement so that the payments can be made to us monthly in advance so that we can pay our bills for each article, as we do all our force and you are to carry the account on your books and we are to carry the account on our books as "Advertising appearing in the "Leader"".

If this is satisfactory we can begin the work immediately, as we have already talked with some of our Directors and Publishers and they will help us to get the organization into shape on a few days notice.

Your acceptance by signing the enclosed order with your first monthly payment will begin immediately to put into effect these arrangements for one year.

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
LOUIS N. HAMMERLING,
President.

LNH/DSM
Enclosures.

Statement of expenditures in connection with proposed campaign as per our letter of Jan. 9, 1914.

Language:	Monthly salary of translator.
1. Armenian, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Servian, Syrian	$200.00
2. Austro-German, Bohemian, Croatian, Jewish, Polish, Russian, Ruthenian, Slovenic	250.00
3. French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Swiss	200.00
4. Greek	100.00
5. Hollandish	100.00
6. Hungarian, Slovak	100.00
7. Lettish, Lithuanian	100.00
8. Finnish, Norwegian-Danish, Swedish	200.00
Total of salaries per month for translations	1,250.00
One stenographer at	100.00
Printing and postage	50.00
Salary of director who is to travel per month	400.00
Traveling expenses of above	180.00
Total cost per month	1,980.00

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT.

[The Leader, official organ of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. Issued semimonthly. Advertising department, 702-3-4-5 World Building, New York.]

GENTLEMEN: You are hereby authorized to insert copies of our advertisement for one year from January 1st, 1914, insertions in The Leader for the amount of $1,400.00 per month, or total of sixteen thousand eight hundred dollars, $16,800.00 for the year.

Signed PERCY ANDREAE,
Address *3357 Michigan Ave., Chicago.*

Date January 1st, 1914.

Maj. HUMES. You dictated that letter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think I did.

Maj. HUMES. And attached to it were the statements printed above?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Now, after having refreshed your recollection from this letter that you dictated, what do you say as to your obligating yourself to use a director of your association to try and control the foreign-language press?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A director? Why, we call a fellow who goes and directs it a director.

Maj. HUMES. Then you did not mean a director in the corporation in this letter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Maj. HUMES. What was your purpose in writing that letter? Did you want Mr. Andreae to understand that you meant a director of the corporation?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I wrote this letter to Mr. Andreae. He wanted it written in that way and I wrote it in that way. You write a great many letters when you solicit business.

Maj. HUMES. Then the arrangement you had with Mr. Andreae was that these personal-liberty articles were to be printed in the American Leader as advertising?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And your contract was to carry them as advertising, and it was an advertising contract.

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you interpret it in that way. I am not posted legally.

Maj. HUMES. I am asking you for facts, I am not asking for an interpretation.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would not want to exactly say, for the reason that I do not understand it.

Maj. HUMES. Your contract provides that the personal-liberty articles appearing in the Leader are advertising, does it not, and you carry them on your books as advertising in the American Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. According to that statement, yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you mark them advertising when you published them, in accordance with the act of Congress?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. Your periodical is entered as second-class matter in the post office, is it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then you disregarded the act of Congress which requires advertising matters to be so marked?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not know anything about it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that you are not familiar with the act of Congress which requires advertising matter to be so marked?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not also a fact that a portion of the office rent in your offices was paid by Mr. Andreae and by the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; one room.

Maj. HUMES. They paid the rent on one of your office rooms?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is that a copy of the contract for office rent which I show you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is our billhead, for $70. I think that is right.

Maj. HUMES. This is evidently a bill that was submitted by you to Mr. Andreae.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not submit the bill; I do not know the details. I am a solicitor of advertising.

Maj. HUMES. That is one of your advertising contracts, and the language is put there so as to provide for a payment of office rent.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, I could mention hundreds.

Maj. HUMES. This paper came from your office?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is our stationery; yes.

(The paper referred to was marked "Hammerling Exhibit No. 2," and is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 2.

Memorandum of agreement.

[The American Leader, published semi-monthly by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers (Inc.)—Advertising department, suite 912–926 Woolworth Building, New York.]

Signed & Forwarded 9/29

GENTLEMEN: You are hereby authorized to rent Room No. 908 Woolworth Bldg., New York City for one (1) year, from May 1, 1915, to May 1, 1916—for the amount of $70.00—per month, or total of eight hundred forty and 00/100—Dollars, $840.00

Signed _____

Per _____

Address _____

Date Sept 21, 1914.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 3, and ask you if that is a copy of a contract of renewal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It looks to me like it, but I would not swear to it. It is a matter of detail that I did not handle.

Maj. HUMES. This is a carbon copy of a form of contract that came from your office on your letterhead.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think it is—yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever do any advertising for Mr. Andreae or the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Some, I think; a few thousand dollars. I can not exactly remember the amount of what it was. It was a fight between the brewers' association.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a paper marked "Hammerling Exhibit 4," having attached to it a list of foreign-language newspapers. Is that a copy of the contract for 1915 between you and Mr. Andreae, and state whether that is an advertising contract?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; it is an advertisement.

Maj. HUMES (reading):

You are hereby authorized to insert in 68 foreign language newspapers 120-inch advertisement one time in each paper during period of 5 months (March to July inclusive) for the amount of $2,000.00—per month, payable monthly in advance or total of * * * $10,000.

Senator NELSON. Is that 1915?

Maj. HUMES. This is dated March 5, 1915, and I offer it, together with the list of newspapers, in evidence.

(The paper referred to, marked "Hammerling Exhibit No. 4," together with the list of papers, is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 4.

Memorandum of Agreement.

[The American Leader—Published Semi-Monthly by American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc. Advertising department, suite 912–926 Woolworth Building, New York.]

GENTLEMEN:

You are hereby authorized to insert in 68 foreign language newspapers 120 inch advertisement one time in each paper during period of 5 months (March to July inclusive) for the amount of $2,000.00—per month, payable monthly in advance or total of ten thousand and no/100—Dollars, $10,000.00.

Signed_____
Per_____
Address_____

Date March 5th, 1915.

BOHEMIAN.

Issue.	Paper.	Location.
D	American	Cleveland, Ohio.
S W	Amerikan	Chicago, Ill.
D	Senni Hlasatel	Chicago, Ill.
S W	Hlasatel	Chicago, Ill.
D	Hlas Lidu	New York City.
Bi W	Hospodar	Omaha, Nebr.
D	New Yorske Listy	New York City.
W	Osveta Americka	Omaha, Nebr.
W	Pokrok Zapadu	Omaha, Nebr.
D	Svornost	Chicago, Ill.

CROATIAN.

D	Narodni List	New York City.

FRENCH.

D	Courrier des Etats-Unis	New York City.
D	L'Avenir National	Manchester, N. H.

GREEK.

D	Atlantis	New York City.
W	Greek Star	Chicago, Ill.

HUNGARIAN.

D	Amerikai Magyar Nepszava	New York City.
D	Elore	New York City.
D	Szabadsag	New York City.

ITALIAN.

D	Bollettine della Sera	New York City.
W	Gazzetta del Massachusetts	Boston, Mass.
W	Il Minatore	Scranton, Penna.
D	Il Progresso Italo-Americano	New York City.
W	La Follia de New York	New York City.
T W	L'Italia	Chicago, Ill.
D	L'Opinione	Philadelphia, Pa.

JEWISH.

D	Daily Jewish Courier	Chicago, Ill.
W	Der Amerikaner	New York City.
D	Jewish Daily Forward	New York City.
D	Jewish Daily News	New York City.
D	Jewish Daily Press	Chicago, Ill.
D	Jewish Daily Warheit	New York City.
D	Jewish Morning Journal	New York City.
D	Jewish World	Philadelphia, Penna.

D	Jewish World	Cleveland, Ohio.
D	Phila. Jewish Daily Forward	Philadelphia, Pa.
D	Phila. Jewish Daily Warheit	Philadelphia, Penna.
D	Phila. Jewish Morning Journal	Philadelphia, Penna.
D	St. Louis Jewish Daily Press	St. Louis, Mo.
W	Big Stick	New York City.

LITHUANIAN.

W	Katalikas	Chicago, Ill.

NORWEGIAN-DANISH.

W	Minneapolis Tidende	Minneapolis, Minn.
S/W	Scandinaven	Chicago, Ill.

POLISH.

D	Dziennik Chicagoski	Chicago, Ill.
D	Dziennik Dla Wszystkich	Buffalo, N. Y.
W	Echo Niedzielno	Chicago, Ill.
S/W	Gazeta Polska Narodowa	Chicago, Ill.
W	Glos Narodu	Jersey City, N. J.
W	Gwiazda	Philadelphia, Pa.
W	Gwiazda Polarna	Stevens Point, Wis.
D	Kuryer Polski	Milwaukee, Wis.
W	Pennsylvania Gornik	Scranton, Penna.
W	Rolnik	Stevens Point, Wis.
W	Tygodnik Polski	New York City.
W	Wielkopolanin	Pittsburgh, Penna.

ROUMANIAN.

T/W	Romanul	Cleveland, Ohio.

RUSSIAN.

D	Russkoye Slovo	New York City.

RUTHENIAN.

T/W	Narodna Wola	Scranton, Penna.

SERVIAN.

W	United Servian	Chicago, Ill.

SLOVAK.

D	Slovak V Amerika	New York City.

SWEDISH.

S/W	Nordstjernan	New York City.
W	Omaha Posten	Omaha, Nebr.
W	Svenska Amerikanaren Hemlandet	Chicago, Ill.
W	Svenska Americanska Posten	Minneapolis, Minn.
W	Svenska Folkets Tidning	Minneapolis, Minn.
W	Svenska Kuriren	Chicago, Ill.
W	Svenska Roman Bladet	Red Wing, Minn.
W	Svenska Tribunen-Nyheter	Chicago, Ill.

SYRIAN.

D	Al-Hoda	New York City.

Maj. HUMES. I now show you Hammerling Exhibits 5 and 6, and ask you if these are letters written by you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is my signature.

Maj. HUMES. On the letterhead of the American Leader, dated September 21, 1914?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I offer these letters in evidence.

(The letters referred to are here printed in the record in full as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 5.

[The American Leader, Published Semi-Monthly by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., Suite 912–926 Woolworth Building, New York City.]

SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1914.

NR—Personal.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: As I have explained to you, Mr. Andreae, we have decided we cannot accept any liquor advertisements for the American Leader. I take this opportunity to thank you most sincerely for your assistance. Our friends stood by us and responded satisfactorily in assisting us to dispose of the space in The American Leader which was left vacant so suddenly by the steamship companies.

As we have to submit our yearly report on The American Leader before November 13th, may I ask you as a friend, Mr. Andreae, that the subscriptions to The American Leader for which you are paying for ministers, priests, rabbis, foreign language papers, German papers, etc. inasmuch as some do not expire until January and February, if you could send us your check for another's year's subscription and we will send you a bill as we would like to include this as cash in The American Leader's report and we would, therefore, make a better showing. Of course, we are just asking you to do this and we would appreciate it, but if you cannot do it, just let us know and it will be all right.

Assuring you we shall be glad to hear from you on this matter, we are

Very truly yours,

THE AMERICAN LEADER,
LOUIS HAMMERLING, *President.*

LNH/M/AW

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 6.,

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., Woolworth Building, New York.]

SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1914.

NR—Personal.

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I hereby confirm your statement and which I have placed on our records, that we shall continue the arrangements from December 31st, 1914 to December 31st, 1915 which we have with you as translators, checkers, stenographers, etc. to handle the Personal Liberty articles, and we hereby enclose you duplicate contract properly filled out, which please sign returning one copy to us and keeping one for your own files.

You will notice that this does not include Mr. Joudan's account and for this arrangement we will only bill you up to February 8th, 1915. From that date, if you decide that Mr. Joudan will be retained, you can pay him direct or through us.

You will also notice on our contract that the lease of the office that we have rented in connection with your service will expire May 1st, 1916. Everything else with the exception of the office rent referred to will expire December 31st, 1915.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS HAMMERLING,
President.

LNH/M/AW

Maj. HUMES. Why did you say that you could not accept any liquor advertisements at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In the American Leader?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that some of the advertisements that we carried would not be permitted to stay in if we did.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you did, after that time, have liquor advertisements?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not at that time renew your contract with Mr. Andreae in the American Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. This was not advertising.

Maj. HUMES. Your contract said the personal-liberty articles should be published as advertising.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I know, but this was not the understanding.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that your reason for writing that letter——

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was to get subscriptions.

Maj. HUMES. Was to gather subscriptions, and to deceive the people to whom these very subscriptions were sent as to the nature of the periodical and as to the character of the articles appearing?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would not say that I was doing it to deceive. There was nothing about it to deceive, about an order for so many copies to be sent to certain people. We sent them.

Maj. HUMES. Why would they pay you thousands of dollars a year for subscriptions——

Mr. HAMMERLING. Major, they do it with every newspaper in the United States practically.

Maj. HUMES. Why would they pay you thousands of dollars in subscriptions if your attitude was one that was opposed to the liquor traffic, if you refused to accept liquor advertisements?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The only answer that I can give you is that we came to an understanding with some of our clients that they did not want to advertise along with whisky advertisements and things of that kind in the paper.

Maj. HUMES. And yet you did carry the personal-liberty articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The personal-liberty articles we wrote. It was the desire of the people, and we did it.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you agreed to accept no straight liquor advertisements in your paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In the Leader?

Maj. HUMES. Yes. So that as a result of the understanding with Mr. Andreae the personal-liberty articles should be sent to ministers and rabbis and would have a better effect if there was no liquor advertisement in the paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If there is such a statement by me, it is correct; if not, it is not.

Maj. HUMES. Why did you make that statement at the time that you renewed the contract?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I made that statement for the reason that Mr. Andreae was kind enough to have two of his friends, brewers, offer me page advertisements in the Leader. One of them, I think, was in Cincinnati and the other in Chicago.

Maj. HUMES. At that same time you renewed the contract for the personal-liberty articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I call attention particularly now to Hammerling Exhibit No. 6, which is a letter dated September 21, 1914, the same day as the Hammerling Exhibit No. 5. Why did you put the contents of those two letters in two separate letters instead of writing one letter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We have written some days a dozen letters. We write letters by the hundreds a day. I can not remember three or four years ago why I wrote two letters on that day.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, September 21, 1914, you wrote one letter to Mr. Andreae saying that you would accept no liquor advertisement of any kind, and on the same day you wrote another letter to him renewing a contract for liquor advertisements, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; according to the letters.

Maj. HUMES. Why did you do that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. You also renewed the contract for the year 1916.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is Hammerling Exhibit No. 7 a copy of the contract?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; that is my signature.

Maj. HUMES. This is signed by you and Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and I had to go to Chicago to do it.

Maj. HUMES. I offer Hammerling Exhibit No. 7 in evidence.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT NO. 7.

CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER 8, 1915.

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Ic., 912–926 Woolworth Building, New York.—Attention Mr. Louis N. Hammerling, President.]

MY DEAR MR. HAMMERLING: This is to serve as a contract from January 1, 1916, to January 1, 1917, for which I guarantee to pay you $2,250.00 monthly for translators in different languages, stenographers, checkers, room rent, postage, expressage, etc. The total amount I guaranteed to pay during this period to be $27,000.000, and there are to be no other charges unless authorized in writing.

Your countersigning this order constitutes the contract.

Very truly, yours,

PERCY ANDREAE.

Countersigned:

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.,
By LOUIS HAMMERLING, *President.*

Maj. HUMES. Did you have a contract with Mr. Andreae or with the National Association of Commerce and Labor after the year 1916?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Maj. HUMES. Why?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He did not want it. The brewers would not give him the money.

Maj. HUMES. It was not because you did not want it, it was because the brewers did not want it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is what I said—they did not want it.

Senator WOLCOTT. One moment. I want to see if I have a correct understanding of this. This contract for translators, checkers, etc., just mentioned there, was to compensate the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers for translating personal-liberty articles into various languages and having them inserted in various foreign-language newspapers. Is that correct?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is correct, Mr. Hammerling?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. These personal-liberty articles were articles written——

Mr. HAMMERLING. By Mr. Andreae.

Senator WOLCOTT. And published under your name?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. The contents of which were designed to operate against prohibition?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. So that the scheme really was for you to disseminate through the foreign-language newspapers liquor articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is not that the conclusion to be drawn?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not liquor articles, for the reason that the personal-liberty articles——

Senator WOLCOTT. Antiprohibition articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Personal-liberty articles covered more than prohibition.

Senator WOLCOTT. You just told me a moment ago that they were written in the interest of opposition to prohibition.

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you want to call it that way.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is not that the fact?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am not in favor of prohibition myself. Of course, that is my feeling about the matter.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not asking you your views. Do not let us quibble. Mr. Andreae was interested in combating prohibition.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. He wrote the personal-liberty articles in that interest.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I suppose so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Don't you know it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would say yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And you published them over your name?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Through these papers and got paid for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Can you escape the conclusion that Mr. Andreae was employing your association for the purpose of disseminating antiprohibition propaganda?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If that is the way it is interpreted, yes. I did not know there was anything wrong in it.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am not saying there is anything wrong about it.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Pardon me, I admit that I am not posted as well as I should be on these things.

Maj. HUMES. In addition to the contracts that have been already called to your attention and submitted, you had contracts by which

a very large number of subscriptions were paid for by Mr. Andreae and sent to various people throughout the country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any idea as to how many subscribers you were supplied through Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember; perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred, whatever it is; I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. What is the greatest subscription list, the largest number of subscribers, the American Leader ever had?

Mr. HAMMERLING. At one time?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Do you want subscribers or copies printed?

Maj. HUMES. I mean actually paid subscriptions of any kind.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Maybe 10,000.

Maj. HUMES. That is the highest number?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would not swear; I could not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Approximately, 10,000 is the most you ever had?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that more than half of those were paid for by Mr. Andreae and the United States Brewers' Association?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; not to my memory.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit 8 and ask you if that is one of the bills from the American Leader to Mr. Andreae for subscriptions?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Nineteen fifteen—that is our bill; yes.

Maj. HUMES. This was paid for by Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; I suppose so.

Maj. HUMES. He has paid you all of the debts that he owed you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, yes; absolutely.

Maj. HUMES. It is a fact, is it not, that in November, 1915, they paid you for the following subscriptions: To 624 rabbis, 2,002 priests, 1,700 ministers, 1,385 German and foreign newspapers, and 206 Polish Sokal unions, or a total of 5,890. That is a fact, is it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That would be more than half of the 10,000 subscribers you had?

Mr. HAMMERLING. According to this bill.

Maj. HUMES. He paid you for this bill?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Less than half—it is $2 a copy.

Maj. HUMES. But $1.50 was your contract with him.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not have a special $1.50 contract with him? There is the price.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And those were subscribers, the names of whom were furnished by Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then, in 1915, 5,890 of your subscribers were charged to and paid for by Mr. Andreae and the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Is there anything wrong about that?

Maj. HUMES. Answer the question.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; according to this bill. I know corporations that will order 5,000 copies every day. I do not see anything wrong about it.

Maj. HUMES. I offer in evidence Hammerling Exhibit No. 8.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 8.

Duplicate.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 1, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building. Terms: Cash on presentation of bill.

To renewal of subscriptions, beginning Nov. 1, 1918, for one year, at the special rate of $1.50 per annum, for the following:

624 Rabbis	$936.00
2,002 Priests	3,003.00
1,700 Ministers	2,550.00
1,358 German and Foreign Newspapers	2,037.00
206 Polish Sokol Union	309.00
	$8,835.00

O. K.—Percy Andreae.

Maj. HUMES. Did you receive any other bonuses of any kind from Mr. Andreae in financing your enterprise?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Bonuses?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Did he ever pay you a commission or percentage on the office help that you hired?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In my office?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never. I think he made a Christmas present.

Maj. HUMES. Christmas present?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Was this Christmas present made as a result of a demand from you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You demanded a Christmas present for your employees?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. They have plenty of money—why not? I do not see anything wrong about it.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 9.

Mr. HAMMERLING. There is nothing wrong about it.

Maj. HUMES. I ask you if Mr. Andreae did not pay you 10 per cent upon the salary of your office force?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It shows what it is paid for—for Christmas.

Maj. HUMES. Where does it show that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The letter will show it, if you will pardon me.

Maj. HUMES. Where is the letter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It must be here, and if not, Mr. Andreae is alive, and he will tell the truth. He thought that the thing was going so successfully that he wanted these people to have something.

Maj. HUMES. As a matter of fact you actually billed Mr. Andreae for 10 per cent of the salary of certain employees in your office for the year 1915?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and he gave it to me.

Maj. HUMES. He paid you a commission?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then you collected not only a commission on the advertising but a commission on the office expenditures from your papers as well?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If they paid it, why not?

Maj. HUMES. The American Leader was owned by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were not all of the foreign-language newspapers subscribers, and did they not get copies of the Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Before I go any further with that I will offer in evidence at this point Hammerling Exhibit No. 9.

(The paper referred to is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 9.

NEW YORK, *Dec. 15, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader Dr., Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc. 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To 10% of total amount of salaries paid to the 15 employees, during the year 1915 ..... $2,518.00

O. K.—Percy Andreae.

Maj. HUMES. Why was it necessary for you to collect from Mr. Andreae a subscription price for each one of these papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that the papers did not pay for it, and he wanted them to get it sure.

Maj. HUMES. Then you did not gratuitously send the American Leader out to all the papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We did if we could not get somebody to pay for it.

Maj. HUMES. It was a graft game?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was not a graft game.

Maj. HUMES. If you had not got the money from him, you would have sent them anyway?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, I pursued what I learned in this country from the newspapers; I would like to see some of them here, they are all doing it. It is no graft game.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 10, a bill for subscriptions to 624 rabbis for the American Leader, beginning with the issue of August 27.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is correct.

Maj. HUMES. You received the money for that from Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. According to the bill. I did not receive the money. I do not even open the mail.

Maj. HUMES. I offer in evidence Hammerling Exhibit No. 10.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 10.

NEW YORK, *July 31, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To 624 subscriptions to The American Leader, for Rabbis, beginning with issue of August 27th—for one year (at the special price of $1.50) _ $936.00

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Aug. 18, 1915.

Maj. HUMES. I show you now Hammerling Exhibit No. 11. That is a bill of yours for 28 subscriptions for Hungarian priests.

Mr. HAMMERLING. If he sent them in, we sent them.

Maj. HUMES. You got the money for them from Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. In fairness to you, I want to get on the record what you probably would like to have there. Did you say that the 10 per cent Christmas present that Mr. Andreae contributed was paid by you to the employees?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I did not think you made that statement. You would want that to appear?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is true.

Maj. HUMES. I offer in evidence at this point Hammerling Exhibit No. 11.

(The paper referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 11.

NEW YORK, *May 7, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To 26 subscriptions for Hungarian priests at special price of $1.50 per subscription (each subscription from issue of May 14th, 1914, to May 14, 1915)---------- $42.00

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, May 13, 1914.

Maj. HUMES. In the conduct of your business, did you have anything to do with the German newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Just in respect to the personal liberty articles; no advertising. They would not join us.

Maj. HUMES. Did you send the personal liberty articles to the German newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mr. Andreae arranged it with them.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever during that time come in contact with the German-American Alliance?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know anything about the German-American Alliance?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Only what I saw in the newspapers.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Max Heinrici?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever come in contact with him in connection with this work?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not with the German Alliance. He was to translate personal-liberty articles in German, for which we paid him.

Maj. HUMES. For whom was he translating these articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the American Association.

Maj. HUMES. Max Heinrici was the editor of the official bulletin of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. Mr. Andreae said that he was a good translator, and we got him. I did not know him from Adam.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean that he came into your office and did the translating?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No. We sent it to him by mail at some place in Germantown, Pa.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know him personally?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I met him three or four times.

Maj. HUMES. In what connection?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In regard to these translations. He was a kind of a nervous man, and every year he thought that he was going to lose his job, and I would cheer him up; that is all.

Maj. HUMES. You went to see him, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went to see him; yes. I think I did.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you were in communication with and conferred with Max Heinrici at the expense of Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of course, if it was in connection with personal-liberty articles I made him pay for it. Why should I pay it?

Maj. HUMES. You also acted in connection with the German newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; outside of sending them these articles.

Senator OVERMAN. What is your nationality?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am half Polish and half Bohemian.

Senator OVERMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In Galicia.

Sentor OVERMAN. How old were you when you came to this country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Nine.

Senator OVERMAN. Are you naturalized?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I show you now Hammerling Exhibit No. 12, and ask you if these are the checks that you received and the bills that you transmitted covering the expenses of your communications with and transactions with Max Heinrici?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Those checks and bills are offered in evidence, together with the indorsement on the back of the checks.

(The papers referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 12.

NEW YORK, *May 25, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To printing letter of May 23, address to German newspapers, by Mr. Heinrick	$25.00
To cost of letter heads and envelopes	15.00
To postage for 461 letters	18.44
To hotel and traveling expenses to Philadelphia and return	30.50
	$88.94

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid June 1, 1914.

No. 979. CHICAGO *May 29, 1914.*

Union Trust Company, Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader Eighty Eight Dollars Ninety Four Cents, $88.94. GALES M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

(Endorsement.) The American Leader. For deposit in the Northwestern Trust & Savings Bank, Account of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.

M. C. LEFFLER, *Treasurer.*

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.

To telegram sent May 12th	$2.93
To telegram sent in re Heinrici matter May 15th	2.30
To day letter received May 15, 1914	1.05
	6.28
To telegram to Heinrichy on May 16th 1914	1.03
	$7.31

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Jun 6, 1914.

No. 1015. CHICAGO, *June 3, 1914.*

Union Trust Company, Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader Seven Dollars Thirty One Cents, $7.31.
GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

(Endorsement.) The American Leader. For deposit in the North Western Trust & Savings Bank, Account of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.

M. C. LEFFLER, *Asst. Treasurer.*

NEW YORK, *July 2, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader. Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To railroad fare to Philadelphia, Pa. and return	$5.00
To dinner with Mr. Heinrici	$6.80
To hotel expenses	$5.25
	$17.05

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Jul 9, 1914.

No. 1251. CHICAGO, *July 7, 1914.*

Union Trust Company, Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader Seventeen Dollars Five Cents, $17.05.
GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

(Endorsement.) The American Leader. For deposit in the North Western Trust & Savings Bank, Account of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.
M. C. LEFFLER, *Asst. Treasurer.*

NEW YORK, *July 13, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To printing letter of July 11, 1914, addressed to German newspapers by Mr. Heinrici	$17.00
To cost of letter heads and envelopes	15.00
To postage for 547 letters	10.94
To hotel and traveling expenses to Philadelphia and return	27.35
	$70.29

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Jul 17, 1914.

No. 1306. CHICAGO, *July 15, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2-9), Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader Seventy Dollars Twenty-Nine Cents, $70.29.
GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

(Endorsement.) The American Leader. For deposit in the North Western Trust & Savings Bank, Account of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.
M. C. LEFFLER, *Asst. Treasurer.*

Maj. HUMES. Did you have anything to do with trying to reach the Members of the House and the Senate in matters in which Mr. Andreae was interested?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember a thing about it.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 13, a bill made by you to Percy Andreae for telegrams, as per inclosed copy, to 96 Senators and 435 Congressmen, at $2.32 each, and ask you what the occasion of that was?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1914, I think, they sent us a telegram and the bill that was to be presented to Congress, and they wanted us to have these papers make a protest.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know what the bill was?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Was it a matter that you had any interest in yourself?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know a thing about it.

Maj. HUMES. Was it a matter that your papers had any interest in?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Our papers, with the exception of the Scandanavian, I think, are all interested to-day.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, you sold the influence of your association for the purpose of undertaking to influence legislation at the request and instance of Mr. Andreae and the Brewers' Association, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, if you interpret it in that way, but I do not think there was any such purpose.

Senator OVERMAN. You sent the telegrams to Congress?

Mr. HAMMERLING. According to this bill. I do not know whether they were sent by me or by the publishers.

Senator OVERMAN. It was done under your authority.

Mr. HAMMERLING. According to this bill; yes.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of that bill?

Mr. HAMMERLING. May 11, 1914.

Senator WOLCOTT. That bill is for over 500 telegrams.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Those telegrams did not emanate from your office, did they?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I really do not think so. I think they were sent out from all over the country. I would have to look at the correspondence to tell.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am curious to know how you could get all of these foreign language newspapers to send these telegrams for which you were paid if your only connection with these newspapers was of an advertising nature.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of course, the question about our connection with these newspapers that you gentlemen question me about is that we have remedied the tremendous wrongs that were done for years to these papers, and they were glad to do anything that I suggested.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did have some influence with them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And that influence extended to getting them interested in an activity that was entirely dissociated from your advertising contracts?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of course, in this case it shows that way; yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you not recall to what subject these telegrams related that were pending before Congress?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I could not tell you.

Senator NELSON. Maj. Humes, can you tell us what this legislation was about?

Maj. HUMES. I think I can disclose that by the files already offered in evidence the other day. Exhibit 807 is a telegram sent by Percy Andreae and addressed to Edward A. Schmidt, of the Robert Schmidt Ale Brewing Co., Philadelphia, dated May 11, 1914, and is as follows:

The following telegram, sent by directors of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, has been sent to-day to every Senator and Congressman in Washington:

"The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, with a circulation of over 7,000,000, reaching 20,000,000 citizens, protests emphatically on behalf of the overwhelming majority of those citizens against Hobson, the resolution providing for national prohibition. Our people consider same unwarranted interference with rights guaranteed them under the Federal Constitution, and will resent the passage of the resolution, which is designed to destroy their most cherished customs and deprive citizens generally of the individual liberty which is as dear to them as life itself. Almost entire foreign-language press has for the past three months voiced this sentiment in strongest possible terms and with full concurrence of its millions of readers."

Is that the telegram referred to?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; I remember that Mr. Andreae got it up.

Maj. HUMES. Were you and Mr. Andreae together when that telegram was made up?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No. He was either in New York or he sent it in by mail.

Maj. HUMES. It had your approval before it was sent?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not see anything wrong in it.

Maj. HUMES. Who sent the telegram?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I really do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Andreae says here that it was sent by the directors. Who were the directors at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The same as they are to-day.

Maj. HUMES. You have not had an election since?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We elect them every year.

Maj. HUMES. You own and control the association?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. The stockholders' meetings are a perfunctory matter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. According to the charter the common stockholders have a vote, and we are to get them by proxy or they come in. I have a majority; I control it.

Maj. HUMES. You have practically all of the common stock?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I have $29,000 out of $50,000.

Maj. HUMES. You are going to furnish us with a list of the stockholders?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. I offer in evidence at this point Hammerling Exhibit No. 13, together with the checks attached, showing payment.

(The paper referred to, with the accompanying check, is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 13.

NEW YORK, *May 11, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To telegrams, as per enclosed copy, to 96 senators and 435 congressmen (at $2.32 each)	$1,231.92
Other telegrams in connection with the matter	8.69
	$1,240.61

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid May 15, 1914.

No. 869. CHICAGO, *May 13, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2-9), Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader One thousand two hundred forty dollars, sixty-one cents, $1,240.61.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

(Endorsement.) The American Leader. For deposit in the North Western Trust & Savings Bank. Account of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.

M. C. LEFFLER, *Asst. Treasurer.*

Senator WOLCOTT. It is not clear to me just how this telegram went. From the bill rendered to Mr. Andreae there must have been over a thousand distinct telegrams coming from various parts of the country here to Washington, and yet I gather from what Mr. Hammerling has just said that the telegram originated from his office in New York.

Maj. HUMES. I think if you will look at the bill very carefully you will see that there was only one telegram sent to each Representative and Senator.

Senator NELSON. They were all of the same kind?

Maj. HUMES. They were the same telegram.

Senator NELSON. And the same signature, I suppose?

Maj. HUMES. I assume so.

Senator WOLCOTT. They were all sent by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

Maj. HUMES. By the directors, according to Mr. Andreae's telegram. Mr. Hammerling, did you communicate with the foreign-language newspapers of the country before you sent this telegram?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We always do.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you in this case?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember exactly, but anything we send that is signed, we first ask them for the signature before we send it.

Maj. HUMES. There were some 500 or 600 foreign-language newspapers, were there not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. The bills give $8.69 for the other telegrams that were necessary to secure the crystallization of sentiment that resulted in the telegram to the Members of the Senate and the House.

Mr. HAMMERLING. We never send them a telegram. We send them our circular letter.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any record that will throw more light on that transaction?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know of any.

Senator OVERMAN. We will take a recess at this point until 3 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the committee stood in recess until 3 o'clock p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The subcommittee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 3 o'clock p. m., Senator Lee S. Overman (chairman) presiding.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LOUIS N. HAMMERLING—Resumed.

Maj. HUMES. I show you this paper marked "Hammerling Exhibit No. 14," and ask you if that is a bill submitted by you?

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examination of paper). That is our bill.

Maj. HUMES. And that is the check attached, paying the bill?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is our bill.

(The bill and check referred to are here printed in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 14.

NEW YORK, *April 9, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To 599 subscriptions for German newspapers at special price of $1.50 per subscription	$898.50
Cost of writing letters to 599 German newspapers and stationery	16.50
Postage, including return stamped envelopes	23.96
	$938.96

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Apr. 15, 1914.

No. 703. CHICAGO, *4/13, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2–9), Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader Nine Hundred Thirty-eight Dollars Ninety-six Cents. $938.96. GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. This reads "To 599 subscriptions for German newspapers at special price of $1.50 per subscription, $898.50."

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And "Cost of writing letters to 599 German newspapers and stationery, $16.50."

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And "Postage, including return stamped envelopes, $23.96."

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And that was paid for by Mr. Andreae of the National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know just what it says, there.

Maj. HUMES. It was paid for by Mr. Andreae? It was billed by you to Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; we send the Leader wherever it is subscribed for.

Senator OVERMAN. Where is the Leader published, in Philadelphia or New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In New York.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits No. 15 and No. 16 and ask you if that is a bill rendered by you to Mr. Andreae and if this is the check in payment of the same?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

(The bill and check referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 15.

NEW YORK, *June 6, 1918.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To setting up and printing proofs on German Personal Liberty article—
2 months—May and June at $6.00 per article (4 articles)..... $24.00

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid June 10, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 16.

No. 1056. CHICAGO, *June 8, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2-9), *Tribune Building.*

Pay to the order of American Leader Twenty Four Dollars, $24.00.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. That is for the setting up and printing of proofs in German of these personal liberty articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; on personal liberty.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 17 and 18, and ask you if they are a bill submitted by you to Mr. Andreae and the check in payment thereof covering articles furnished by you to German newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. By The American Leader; yes.

Maj. HUMES. What were the articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. On personal liberty.

Maj. HUMES. "Articles 10, 11, and 12," it says in the bill.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; they are all numbered.

Maj. HUMES. The personal liberty articles went by numbers, did they?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Pardon me, Major; I said "yes." I want to take a look at my record and get it straight.

Maj. HUMES. All right.

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examining papers). Yes [indicating in paper].

(The check and bill referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 17.

NEW YORK, *June 23, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To postage for articles (No. 10, 11 & 12) sent to the German newspapers__$34.94

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid June 29, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 18.

No. 1144.

CHICAGO, *June 26, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2–9), Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader Thirty-four Dollars Ninety-four Cents, $34.94.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 19 and 20, and ask you if that bill is for articles furnished to German newspapers by the Leader and the check is in payment thereof?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The same thing; yes.

Maj. HUMES. And paid for by Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

(The bill and check last referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 19.

NEW YORK, *July 9, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To postage on articles sent to German newspapers during July_____ $21.88

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPRS INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid July 16, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 20.

No. 1301. CHICAGO, *July 14, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2–9), Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader Twenty-one Dollars Eighty-eight Cents, $21.88.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. Did you testify that in the ordinary transaction of your business you had no transactions with German newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; we did not.

Maj. HUMES. To what extent did you deal with German newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Just on these personal-liberty articles.

Maj. HUMES. Just on the personal-liberty articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you, either personally or through some of your officers or agents, communicate with and confer with German newspapers or editors?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We wrote them letters; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You wrote them letters?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; we wrote them letters, advising them.

Maj. HUMES. Advising them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; of the arrangements made. We sent them these letters.

Maj. HUMES. Did you call on them personally?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. The German newspapers were not in that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; they were not. Herman Ridder did not want to deal with the foreign papers. He spoke of them in public, and I think all of you saw it, as hunkies, and said that he would never sit with the hunkies and the Italian races.

Senator NELSON. What is that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He called them "the hunkies" and the other Latin races "dagoes." A few years later they would have been very glad to come in.

Maj. HUMES. Have you the list of papers to which you sent these letters?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We sent to the entire list.

Maj. HUMES. To the entire list of German newspapers of the country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Some of them published it and some did not.

Maj. HUMES. Did you make it a business, yourself, or did you on occasion travel about to help Mr. Andreae in his propaganda, purporting to represent these foreign-language newspapers of the country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think I made one speech with Mr. Andreae. I was with him in Chicago in 1913. We were the guests of the city.

Maj. HUMES. You were the guests of the city?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is that the only trip you made as their agent?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the best that I can remember. As their agent? I was not their agent. I was invited by Gen. Dickinson, as the chairman of the citizens, who wanted me to speak on Washington's Birthday, at the Auditorium in Chicago.

Maj. HUMES. Who paid the expenses of that trip?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The association paid all of them.

Maj. HUMES. The Foreign Language Newspaper Association?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You did not bill that to Mr. Andreae, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever make any trips on behalf of the association that you controlled for Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think I did, but not at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Upon what occasions did you make trips that you billed to him?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember, Major, exactly.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not go to Cleveland at the expense of Mr. Andreae for the purpose of carrying on his propaganda?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I handled it in Cleveland, I think, one year or two years. I do not remember if it was Mr. Andreae who paid it, or who paid it. The brewers paid it.

Senator OVERMAN. You said the brewers paid it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; they were running under some other name. I have forgotten what it was.

Senator OVERMAN. The National Association of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In some county; Cuyahoga County organization, or something like that.

Maj. HUMES. You went out at their request and appeared on some occasion?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; I think I did.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember when that was?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Where did you go from September 18 to September 20, 1914, and stop at the Statler Hotel?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Cleveland.

Maj. HUMES. Was that Cleveland or Buffalo or some other city?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I really do not know. I go to Buffalo and Cleveland and the Detroit hotels sometimes.

Maj. HUMES. I will refresh your recollection by calling your attention to Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 21, 22, and 23, the first being a bill rendered by the American Leader to Percy Andreae, "To accommodations from September 18 to September 20, inclusive, as per hotel statement attached, and expenses." the amount being $194.64, and other items, as follows:

To drinks and cigars at Bohemian Club	$30.00
To taxicabs	15.80
To telegrams	4.90
To long-distance telephone calls to different parts of Ohio	9.80
To tips including those at publishers' luncheon	22.00
To drinks with publishers after luncheon	10.00
To Sunday automobile—luncheon with six priests and four publishers	53.00
	340.14

The total of this bill is $340.14.

Does that refresh your recollection in regard to that transaction?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; I went there on the Cuyahoga County business.

Maj. HUMES. Were you going to solicit advertising for the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You went out there as the presentative of the foreign-language newspapers, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; that is what I do all the time.

(The bill and check last referred to are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 26.

NEW YORK, *June 19, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3875 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To railroad fare to Cleveland, O., and return, including berth..... $32.00
To travelling and hotel expenses—2 days (including dinner with publishers) 33.55

$65.55

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid June 23, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 27.

No. 1133 CHICAGO, *June 21, 1914.*

Union Trust Company.

Pay to the Order of The American Leader Sixty Five Dollars and fifty five cents.
$65.55

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits 30 and 31. Is that a bill rendered by your concern to Mr. Andreae and is that the check in payment of the same?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is our bill; yes, sir.

(The bill and check are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 30.

NEW YORK, *Dec. 17, 1914*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To THE AMERICAN LEADER, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building

To railroad fare, dinner and hotel expenses in Philadelphia, Pa.—Dec. 15th & Dec. 16th, $33.00.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Dec. 23, 1914

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 31.

No. 2556 CHICAGO, *December 21st, 1914*

Union Trust Company

Pay to the order of The American Leader Thirty Three Dollars
$33.00 GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 32 and 33, they being a bill from the American Leader to Mr. Andreae for a dinner for 180 Bohemian priests and a check in payment thereof. Is that a bill rendered by you and a check in payment for the same?

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 22.

No. 1856. CHICAGO, *Sept. 26, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2–9).

Pay to the order of American Association of Foreign Languages Three Hundred Forty Dollars Fourteen Cents, $340.14.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 23.

CHICAGO, *Sept. 26, 1914.*

Received of National Ass'n of Commerce and Labor, Three hundred and Forty 14/100 Dollars, $340.14.
Expenses Publishers' meeting, Cleveland.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.,
M. C. LEFFLER, *Asst. Treas.*

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, did you on any other occasion go to Cleveland?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think I did; twice. Two years I managed that advertisement.

Maj. HUMES. You never went twice in the same year?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, in July, 1914, only 60 days before the occasion just referred to, go to Cleveland, and submit a bill for your expenses, of $108.70, to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING [after examining paper]. I went there to arrange an address that Mr. Andreae wanted made on July 4, in the park there.

Maj. HUMES. You were in this country, were you, on July 18, 1914?

Mr. HAMMERLING. July 18, 1914? I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. Then how did you happen to go there to make an address for Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know the date. Is this bill that date?

Maj. HUMES. The bill is dated. I called your attention to the date; July 18, 1914.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Major, I could not be in two places at the same time; so that I do not know anything about it. You are showing me a bill that goes out by the hundreds every week. If I was in Europe, I could not be in Cleveland.

Maj. HUMES. That was my understanding. You have billed Mr. Andreae.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not. I never made a bill since I have been in business. That is my company.

Maj. HUMES. You own the company?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; I own most of the stock.

Maj. HUMES. It is a one-man company?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is not.

Maj. HUMES. You never hold a stockholders' meeting?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do. Everyone is notified who holds stock.

Maj. HUMES. You hold an annual meeting?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We comply with the stock law, the law of the State of New York.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever give notice, when you were going to hold a meeting, to the stockholders?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Certainly. The letters and all the proxies are right there [indicating papers].

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that to stockholders who have asked you about annual meetings you have only replied by saying that notice was published as required by law, in the newspapers, and that they would have to find it for themselves?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have complied with the laws of the State, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Have you written such letters?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I certainly did; the stockholders that have preferred stock, they are not entitled to notice in writing.

Senator WOLCOTT. You said on one occasion you went to Cleveland to arrange a Fourth of July address for Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did one year.

Senator WOLCOTT. And this bill was for services on that occasion.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was guessing at it. I did not know that it was for that occasion.

Senator WOLCOTT. You would change that statement, then?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. The items of this bill of July 18, 1914 (referring to Hammerling Exhibit No. 28), are as follows:

July 3.	Luncheon to seven Cleveland publishers	$30.50
6.	Luncheon to four (4) publishers	15.75
13.	Telephone to Mr. Momand	3.25
14.	Luncheon to eleven (11) publishers	39.00
	To 14 cuts of Mr. Andreae	10.75
	Messenger, telegraph and telephone service	8.95
		$108.70

The total of that bill is $108.70.

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, Major, if you will pardon me——

Maj. HUMES. Is that something that you have been talking about?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you will pardon me, I think I can recall that thing.

Maj. HUMES. All right.

Mr. HAMMERLING. This was while——

Maj. HUMES. It was a bill of the Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; of the American Leader. I am just remembering something. The cost charged here was published after Mr. Andreae made a speech in our paper.

Maj. HUMES. As a matter of fact, the priests you speak of, are they not Hungarian reformed priests instead of Catholic priests?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I do not know——

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever entertain any Hungarian reformed priests at these luncheons?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not more in contact with the Hungarian reformed priests than you were with any other priests?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I was not.

(The bill and check last referred to are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 28.

NEW YORK, *July 18, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

July 3.	Luncheon to seven (7) Cleveland publishers	$30.50
" 6.	Luncheon to four (4) publishers	15.75
" 13.	Telephone to Mr. Momand	3.25
" 14.	Luncheon to eleven (11) publishers	39.60
	To 14 cuts of Mr. Andreae	10.75
	Messenger, telegraph and telephone service	8.85
		$108.70

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per M. C. LEFFLER.

Paid July 22, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 29.

No. 1367. CHICAGO, *July 20, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2–9), Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of American Leader, One Hundred Eight Dollars Seventy Cents. $108.70.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. Now, I show you Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 26 and 27, "railroad fare to Cleveland, Ohio, and return," and for "hotel expenses * * *, including dinner with publishers." Is that a bill that your concern rendered to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; this is our bill.

Maj. HUMES. What were all these trips to Ohio for?

Mr. HAMMERLING. This is where the fight was on State-wide prohibition.

Maj. HUMES. Then your association was taking an active part in politics?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; we were handling the advertising, just like the last two years when we lost out with the brewers, it was handled by another concern. For instance, we lost out. The United States brewers were not friendly to deal with us, and they dealt with somebody else.

Maj. HUMES. These are for the personal expenses of your employees, are they not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Who were there.

Maj. HUMES. Who is Mr. Momand?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He is secretary of the company now.

Maj. HUMES. He is secretary of your company?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He is an officer in the Army, now.

(The bill and check last referred to are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 26.

NEW YORK, *June 19, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3875 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To railroad fare to Cleveland, O., and return, including berth	$32.00
To travelling and hotel expenses—2 days (including dinner with publishers)	33.55
	$65.55

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid June 23, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 27.

No. 1133 CHICAGO, *June 21, 1914.*

Union Trust Company.

Pay to the Order of The American Leader Sixty Five Dollars and fifty five cents.
$65.55

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits 30 and 31. Is that a bill rendered by your concern to Mr. Andreae and is that the check in payment of the same?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is our bill; yes, sir.

(The bill and check are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 30.

NEW YORK, *Dec. 17, 1914*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To THE AMERICAN LEADER, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building

To railroad fare, dinner and hotel expenses in Philadelphia, Pa.—Dec. 15th & Dec. 16th, $33.00.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Dec. 23, 1914

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 31.

No. 2556 CHICAGO, *December 21st, 1914*

Union Trust Company

Pay to the order of The American Leader Thirty Three Dollars
$33.00 GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 32 and 33, they being a bill from the American Leader to Mr. Andreae for a dinner for 180 Bohemian priests and a check in payment thereof. Is that a bill rendered by you and a check in payment for the same?

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examining papers). Yes; that is our bill.

Maj. HUMES. What was the purpose of that dinner to those 180 priests?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know, sir. The letter shows.

Maj. HUMES. Did you arrange——

Mr. HAMMERLING. We arranged through the papers.

Maj. HUMES. You arranged for a dinner at the cost of the American Leader and sent the bill to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; he wanted that dinner so that he could have a chance to talk with them, so that they would listen to him.

Maj. HUMES. And you loaned him the name of your association as a vehicle in order to reach any class of people that he wanted to reach?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I really do not understand the wording of it, but I suppose it is so.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of this meeting covered by this bill?

Maj. HUMES. The bill is dated February 11, 1915. The item is $630 for the 180 guests.

Now, Mr. Hammerling, you say you were in Europe in the summer of 1914?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you, during that summer, get in touch and keep in touch with Mr. Andreae and his organization?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I kept in touch with the office, not with him.

Maj. HUMES. Did you transact any business with Mr. Andreae while you were in Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 24 and 25. This is a bill to the American Leader from Mr. Andreae for the "expense for Mr. Hammerling's cable from Europe." What was that for, and for what reason was it charged to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is $6. Maybe he wanted to ask me some question about making a speech, or something; as much as I can remember.

Maj. HUMES. Then he was in touch with you while you were in Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It no doubt came through my office.

Maj. HUMES. He cabled to you while you were in Europe, to your office, and you cabled to the office or to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the office. If he asked me any question about any advertising, the charge was made to the advertiser.

(The bill and check referred to are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT NO. 24.

NEW YORK, *July 1, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To expense for Mr. Hammerling's cable from Europe $6.00

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid July 8, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 25.

No. 1243. CHICAGO, *July 6, 1914.*

Union Trust Company (2-9) Tribune Building

Pay to the order of American Leader Six Dolars.

$6.00. GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 34, it being a bill dated August 9, 1915, from the American Leader to Mr. Andreae for $249.95, for hotel expenses, etc., and trip from Cleveland to New York. What was that for?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is in connection with that campaign, no doubt.

Maj. HUMES. The 1914 campaign? This is 1915.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I said that we had that for two years, Major. They won out both times when we handled it, and they lost the last time when we did not.

(The bill referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 34.

AUG. 9, 1915.

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago. To the American Leader, Dr., Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To Hotel expenses, meals, taxicabs, etc., and railroad fares, including trip from Cleveland to New York, $249.95.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF
FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Aug. 18, 1915.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 35, it being a bill for tickets to Chicago and return for $115.30.

Mr. HAMMERLING. He no doubt wanted to see me.

Maj. HUMES. Not "no doubt." What was the business you had with him at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The same thing. I had only one business with him, Major. That is the personal-liberty articles.

Maj. HUMES. Just the personal-liberty articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir. I never had any other business with him.

Maj. HUMES. You never had any other business with him?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; not that I know of.

(The bill last referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 35.

NEW YORK, *July 31, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To amount expended for tickets, for Mr. Hammerling, to Chicago, Ill., and return $115.30.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF
FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Aug. 18, 1915

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 36, it being a bill for $122.50 for "dictionaries for the following languages." There are about twenty or twenty-five different languages there in that list, the dictionaries being charged at about $5 apiece.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; we bought them. He asked us to buy them so that we could verify some quotations.

Maj. HUMES. Where were they kept; in your office, or were they delivered to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; they were kept in our office.

Maj. HUMES. They were for the use of these translators that were at work in his service?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; it would be in the same service.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know as a matter of fact that there are no dictionaries except cheap dictionaries, for half of the languages that are included in that list?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you will pardon me, Major, I know nothing about the details of that. I am just telling you what happened.

Maj. HUMES. For instance, do you not know that there is no English-Serbian dictionary except possibly some little 50-cent pocket dictionary?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know anything about it. It may be that it costs only 50 cents, and yet in England it will cost more than $10 in their language.

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Andreae keep up the membership of your association in any organizations that you belong to?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think he wanted us to belong to the Merchants' Association, and I think he paid $50 for us, as far as I remember. He wanted to belong to it, and was the vice president of the association. We paid our own.

(The bill last referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 36.

NEW YORK, *Sept. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To THE AMERICAN LEADER, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc. 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To dictionaries for the following languages:—

Armenian	$5.00
Bohemian	5.00
Bulgarian	5.00
Croatian	5.00
French	7.50
German	5.00
Greek	5.00
Hollandish	5.00
Hungarian	5.00
Italian	5.00
Jewish	5.00
Lithuanian	5.00
Norwegian-Danish	5.00
Polish	5.00
Portuguese	5.00
Roumanian	5.00
Russian	5.00
Ruthenian	5.00
Servian	5.00

To dictionaries for the following languages—Continued.

Slovak	$5.00
Slovenic	5.00
Spanish	5.00
Swedish	5.00
Syrian	5.00
	122.50

Maj. HUMES. I show you these bills and ask if those are all bills rendered by Mr. Andreae in different transactions and if the checks are checks received by you from Mr. Andreae in payment of the bills?

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examining papers). They are all our bills.

(The papers referred to, marked as exhibits, are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 41.

Feby. 2–14	$2080.00	
Mch. 2–14	2400.00	ok
" 30–14	2100.00	
May 4–14	2660.00	ok
June 1–14	2160.00	ok
July 6–14	2172.00	ok

Paid by Mr. Ortsiefen.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 42.

NEW YORK, *January 12, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc.

For translators, stenographer, postage and stationery from January 1, 1914 to February 1, 1914, 1 month—in advance. $1,400.00

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.

Paid Jan. 16 1914
Per 1400.00

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 43.

(Canceled Check.)

CHICAGO, *Jan. 14, 1914. No. 241.*

Union Trust Company Dearborn & Madison Streets 2–9

Pay to the order of L. N. Hammerling $1400.00 Fourteen Hundred Dollars

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sec'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 44.

(Cancelled check)

CHICAGO, *Feby. 4, 1914. No. 17.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank 2–5

Pay to the order of The American Leader, $2080.00 Two Thousand and eight and no/100 Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 45.

NEW YORK, *February 10th, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Av., Chicago Ill. To American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.

To Railroad fare from E. H. Jaudon, from New York to California	76.75
Sleeper accommodation	18.00
To One month's salary, February 9th, 1914, to March 9th, 1914, for E. H. Jaudon, Traveling Inspector	200.00
To Traveling expenses for E. H. Jaudon	180.00
To one month's salary, February 9th, 1914 to March 9th, 1914, for Sam Weiss	400.00
To Traveling expenses for Sam Weiss	100.00
	$974.75

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOLDT
Paid, Feb. 16, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 46.

(Cancelled check)

CHICAGO, *Feb. 14, 1914. No. 389.*

Union Trust Company Dearborn & Madison Streets

Pay to the order of the American Leader $974.75 Nine Hundred seventy-four 75/100 Dollars.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sec'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 47.

NEW YORK, *February 28, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc.

To translators, stenographer, checkers, postage and stationery from March 1, 1914 to April 1, 1914—1 month—in advance—$1,520.00

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, March 5, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 48.

(Cancelled check)

No. 446 CHICAGO, 3/2, 1914.

Union Trust Company (2–9)

Pay to the order of L. N. Hammerling Twenty Dollars $20.00

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sec'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 50.

(Cancelled check.)

CHICAGO, *Mch. 2, 191— No. 24.*

The Corn Exhange National Bank 2–5.

Pay to the Order of The American Leader $2400.00 Twenty four Hundred Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

(The bill and check last referred to are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 26.

NEW YORK, *June 19, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3875 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building.

To railroad fare to Cleveland, O., and return, including berth	$32.00
To travelling and hotel expenses—2 days (including dinner with publishers)	33.55
	$65.55

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid June 23, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 27.

No. 1133 CHICAGO, *June 21, 1914.*

Union Trust Company.

Pay to the Order of The American Leader Sixty Five Dollars and fifty five cents.
$65.55

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits 30 and 31. Is that a bill rendered by your concern to Mr. Andreae and is that the check in payment of the same?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is our bill; yes, sir.

(The bill and check are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 30.

NEW YORK, *Dec. 17, 1914*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To THE AMERICAN LEADER, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912–926 Woolworth Building

To railroad fare, dinner and hotel expenses in Philadelphia, Pa.—Dec. 15th & Dec. 16th, $33.00.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Dec. 23, 1914

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 31.

No. 2556 CHICAGO, *December 21st, 1914*

Union Trust Company

Pay to the order of The American Leader Thirty Three Dollars
$33.00 GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

Maj. HUMES. I show you Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 32 and 33, they being a bill from the American Leader to Mr. Andreae for a dinner for 180 Bohemian priests and a check in payment thereof. Is that a bill rendered by you and a check in payment for the same?

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examining papers). Yes; that is our bill.

Maj. HUMES. What was the purpose of that dinner to those 180 priests?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know, sir. The letter shows.

Maj. HUMES. Did you arrange——

Mr. HAMMERLING. We arranged through the papers.

Maj. HUMES. You arranged for a dinner at the cost of the American Leader and sent the bill to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; he wanted that dinner so that he could have a chance to talk with them, so that they would listen to him.

Maj. HUMES. And you loaned him the name of your association as a vehicle in order to reach any class of people that he wanted to reach?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I really do not understand the wording of it, but I suppose it is so.

Senator STERLING. What is the date of this meeting covered by this bill?

Maj. HUMES. The bill is dated February 11, 1915. The item is $630 for the 180 guests.

Now, Mr. Hammerling, you say you were in Europe in the summer of 1914?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you, during that summer, get in touch and keep in touch with Mr. Andreae and his organization?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I kept in touch with the office, not with him.

Maj. HUMES. Did you transact any business with Mr. Andreae while you were in Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to Hammerling Exhibits Nos. 24 and 25. This is a bill to the American Leader from Mr. Andreae for the "expense for Mr. Hammerling's cable from Europe." What was that for, and for what reason was it charged to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is $6. Maybe he wanted to ask me some question about making a speech, or something; as much as I can remember.

Maj. HUMES. Then he was in touch with you while you were in Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It no doubt came through my office.

Maj. HUMES. He cabled to you while you were in Europe, to your office, and you cabled to the office or to Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the office. If he asked me any question about any advertising, the charge was made to the advertiser.

(The bill and check referred to are here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT NO. 24.

NEW YORK, *July 1, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr. Published by the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-926 Woolworth Building.

To expense for Mr. Hammerling's cable from Europe $6.00

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid July 8, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 60.

NEW YORK, *April 30, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographer, checkers, postage and stationery from May 1, 1914, to June 1, 1914—1 month—in advance, $1,520.00.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, May 7, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 61.

(Cancelled Check.)
No. 39.

CHICAGO, *May 4, 1914.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank.

Pay to the order of American Leader $2660.00 Twenty Six Hundred Sixty Dollars.
CeK70224Onb

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 62.

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery from June 1, 1914, to July 1, 1914—1 month in advance, $1,520.00.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, June 6, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 63.

(Cancelled Check.)
No. 49.

CHICAGO, *June 1, 1914.*

Pay to the Order of American Leader, $2160.00 Twenty One Hundred Sixty Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 64.

NEW YORK, *June 8, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To cost of additional newspaper filing pockets including filing numbers, $310.51.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS
Per E. TOEDT, 310/51.

Paid, June 8, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 65.

(Cancelled Check.)
No. 1053.

CHICAGO, *June 6, 1914.*

Union Trust Company, Tribune Building.

Pay to the order or American Leader Three Hundred Ten Dollars Fifty One Cents, $310.51.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 66.

NEW YORK, *June 30, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery from July 1, 1914 to August 1, 1914—1 month in advance, $1.520.00

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 9, 1914

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 67.

(Cancelled Check.)

No. 55 CHICAGO, *July 6, 1914*

Pay to the order of American Leader $2172.00, Two Thousand One Hundred Seventy Two Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 68.

No. 1439 CHICAGO, *July 30, 1914.*

Union Trust Company

Pay to the order of American Leader Seven Dollars Fifty Cents, $7.50.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sect'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 69.

NEW YORK, *July 31, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographer, checkers, postage and stationery from August 1, 1914 to September 1, 1914—1 month in advance, $1,520.00.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS
Per M. C. LEFFLER

Paid, Aug. 5, 1914

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 70.

(Cancelled Check)

No. 63. CHICAGO, *August 3, 1914.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank

Pay to order of American Leader $2193.88, Twenty One Hundred Ninety Three 88/100 Dollars

ADAM OETSEIFEN.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 71.

NEW YORK, *August 31, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery from September 1, 1914 to October 1, 1914—1 month—in advance, $1,520.00.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Sept. 10, 1914

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 72.

(Cancelled Check)
No. 72 CHICAGO, *Sept. 8, 1914.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank

Pay to the order of American Leader $3129.88, Thirty One Hundred Twenty Nine 88/100 Dollars

ADAM OETSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 73.

(Cancelled Check)
No. 1868 CHICAGO, *September 29, 1914.*

Union Trust Company Tribune Building

Pay to the order of American Leader Thirty Six Dollars Seventeen Cents, $36.17

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sect'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 74.

NEW YORK, *September 30, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationary from October 1, 1914 to November 1, 1914—1 month—in advance, $1,520.00

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 75.

NEW YORK, *Oct. 19, 1914.*

Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers

To advertising Lucas County Home Rule in:—
Ameryka-Echo, Toledo, Ohio; Kuryer Katolicka, Toledo, Ohio; Toledo Express, Toledo, Ohio; Voce Del Popolo Italiano, Cleveland, Ohio ---------- $1,000.00
Plus 10% Commission ---------- 100.00

$1,100.00

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 76.

No. 2475 CHICAGO, *Dec. 5th, 1914.*

Union Trust Company, Tribune Bldg.

Pay to the order of American Leader Eleven Hundred Dollars, $1100.00
GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sec'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 77.

(Cancelled Check)
No. 80

CHICAGO, *Oct. 7, 1914.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank.

Pay to the order of American Leader $2241.23 Twenty Two Hundred Forty One 23/100 Dollars
ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 78.

NEW YORK, *October 31st, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographer, checkers, postage and stationery from November 1, 1914 to December 1, 1914—1 month—in advance, $1,520.00
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per, E. TOEDT.

Paid, Nov. 7, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 79.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 2, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To 200 half-tones (double column) and expressage on same, $220.00.
AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Nov. 7, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 80.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 2, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To additional amount paid to "American," Cleveland, O.—for Home Rule advertising—280 inches, $200.20.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid Nov. 7, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 81.

(Canceled check.)

No. 2195 CHICAGO, *Nov. 5th, 1914.*

Union Trust Company

Tribune Building

Pay to the order of American Leader Four Hundred Twenty Dollars Twenty Cents, $420.00.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sec'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 82.

(Cancelled Check.)

No. 88. CHICAGO, *Nov. 5, 1914.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank

Pay to the order of American Leader $2521.21 Twenty Five Hundred Twenty One & 21/100 Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 83.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 5, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

Home Rule
To advertising in:

Svet	$172.00
Jewish World (Cincinnati edition)	100.00
	272.00

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 84.

American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers

NEW YORK, *November 6, 1914.*

Mr. GALE M. HARTLEY,
3357 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. HARTLEY: Referring to Mr. Hammerling's letter of yesterday, I have just discovered that the bill accompanying his letter was not made out correctly. Instead of the Svit of New York City, it should be the Svet of Cleve-

land, Ohio. In order that there may not be any question, I am enclosing another bill properly made out.

Very truly yours,

_____ _____,
Private Secretary.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 85.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 5, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., to the American Leader, Dr.

Home rule:

Svet	$172.00
Jewish World (Cincinnati edition)	100.00
	$272.00

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 86.

(Cancelled check.)
No. 2235 CHICAGO, *Nov. 6, 1914.*

Union Trust Company.

Pay to the order of American Leader Two hundred seventy two dollars, $272.00.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sect'y.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 87.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 30, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., to the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationary from Dec. 1, 1914 to Jan. 1, 1915, 1 month, in advance $1,520.00

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Dec. 7, 1914.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 88.

(Cancelled check.)
No. 95. CHICAGO, *Dec. 4, 1914.*

Pay to the order of American Leader, $2193.88, Twenty one hundred ninety three and 88/100 Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 89.

(Cancelled check.)
No. 97. CHICAGO, *Dec. 21, 1914.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank.

Pay to the order of American Leader, $4942.50, Forty Nine Hundred Forty Two & 50/100 Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 90.

(Cancelled check.)
No. 98. CHICAGO, *Dec. 21, 1914.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank.

Pay to the order of American Leader, $2518.00, Twenty Five Hundred Eighteen Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 91.

NEW YORK, *Dec. 31, 1914.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., to the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery, 1 month	$1,743.88
To rental of office, 1 month	70.00
	$1,813.88

Paid, Jan. 7, 1915.

Per, E. TOEDT.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 92.

(Cancelled check.)

No. 104. CHICAGO *Jan. 5, 1915.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank.

Pay to the order of American Leader, $2395.72, Twenty Three Hundred Ninety Five & 72/100 Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 93.

(Cancelled check.)

No. 2811. CHICAGO, *Jan. 18th, 1915.*

Union Trust Company

Pay to the order of F. U. Hammerling One hundred twenty one dollars ninety-five cents—Dollars $121.95.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 94.

No. 107. CHICAGO, *Jan. 19, 1915.*

Pay to the order of American Leader $2207.50 Twenty two hundred Seven & 50/100 Dollars

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 95.

NEW YORK, *Jan. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 1132 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery—1 month	$1,743.88
To rental of office—1 month	70.00
	$1,813.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Feb. 4, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 96.

NEW YORK, *Feb. 27, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 1132 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery—1 month	$1,743.88
To rental of office—1 month	70.00
	$1,813.88

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 97.

(Cancelled check)

No. 11. CHICAGO, ILL., *Feb. 2, 1915.*

The Corn Exchange National Bank.

Pay to the order of American Leader $2670.07 Twenty Six hundred seventy & 07/100 Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 98.

(Cancelled check)

No. 123. CHICAGO, *March 1, 1915.*

Pay to the order of American Leader $1813.88 Eighteen hundred Thirteen & 88/100 Dollars

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 99.

NEW YORK, *Mar. 31, 1918*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 1132 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery—1 month	$1,743.88
To rental of office—1 month	70.00
	1,813.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per. E. TOEDT.

Paid, Apr. 8, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 100.

(Cancelled Check.)

No. 3456. CHICAGO, *March 19th, 1915.*

Pay to the order of American Leader Two thousand eight hundred twenty five dollars $2825.00.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sect.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 101.

(Cancelled Check.)

No. 35. CHICAGO, *April 5, 1915.*

Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago

Pay to the order of American Leader $3824.75 Thirty Eight Hundred Twenty Four & 75/100 Dollars.

ADAM ORTSEIFEN, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 102.

NEW YORK, *Apr. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 1132 Transportation Building, Chicago, Illinois To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery—1 month	$1,783.88
To rental of office—1 month	70.00
	1,853.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT,

Paid, May 27, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 103.

Duplicate

NEW YORK, *Apr. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 1132 Transportation Bldg. Chicago, Ill. The American Leader, Dr.

To 120 inches advertising as per contract, May—$2.000.00.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT,

Paid, May 27, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 104.

Duplicate

NEW YORK, *Apr. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 1132 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To telegrams sent during April—$4.19.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per. E. TOEDT.

Paid, May 27, 1918.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 105.

NEW YORK, *Apr. 30, 1915.*

To the American Leader, Dr.

To one month's salary, Apr. 18th to May 18th, for Sam Weiss	$400.00
To traveling expenses for Sam Weiss	100.00
	500.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT,

Paid, May 27, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 106.

NEW YORK, *May 10, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., to the American Leader, Dr.

To translating of copy into 27 languages	$135.00
To setting up copy in 27 languages	162.00
To photographing 27 copies for originals	108.00
To original of 27 copies in (27 languages)	81.00
To 1300 proofs in 27 languages	285.00
To 1300 boxes for mailing cuts	78.00
To parcel postage on cuts	234.00
To cost of writing 1300 letters and addressing envelopes, including stationery	32.60
To 1300–2¢ stamps	26.00
To printing of 1300 return postal cards (Publishers advising if they will insert copy)	75.00
To preparing of copies, packing of cuts, etc	100.00
	$1,966.60

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT,

Paid, May 27, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 107.

(Cancelled Check)

NEW YORK, *May 27, 1915.*

Union Trust of Chicago, Illinois.

Pay to the order of American Leader Six Thousand Three Hundred Twenty Four and 67/100–Dollars $6324.67

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 108.

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., to the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery—1 month	$1,783.88
To rental of office—1 month	70.00
	$1,883.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT,

Paid, June 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 109.

(Cancelled Check)

Union Trust of Chicago.

CHICAGO, *June 17, 1915.*

Pay to the Order of Gale M. Hartley, One Hundred and Twenty Five Dollars
$125.00

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Sect.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 109–A.

NEW YORK, *June 21, 1915.*

To the American Leader, Dr.

Special propaganda work, as per verbal agreement June 19, 1915—
2 weeks $250.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, June 21, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 109–B.

(Letter)

/ Percy Andreae Chicago 3357 So. Michigan Ave.

JUNE 17 Hammerling special propaganda work	$125.00
June 19 Hammerling special propaganda work	125.00
Expenses	$250.00

Receipts:

June 17 (Check to G. M. H.)	$125
June 19 (Check to Hammerling)	125
	$250

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 110.

(Blank check)

Received of ..... Dollars Special propaganda work $———

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 111.

(Cancelled check)

No. 977 CHICAGO, *June 26, 1915.*

Union Trust Company Bldg.

Pay to the order of American Leader Three hundred seventy five dollars
$375.00

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 112.

(Cancelled check)

CHICAGO, *June 18, 1915.*

Union Trust Company

Pay to the order of L. N. Hammerling $125.00 One hundred and Twenty-Five Dollars.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 113.

NEW YORK, *June 17, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. The American Leader, Dr.

To checking cards (for checking of newspapers) $50.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT,

Paid, June 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 114.

NEW YORK, *June 12, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To cost of writing letters to 35 foreign language newspapers including stationery and copies on joint resolution in re: "Texas matter"------	$17.55
To postage on letters----------	.70
	$18.25

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, June 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 115.

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To telegrams sent during May $1.89.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, June 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 116.

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr.

To one month's salary, May 18th to June 18th, for Sam Weiss----------	$400.00
To traveling expenses for Sam Weiss----------	100.00
	$500.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, June 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 117.

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr.

To 120 inches advertising as per contract, June..... $2,000.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, June 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 118.

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To The American Leader, Dr.

To dues for membership in the Merchants' Association of New York.... $50.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, June 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 119.

(Letter.)

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

WOOLWORTH BUILDING
NEW YORK, *June 23, 1915.*

Mr. GALE M. HARTLEY,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: We acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter of the 19th inst. enclosing check for $4,474.02 in payment of bills rendered May 29th, June 12th and 17th. We herewith enclose you the bills receipted.

Yours very truly,
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
B. W. LEFFLER, *Treasurer.*

Receipted bills mailed under separate cover.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 120.

(Cancelled Check.)

No. 746. CHICAGO, *June 21, 1915.*

Union Trust Company, Tribune Bldg.

Pay to the order of American Leader Forty Four Hundred Seventy Four Dollars Two Cents, $4,474.02.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 121.

NEW YORK, *June 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage, and stationery, 1 month..... $1,783.88
To rental of office—1 month..... $70.00

$1,853.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 122.

NEW YORK, *June 28, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To printing of letter-heads, envelopes; multigraphing letters and filling in addresses to 565 papers..... $43.50
To postage on 565 letters..... 11.30

$54.80

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1918.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 123.

NEW YORK, *June 28, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To expenses for trip made to Philadelphia, Pa., by D. S. Monand, to see Philadelphia papers in regard to Personal Liberty, $21.25.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 124.

NEW YORK, *June 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

Special propaganda work, as per verbal agreement June 19, 1915—2 weeks—$250.00.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 125.

NEW YORK, *June 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To expressage during June..... $1.68
To telegrams sent during June..... 1.05

$2.73

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 126.

NEW YORK, *June 30, 1915.*

To the American Leader, Dr.

To 120 inches advertising, as per contract, July, $2,000.00.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1918.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 127.

NEW YORK, *June 30, 1918.*

To the American Leader, Dr. Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

To expenses for traveling inspector, $400.00.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1918.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 128.

NEW YORK, *June 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To salary, June 18th to July 1st, for Sam Weiss	$200.00
To traveling expenses for Sam Weiss	50.00
	$250.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 129.

NEW YORK, *July 1, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago. Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To postage on speech, as per our letter July 1st, $26.00.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, July 28, 1918.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 130.

(Cancelled Check)

No. 1059 CHICAGO, *July 26, 1915.*

Union Trust Company

Pay to the order of American Leader Forty Eight Hundred Fifty Eight Dollars Sixty Six Cents, $4,858.66.

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 131.

NEW YORK, *July 31, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago. Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery, 1 month..... $1,783.88
To rental of office, 1 month..... 70.00

$1,853.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, August 18, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 132.

NEW YORK, *July 31, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago. Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To expenses for traveling inspector, $400.00.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Aug. 18, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 133.

NEW YORK, *July 31, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To telegram sent July 7th, $1.15.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, August 18, 1915

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 134.

(Cancelled Check)

No. 3287 CHICAGO, *Aug. 16, 1915.*

Pay to the order of American Leader Thirty Five Hundred Fifty Six Dollars Twenty Eight Cents, $3556.28

GALE M. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 135.

NEW YORK, *August 31, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery—1 month..... $1,783.88
To rental of office—1 month..... 70.00

$1,853.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Sept. 25, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 136.

Voucher No. 7762

American Leader.

Distribution.	Act. No.	Amount.
.....	P-105	2,444.16

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 137.

NEW YORK, *Sept. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To expenses for traveling inspector, $400.00

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 138.

NEW YORK, *Sept. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To salary for additional stenographer—Chamber of Commerce work—6 weeks, $65.00

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 139.

NEW YORK, *Sept. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To telegrams sent during September, $3.58.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 140.

NEW YORK, *Sept. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage, and stationery, 1 month	$1,783.88
To rental of office, 1 month	70.00
	$1,853.88

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 141.

Voucher No. 7992. Amount—2,437.33. National Association of Commerce and Labor.

10/30	Translators, stenos, checkers, postage and stationery, 1 month	$1,783.88
	To rental of office, 1 month	70.00
	To expenses for traveling inspector	400.00
	To telegrams sent during October	7.45
	To balance due on bill rendered August 31, 1915	176.00
		$2,437.33

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 142.

NEW YORK, *Oct. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To telegrams sent during October, $7.45.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Nov. 18, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 143.

NEW YORK, *Oct. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To balance due on bill rendered Aug. 31, 1915, $176.00.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Nov. 18, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 144.

NEW YORK, *Oct. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To expenses for traveling inspector, $400.00.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Nov. 18, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 145.

NEW YORK, *Oct. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery, 1 month	$1,783.88
To rental of office, 1 month	70.00
	$1,853.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Nov. 18, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 146.

(Cancelled Check)

Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago

$2437.33

CHICAGO, *Nov. 15, 1915.*

Pay to the order of The American Leader Twenty Four Hundred Thirty Seven Dollars Thirty Three Cents

FINANCE COMMITTEE, NAT'L ASSN. COMMERCE & LABOR
THOMAS F. KEELEY, *Treas.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 147.

Voucher—8149. National Association of Commerce and Labor

Telegrams during November	$42.81
Expense of Mr. Hammerling's trip to Nebraska, Missouri, Minnesota, Illinois & Ohio	575.00
To translators, stengs. checkers, postage stationery, 1 month	1,783.88
To office rental, 1 month	70.00
To expenses for traveling inspector	400.00
	2,871.69

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 148.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To translators, stenographers, checkers, postage and stationery, 1 month	$1,783.88
To rental of office, 1 month	70.00
	$1,853.88

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Dec. 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 149.

[Telegram.]

NEW YORK, N. Y. 1040 A. M.
Dec. 20—1915.

Percy Andreae, 3357 Michigan Ave. Chicago, Ill.

We have not received check for last monthly bill Please wire when we will get it

AMERICAN ASSN OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS INC.
B. F. LEFFLER *Treasr.*

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 150.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To expenses for traveling inspector, $400.00

AMERICAN ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Dec. 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 151.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To expenses incurred by Mr. Hammerling on trip to see foreign language papers in the states of Nebraska, Missouri, Minnesota, Illinois, and Ohio, November 2nd to 14th, Railroad fares, hotel bills, meals, etc., $575.00

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Dec. 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 152.

NEW YORK, *Nov. 30, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. To the American Leader, Dr.

To telegrams sent during November, $42.81.

AMER. ASSN. OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS.
Per E. TOEDT.

Paid, Dec. 23, 1915.

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 153.

Voucher No. 8273. National Association of Commerce and Labor.

To expenses for traveling inspector, December	$400.00
To telegrams sent during December	11.47
To rental of office for January, 1916, Adv.	70.00
	$481.47

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 154.

NEW YORK, *Dec. 31, 1915.*

Mr. Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., to the American Leader, Dr.

To expenses for traveling inspector	$400.00
To telegrams sent during December	11.47
To rental of office, 1 month	70.00
	$481.47

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 155.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
WOOLWORTH BUILDING,
NEW YORK, *January 27, 1916.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: We are in receipt of letter of the 25th inst. enclosing check for $481.47 in payment of bill rendered December 31st, covering expenses of traveling inspector, telegrams and rental of office.

Yours, truly,

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN
LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
B. W. LEITZLER, *Treasurer.*

Maj. HUMES. In 1916 how much did you receive from Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1916, as is stated in that statement there, $31,640.

Maj. HUMES. That was in the year 1916?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And this memorandum is an extract from your books showing the dates of payment?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. May 3, 1916, you received $3,375. Was that in payment for advertisements in connection with this account?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; this is all advertisements, and the bills are there [indicating papers].

(The memorandum referred to is here printed in the record as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 39.

ANDREAE PAYMENTS.

1916.		1916.	
May 3	$3,375	Oct. 14	$3,375
June 14	3,375	Nov. 17	3,375
Aug. 4	3,375	Dec. 9	3,375
July 13	3,375		
July 24	4,640	Total	31,640
Sept. 13	3,375		

Now, I will show you Hammerling Exhibit No. 40, which is a list of stockholders of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, that you prepared?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Who is F. D. Gardner?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He is the present vice president of the association.

Maj. HUMES. He is the present vice president of the association. Who is B. W. Leffler, who holds 45 shares?

Mr. HAMMERLING. She is my private secretary.

Maj. HUMES. She is your private secretary? She has been with you a good many years?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. She is a confidential clerk?

Mr. HAMMERLING. She has been with me 15 years.

Maj. HUMES. Who is M. C. Leffler?

Mr. HAMMERLING. She is a sister.

Maj. HUMES. A sister of B. W. Leffler?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How about Carmalita Lewis, who holds 100 shares; who is she?

Mr. LEWIS. She is my daughter.

Maj. HUMES. When did she become a stockholder? When was this stock issued?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think in 1909.

Maj. HUMES. Was it purchased, or——

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; no common stock was purchased by anybody. I took it and gave it to the people who helped me to get where I am.

Maj. HUMES. Who is John Mitchell who holds 20 shares? Was that purchased?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Nobody purchased any common stock. I gave it to him. All of the common stock in this corporation has not been purchased, but has been given by me.

Maj. HUMES. It has all been given by you personally?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Nobody has bought any of it; none of it has been sold to anybody else?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; to me. I paid for it, as the books will show.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, it is a one-man corporation?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, these people get the same dividends as I do. They have the say in proportion to their stock.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you have to pay the various newspapers to publish the translations of those personal-liberty articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Just a moment, to make that appear intelligent. Carmalita Lewis is the daughter of Liston Lewis, your attorney?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Now, you say that Mr. Andreae became a vice president of this association?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. When?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember the date, Major. I can take a look in the minutes. The minutes will show.

Mr. BENHAM. 1913 appears to be the time in this I am examining now.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is it, then. It was 1913 or 1914, I know; maybe 1915.

Maj. HUMES. It was in 1915, was it not?

Senator OVERMAN. If you did not pay to have these articles put in the papers, why was all this immense amount of money paid to you? What was it for?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To put them into the languages.

Senator OVERMAN. Just the translations?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. All this money was paid out simply for translations?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and the set ups and——

Senator WOLCOTT. The articles came once a month?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Twice a month.

Senator WOLCOTT. Twice a month?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Twenty-four articles in the year?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and there are about 800 of the foreign-language papers and there were over 520 German papers to make that up.

Senator WOLCOTT. How many translations would be necessitated?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The major said there were 27 languages. I thought that we had 34 languages.

Senator WOLCOTT. Twenty-seven languages?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The details had not been——

Senator WOLCOTT. Then it cost Mr. Andreae $31,000 in 1916—I think that was the year—to get 27 translations of 24 articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. With all the other work connected with it. This includes room rent and costs and express packages and postage. and we may have made some profit on it, too.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Did those papers get any pay for publishing those articles?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They did not; no, sir; not for those articles.

Senator NELSON. Did the whole profit come to your company—the whole profit that came to you? Did those papers that published your articles—those foreign-language newspapers—ever get anything for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They did not; no, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. The articles were not lengthy, were they?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About a thousand words.

Senator WOLCOTT. A thousand words?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That was the average.

Senator WOLCOTT. Two or three pages, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you have any trouble getting them in without paying for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; only the papers published them who were in sympathy with that prohibition movement.

Senator OVERMAN. Were they all in sympathy with it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; about one-half, at least half, of them, I think. But we sent it to them all.

Maj. HUMES. In the spring of 1915 you wrote the following letter to Mr. Andreae, did you not:

At a meeting of some of our directors held yesterday I suggested that we shall ask you to be one of our 1914 delegates to attend the International Peace Congress at San Francisco July 6, and that you shall deliver the speech of the foreign-language press of the United States instead of myself. Would you accept such an honor? If it is necessary that you speak as official representative of this association, we would be glad to elect you a vice president. Wire or write at once on this matter.

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examining letter). That is correct.

Maj. HUMES. You wrote such a letter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Was that written and that action taken at the suggestion of Mr. Andreae?

Mr. HAMMERLING. At the suggestion of the publishers.

Maj. HUMES. Who were the publishers that were present that suggested that at that meeting?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The New York publishers, no doubt.

Maj. HUMES. Can you name any of them that were present?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember just who they were.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that Mr. Andreae was capitalizing his relation with your association for the purpose of carrying on his propaganda, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not exactly; I did not know it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not know that he was representing himself over the country as the spokesman of your organization rather than the spokesman of the brewers in order to secure an entrée.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think that is correct; it would sound better.
Maj. HUMES. You knew that, did you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I assumed it.
Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to Exhibit No. 642, a letter written by Mr. Andreae, from which I read as follows:

These invitations are being extended to me as the spokesman of the organized foreign language press, and if I were to appear at the same time as a representative of the brewing industry, championing the specific cause of antiprohibition, it is manifest that my appearance before these commercial bodies would no longer be welcomed.

Did you not know that that was what Andreae had in mind, and were you not working in collusion with him?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Was this letter addressed to me?
Maj. HUMES. No.
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember about it.
Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that that was his position?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I think so. I do not remember.
Maj. HUMES. You and he had discussed it, had you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember about that.
Maj. HUMES. You say you were born in Galicia?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.
Maj. HUMES. When were you born?
Mr. HAMMERLING. About 1870.
Maj. HUMES. How long did you live in Galicia before you left there?
Mr. HAMMERLING. To my best memory, I was brought here when I was about 9 years old.
Maj. HUMES. When you were about 9 years old. Who brought you; some member of your family?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; a man from the village where I came from.
Maj. HUMES. Do you remember what year you came to this country?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I should not wonder if it was in 1870, or something, as much as I can remember.
Maj. HUMES. 1870? You were born in 1870, you say.
Mr. HAMMERLING. About 1879 or 1880.
Maj. HUMES. Where did you land?
Mr. HAMMERLING. In New York City.
Maj. HUMES. How long did you remain in New York?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Possibly some months.
Maj. HUMES. Where did you go?
Mr. HAMMERLING. We went to Upper Lehigh.
Maj. HUMES. That is, in Lehigh County, Pa.?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. In the anthracite-coal region?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.
Maj. HUMES. How long did you remain there?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I remained there about a year or two.
Maj. HUMES. Where did you go to from there?
Mr. HAMMERLING. We went to Latimore.
Maj. HUMES. That is also in the anthracite-coal region?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. How long did you remain there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Just a few months. I went wherever the man went.

Maj. HUMES. Where did you go to from Latimore?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I possibly went down, next, to Upper Lehigh.

Maj. HUMES. That was in the anthracite-coal regions also?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you stay there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the best of my memory I stayed about three years.

Maj. HUMES. How long, in all, were you in the anthracite-coal region at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was there about five years.

Maj. HUMES. Then where did you go to?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They began killing people there, the Molly Maguires, and the man that brought me over went to work on a farm, and he left me, and I went back to New York.

Maj. HUMES. You went back to New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you stay in New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A few months I worked in a restaurant, and then I went back to Europe.

Maj. HUMES. Then you went back to Europe. What year was it that you went back to Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember what year it would be.

Maj. HUMES. How old were you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About 14 or 15.

Maj. HUMES. You were 14 or 15 when you went back to Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you go back to Galicia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you stay there at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think I went to the Hawaiian Islands either in 1896 or 1897; I think it was 1897.

Maj. HUMES. That is 1896 or 1897?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. That would mean that you were back in your native country for a period of about 12 years?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. From about 1884 to 1896 or 1897; probably 12 or 13 years?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You stayed there until 1896 or 1897. Then where did you go?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Honolulu, in the Hawaiian Islands.

Maj. HUMES. How did you happen to go to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They called me in to serve in the army, and I ran away.

Maj. HUMES. Which route did you take in going to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went by way of Bremenhafen.

Maj. HUMES. Where did you go?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Through Bremenhafen. I was 150 days on board ship.

Maj. HUMES. One hundred and fifty days?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. We were practically sold out by some German crooks, there.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you stay in Hawaii?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Some months.

Maj. HUMES. About how many months?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would say, maybe, half a year.

Maj. HUMES. Not to exceed six months, you think?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not think so. Most of my colleagues who came with me died from the hardships and the way we were getting licked. I still have three marks on my back from the treatment that I received. I have a full statement about it if the gentlemen of the committee care to see it.

Maj. HUMES. Then, where did you go from the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To San Francisco.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you stay in San Francisco?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Just long enough to make my fare to come East.

Maj. HUMES. That would be a month or two months?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; a couple of months.

Maj. HUMES. Where did you go to, then, when you came East?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To Philadelphia.

Maj. HUMES. What year was it you arrived in Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would say 1898 or the first part of 1899 or the last part of 1898.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you stay in Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Just a few months.

Maj. HUMES. Then, where did you go from there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To Wilkes-Barre.

Maj. HUMES. That would get you into Wilkes-Barre, then, probably sometime in 1899. What business did you engage in when you got to Wilkes-Barre?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went to work in the mines.

Maj. HUMES. In the mines?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In what capacity were you working?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was a timber man.

Maj. HUMES. You went to work as a timber man?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period did you work at that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I worked a year and a half; and then I worked, maybe, a year or two longer doing something else. I was already connected with the paper and I was doing some work nighttimes.

Maj. HUMES. When did you acquire your interest in the paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. After I was there about two years and a half.

Maj. HUMES. That would be, then, in 1901 or 1902 that you acquired the interest in the paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Something like that. I think it was before that. I think it was before 1900.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you continue at Wilkes-Barre?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Until 1908.

Maj. HUMES. 1908?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then, you went to New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You organized this Association of Foreign Language Newspapers the same year you went to New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you make the deal to buy an interest in this Italian agency and these Italian newspapers before you left Wilkes-Barre?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I met that man Grilla in 1904, and later he got me to go into it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you go into that deal with him before 1908?

Mr. HAMMERLING. 1908.

Maj. HUMES. Then, it was under contemplation or discussion from 1904 to 1908, was it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; he never discussed it with me. I met him in 1904, and when I came to New York in 1908, in May, he presented it to me, and then is when we began to discuss it.

Maj. HUMES. You have been in New York ever since?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You say you were born in 1870?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Where were you naturalized?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In Luzerne County, Pa.

Maj. HUMES. When?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1901.

Maj. HUMES. You were naturalized there in 1901?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, at the time you were naturalized, swear that you had been continuously a resident of the United States for five years?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was a resident for longer than that.

Maj. HUMES. Just answer my question, please. Did you not so swear, when you were naturalized?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Now, as a matter of fact, you had not come to the United States until 1898 or until 1899, had you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. 1898? I came here when I was a child.

Maj. HUMES. The last time you came to the United States, however, was in 1898 or in 1899, was it not, when you came from Honolulu?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; in 1898.

Maj. HUMES. You had not been a resident of the United States continuously for five years in 1901 when you secured your naturalizations papers, had you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not know that it was necessary, Major, so I——

Maj. HUMES. When did you learn the English language?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I began learning it when I worked at Pardee, Pa.

Maj. HUMES. You never had any difficulty in understanding the English language, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I am understanding it better every day.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not at that time, at the time you were naturalized, present a petition to the court asking to be naturalized without first declaring your intention?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I really do not understand that, Major. My lawyer did that.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not swear, on that occasion, that you arrived in the United States of America at the port of San Francisco on the 20th day of May, 1885? Did you not swear to that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If I did it was wrong.

Maj. HUMES. If you did, it was a false oath, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It seems so now.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also swear that you had been born in the kingdom of Hawaii?

Mr. HAMMERLING. My reason for that, if I am permitted to explain, was that I was so disgusted with where I came from and what I went through in life, that I understood that I could select my own——

Senator WOLCOTT. Birthplace?

Mr. HAMMERLING (continuing). Birthplace, and I took this advice with no intention of doing wrong.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also swear that you were less than 18 years of age when you left Hawaii?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember. I signed the paper which my lawyer made out for me.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also at that time swear that you were born the 21st day of March, 1874?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I always believed that that was the date until I found out later differently.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not also a fact that you always thought you were born in 1874 until after the last draft act was passed, and then for the first time you discovered that you were born in 1870? Is not that a fact?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I beg your pardon, I did not. It was only a few years ago that I found out it was different.

Maj. HUMES. When did you first find out that it was different?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A few years ago.

Maj. HUMES. How long ago?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Five or six years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Five or six years ago you found out that you were born in 1870?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. How did you find that out?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Through relatives that I have here.

Maj. HUMES. How did you find it out?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They told me that I was wrong, for the reason that my father married the second time, and I have a sister who was older, from the second wife, than I was.

Maj. HUMES. That was five or six years ago that you found that out?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Then how does it come that on the 25th of February, 1915, when you made application for a marriage license in Brooklyn, you swore that you were 40 years of age, which would correspond with the 1874 date of birth?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went by the same thing as my papers, Major.

Maj. HUMES. That is only 1915. That is not five or six years ago.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I say that I went by the same year as in my citizen papers.

Maj. HUMES. Then you knew when you made application for this marriage license that you were making a statement that was untrue?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not say that I know, but I am simply answering that I went according to the papers.

Maj. HUMES. According to your citizenship papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And yet you knew that those citizenship papers were wrong and untrue?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I did not know that it was of any importance.

Maj. HUMES. When did you find out that you had not been born in Hawaii?

Mr. HAMMERLING. When did I find that out?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I knew it right along.

Maj. HUMES. In 1915, when you made application for a marriage license, you swore that you were born in Hawaii, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. As I say, I went by those papers.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, having made a false oath in connection with your naturalization papers, you wanted to be consistent, and continued to make the same false statements that were made in your naturalization papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that I was afraid to do anything else.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do I understand you to say that rather than set right a false sworn statement you were willing to swear, knowingly swear, to that falsehood again?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, Senator; my idea was that I did not want to mix up my affairs, for the reason that so many people were making capital out of it, that I thought I would just do it as I did originally.

Senator WOLCOTT. Another thing, Mr. Hammerling; it would look as though it was a trifling part of this statement that you are making—the oath part. You were not regarding very much the fact that you were swearing to all these things. You were more concerned to keep the record straight than you were to swear to a fact.

Mr. HAMMERLING. To tell you the truth, Senator, I never knew when I took out this license that I had to swear to it. This is the first time I knew it.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that you had to take your prospective bride down to the clerk's office?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES And you discovered when you got there that you had to swear to it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. You did swear to it, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I suppose so if you say so, Major,

Maj. HUMES. When you were in Galicia the last time for that period of 12 or 13 years, were you married then?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Whom did you marry?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Clara Schachter.
Maj. HUMES. Did you bring her to this country with you?
Mr. HAMMERLING. She came afterwards.
Maj. HUMES. She came afterwards?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. How soon afterwards did she come?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I really do not remember. She came through New York and I came through California. I do not remember, exactly; maybe 1900.
Maj. HUMES. For how long a period of time were you away from her from the time that you left her in Galicia until you met her in the United States?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I was away a year and a half, or two years.
Maj. HUMES. A year and a half or two years?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. You have secured a divorce from her, have you?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.
Maj. HUMES. Why was it that when you made application for this marriage license you denied that you had ever been married before, and denied that you ever had been divorced?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Major, this is a personal matter, and I do not think it is a matter for the Senate.
Maj. HUMES. Personal matters are of no more importance than the welfare of the Government, Mr. Hammerling.
Mr. HAMMERLING. In Galicia the government does not recognize the kind of marriage that we have. The Jewish marriage is not recognized there.
Maj. HUMES. Which marriage is the Jewish marriage?
Mr. HAMMERLING. The first one.
Maj. HUMES. The first marriage is your Jewish marriage?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir. That is not recognized by law. Therefore, when I became an American, I had nothing to do.
Maj. HUMES. Why did you get a divorce, then?
Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that it was interpreted by the courts there that while I lived in the United States with a common-law woman, as they would call it, it required a divorce. That is the way I understood it.
Maj. HUMES. You went over and took your attorney over there and spent several months getting a divorce, did you not?
Mr. LEWIS. He took no attorney over there, Maj. Humes.
Maj. HUMES. I mean he consulted an attorney there.
Mr. LEWIS. Do not put it that way, then.
Maj. HUMES. Mr. Lewis was there with you?
Mr. LEWIS. No, sir; I was not.
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.
Maj. HUMES. I thought you went there to clear it up?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.
Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.
Senator OVERMAN. Did you have any attorney?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.
Maj. HUMES. Let us get that straight. We do not want to put Mr. Lewis in a wrong light. He went over afterwards to see if the divorce was legal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. He had nothing to do with it. Mr. Lewis did not come into the case at all. I had a lawyer in the other country, over there.

Maj. HUMES. Who got the certified copy of the decree of divorce?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Down here?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. The lawyer sent it to me.

Maj. HUMES. And who secured the opinions of eminent Austrian counsel that the divorce was valid and binding?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The lawyers there.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not have counsel in this country that participated in that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I did not, Major.

Mr. LEWIS. Pardon me, let us correct that, Major. I think a year or two ago, possibly a couple of years, I secured opinions upon that when a question was raised about the legality of that divorce; but that is the first time I ever had anything to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. I understood that you went over there in the summer of 1914.

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; I was over there with my daughter, taking a tour, and was there just as the war started; but I had nothing to do with the divorce and knew nothing about it, in fact.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not obtain those opinions from the Austrian counsel prior to your present marriage?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I wrote them a letter; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You obtained the opinions?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; the court had to certify that this is the law in the United States. They would not do it otherwise. If anyone was unfaithful, they granted the divorce; but it has to be a marriage, too.

Maj. HUMES. As a matter of fact, you testified when you got your last marriage license that you had not been married before, and that you had not been divorced.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; I was advised to do that.

Maj. HUMES. You were advised?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Counsel advised me.

Maj. HUMES. Counsel advised you to make that statement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Had counsel also advised you to say that you were born in Hawaii?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; nothing to do with that.

Maj. HUMES. Now, let us go back to this naturalization. The fact, then, remains that you secured in 1901 a naturalization paper in Luzerne County as a citizen of the United States when at that time you had only been in the United States continuously for less than three years, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not the way my lawyer figured it.

Maj. HUMES. How do you figure it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not know that it required it, Major. I am not posted on those things. I am not posted on how long it is required to be here. I did not read it—the paper. They were making citizens there so fast, every day, that it was not a question about the length of time. When either party was interested in cer-

tain people, the political parties, they made them citizens, if you want to know the truth about it.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that because of the political activities, and that as a result of political influence——

Mr. HAMMERLING. No influence required.

Maj. HUMES. Wait until I ask you the question, Mr. Hammerling.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Pardon me.

Maj. HUMES. And because of political influence, you hustled up to get naturalized, and it was necessary in the affidavit to say that you had been five years resident, and consequently the affidavit was so drawn?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you will pardon me, Major, I just want to get this right. This is very easy to find out. Until that time there was no question, if a man understood enough about the English, and the Constitution, they would ask a few questions and they would give you a citizenship.

Maj. HUMES. And is it not also a fact that the reason you represented yourself as having been less than 18 years old when you left Hawaii, was because you could be naturalized without first declaring your intention, and then working an additional two years?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I can answer that, that I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. The fact remains that you were 31 years of age when you secured your naturalization papers, were you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Just like if I were 50 to-day.

Maj. HUMES. You were born in 1870?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; and I have affidavits to that effect.

Maj. HUMES. And you got those affidavits since the draft law was passed, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I got it when they demanded that I should continue these military activities. I was not afraid to serve, for the reason that I volunteered to serve in Mexico, and the President thought it was not necessary then. My son is not 18, and he is serving in the Army, and my brother has been killed in the Army in Roumania.

Maj. HUMES. He is a son by your divorced wife, is he not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; and whom I am raising and keeping up.

Maj. HUMES. As the result of the divorce you are keeping that up?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I am supporting him before that.

Maj. HUMES. That is because of the divorce with your wife, is it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; it has nothing to do with that.

Maj. HUMES. If you swore when you were naturalized that you had been in this country five years continuously, you swore to an untruth?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am telling you, Major, that I signed this paper——

Maj. HUMES. Just answer the question and explain afterwards.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know what to answer.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you swear to the truth then or not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was not the truth, Senator.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; and it was untrue in these particulars, at least, was it not, that you were not born in Hawaii; that you were not less

than 18 years of age when you left Hawaii; and it was not true when you said that you were born in 1874?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was not true, Major. That covers it all, according to my saying.

Maj. HUMES. The whole thing is false, is it not—the whole affidavit?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is false; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you made that affidavit in order to make yourself a voter, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Gentlemen who had more to say about it should answer that, not me.

Maj. HUMES. Who had more to say about it than you did?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The parties.

Maj. HUMES. Who were the parties?

Mr. HAMMERLING. There are two parties in the United States.

Maj. HUMES. What particular individual representing any particular party was interested in it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember now.

Maj. HUMES. You secured your naturalization papers in 1901, and you secured your election to a party convention in 1902, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. 1904.

Maj. HUMES. 1904?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You engaged actively in politics from the time that you were naturalized, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, actively as well as any man would who understood the affairs.

Maj. HUMES. And you intended actively to control and dominate the foreign element in the anthracite coal region?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, "dominate"; I do not see why I could be called that, Major. I never hoped to be one.

Maj. HUMES. You took an active part in politics, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I did, just as well as anybody else.

Maj. HUMES. When did you first receive any funds from political sources for your influence?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was never paid for my influence, from anybody.

Maj. HUMES. For your service, then?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For my services? I do not remember. I maybe received it before I was naturalized, so far as I know.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know whether you did or not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember, Senator. The general rule is that the papers—the people connected with the papers—generally get some kind of an advertising, and if I was connected with the paper before that, I no doubt got them.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not go to a political State convention in 1901 or 1902?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember. Maybe I did.

Maj. HUMES. You took a very active part in politics, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. When you came from Hawaii you came to escape the cruelty and abuse that was being imposed upon you out there, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. "Out there"? You do not mean in Hawaii?

Maj. HUMES. The abuse in Hawaii. He said that he was abused on a sugar plantation.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; of a German concern called Hachfeld and Hiezenberg, who contracted with the assistance of the American consul to send us on that boat. We had to work for five years for nothing, and of the 500 of us who went on that boat, about 300 of them died, and the rest of them ran away. I was one of them that ran away. We went away on a United States transport ship; if I remember right, it was the *Alameda*. We slept under the beds. The soldiers took us for mercy.

Maj. HUMES. You came over on a transport?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think it was a transport. The soldiers took us.

Maj. HUMES. It was an American transport?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Then it was subsequent to the time of the Spanish War and the activities in the Philippine Islands, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think it was.

Senator NELSON. Did they bring you over, a whole crew of you, to work on the sugar plantations there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Five hundred of you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Five hundred, I think.

Senator NELSON. As laborers on a sugar plantation?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Was that a German company?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A German company; yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. And you got no wages?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No wages.

Senator NELSON. Just your board?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not a cent.

Senator NELSON. Just your board?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We were supposed to pay back in five years what it cost to ship us over, and then they had to give us so much cloth and so much rice and so much of different stuff, and a barracks to live in.

Maj. HUMES. You left Hawaii because you did not like it, then?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I certainly did not.

Maj. HUMES. You testified as a witness, did you not, before Mr. Becker, in New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not testify that the reason you claimed Hawaiian citizenship was because of the beauties and joys of Hawaii?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not say anything of the kind. Whatever Becker put in there, or his crowd, has nothing to do with it. It was all for politics, and I told them so.

Maj. HUMES. You were under oath, were you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. What?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not under oath when you testified before Becker?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Who is Becker?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A politician, an assistant to the attorney general, and he is belittling or besmearing people for his personal purposes.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you say he was an assistant to Mr. Lewis?

Mr. HAMMERLING. An assistant to Attorney General Lewis; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. This is in New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. You were summoned to go before him, were you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not testify before Mr. Becker during the summer of 1918 that you were born in 1874?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I answered you, Major, that I did not pay any attention. They brought me over to that office, and they had a man down there by the name of Norman White, and he was doing the talking.

Senator OVERMAN. What did they have you down there for?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They had me down there last summer—this summer.

Senator OVERMAN. What for?

Mr. HAMMERLING. What for?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, he was running for an office, and he was going to down anybody so that he could circulate it, what he was doing; doing injustice to people.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also testify before Mr. Becker that you went to the Hawaiian Islands when you were 9 years old?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not testify as follows:

I was driven out of home at 9 years old. I am sorry to say anything against my own people, a disagreeable family. My father did not make $2 a week in Austrian money, and I was one of the five children. Then he married a second time, and then the third time, but this was during my time. I was taken away by a peasant out of a matter of mercy, inasmuch as my people were Jewish by race; I was not, and this peasant took me away to make a Christian out of me: that was his idea. That is the way the peasants are taught to help to make Christians, and he took me with him as far as Bremen, Germany, and there we went on a boat. By his money he took me to Upper Lehigh, Pa., near Hazleton. In a few weeks he found he had a brother there; that he was working in the mines 3,000 feet underground. At least, I was too young to remember; for quite a few thousand kronen—he had another relative in the Hawaiian Islands, and he took me there, and we went to that place, where I claimed citizenship, and the Almighty was there, and the greatest scenery on earth, beautiful climate, that I have ever seen, and I worked for him 18 months with the Japs, Chinese, and negroes, in the sugar plantation, and it was good, and I loved it, and I began to be a great lover of the country.

Did you not so testify before Mr. Becker?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The correct testimony I gave to a gentleman from the Department of Justice who came down here a few days ago as to my coming here, and I signed it and am willing to abide by it.

Senator WOLCOTT. You have not answered the question that Maj. Humes asked you.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not. This was all done by blackmailers.

Maj. HUMES. This is your own statement. Did you not so testify? [Showing witness paper.]

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you mean to say that the district attorney of New York State was blackmailing you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. These fellows that are blackmailing me came around and gave him that dope.

Maj. HUMES. I am calling your attention to your own testimony when you appeared before Mr. Becker.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is not correct, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Is the testimony the way you gave it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Then, the stenographer who reported it reported it wrong, did he?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. The only correct statement is the statement that I made out and signed for this, here.

Senator OVERMAN. They asked you questions and you answered them before this stenographer?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They did not give me a chance, Senator. I was convicted there before I came in. A few days before they got me into the county court and indicted me for some Bohemian paper—for writing something against some other paper—and when the judge decided that he said it was the biggest crime he ever heard of in the State of New York, for them to indict a man without giving him a hearing. The judge made that statement. The same blackmailer brought about that.

Senator OVERMAN. What did they claim in this investigation—German propaganda?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; these blackmailers who are now connected with this propaganda are trying, under cover, to put me out of business so that they can get even.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not at that same hearing before Mr. Becker that you are testifying to that you finally admitted your connection with Mr. Rumely and Dr. Albert and connections with Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not admit that, too?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. This was in Norman White's place.

Maj. HUMES. Did not Norman White examine you at Mr. Becker's hearings?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; he examined me.

Maj. HUMES. He was the one that examined you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And while he was examining you did you not admit the receipt of $205,000 from Dr. Rumely and Dr. Albert?

Mr. HAMMERLING. This was a few months ago?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. A few months before that.

Maj. HUMES. And in that same testimony did you not testify as I read to you a while ago?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A few months ago I testified to that, and then he repeated it here; but he did not ask me the same questions, to the best of my recollection.

Senator NELSON. From whom was that money?

Maj. HUMES. Dr. Albert, the chairman of the German propaganda?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not get any money there from Dr. Albert. I got it from Rumely.

Senator OVERMAN. From Rumely?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is he the man that has been indicted?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Let us go to that. You did have some connection with Mr. Rumely?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No connection at all. I placed the advertisements. I have a statement here, Major.

Maj. HUMES. I do not care about a statement. Just answer the questions. We have a lot of statements here. We want the facts here.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is what I am going to give you.

Maj. HUMES. How did you come in contact with Mr. Rumely, and what led up to this contact?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Shall I go ahead and tell you the story?

Maj. HUMES. Go ahead.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I met Dr. Rumely through the H. K. McCann Advertising Agency in 1912 through a man by the name of Ellis, who was his advertising manager. Dr. Rumely was the president of the Rumely Farm Tractor Co., in La Porte, Ind., and Chicago. I was at a convention at the time. He wanted me to do some advertising in the Scandinavian and the Bohemian and other papers of his tractors. Later on I met some other officers through Rumely, and later on I went to see his plant in La Porte, and I saw that they were building a hotel—a wonderful hotel—called the Rumely; and then he asked me to address a school near Interlaken, a school for boys, and I took a great interest in that school because I thought that he was doing a wonderful work. I carried on the advertising for a couple of years, and then I understood from the agencies that he was not doing very well.

Senator OVERMAN. What was the character of this advertising?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Advertising of tractors for plowing.

Senator OVERMAN. Tractors for farm plowing?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Plowing tractors?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir. Then I understood that he was not doing so well; that some bankers did him out of his business; and, naturally, I was sorry for it. In February, 1914, I was having dinner—I think it was the latter part of February—in the Manhattan Hotel, in New York, and Dr. Rumely was at another table with his wife, and he came over to my table, and the first thing I said to him was, "Dr. Rumely, I am very sorry, what I hear about your business," and he said, "Oh, well, I am doing well," and I pleaded with him to continue looking after the school, for the reason that I thought the school had a great future. He said the intention he had at that time was to come and move to New York City, and he did not tell me exactly what it was that he was going to do. A few days later he came in to see me in the office and ask me what I thought of the war.

Senator WOLCOTT. This was when?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In February, 1914—1915.

Senator NELSON. 1915?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; and I told him what I saw in the two weeks that I was in Europe during the war—the terrible disasters there.

Senator WOLCOTT. By the way, what nationality is this Dr. Rumely?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He is an American by birth. I do not know what nationality he came from.

Capt. LESTER. He is of German extraction.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I told him what I saw and the hard time I had to get back, etc., and then he began talking to me and asking me about what I thought about the different races in the United States feeling worse for this country making munitions and shipping it to Europe. Offhand, not knowing a thing about it, I thought that it was a terrible thing—just what I answered him—and he agreed with me, and he is a rather excitable gentleman. He went away. A few days later he came in to see me, and he asked me what I thought of this condition, and I said: "Doctor, I really do not know very much about it. I would have to look into it, and when I see you again I would tell you."

In the meantime it went to maybe a month or maybe two weeks; I was in Chicago and talked to people in New York, and it happened that some papers saw me and some publishers saw me, and they got telegrams and letters about the terrible conditions on the other side and how the people were helping to do it, especially in Germany.

Senator WOLCOTT. They were helping to do it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; by sending these munitions. You see, if I have to say it, with all my uncomfortable things here, to confess it, I was myself made to believe, to understand, that these munitions were going to Germany. Then Dr. Rumely said to me, How could we get these people to make an appeal to the President? I said: "The proper way, doctor, would be to make it through the papers—through the foreign-language papers," and at this we began talking.

Senator NELSON. Appeal for what?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not to manufacture munitions.

Senator NELSON. For the allies?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; to ship abroad. They were asking for everyone.

Senator NELSON. Oh!

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is what I understood and what was going on at the time, and he said, to the best of my memory: "I will think it over," and finally he continued coming around, and he finally came to the conclusion that he would like to try it, and he said that he had friends who are Americans, who are seriously interested in this question of saving, humanity, that is, to preserve life; and I got interested, and he said that he would see his friends again. He finally came back, and I said to him: "Doctor, I am convinced that this appeal as you want it will not be published in our papers as a news item. The only way it could be published would be as an advertisement."

Senator NELSON. How did you say that? The only way it could be published was how?

Mr. HAMMERLING. As an advertisement.

Senator NELSON. Oh, yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I said, "If it is published as an advertisement it should be published not only in our papers, but in the English papers, for the reason that our people are so much in the minority;" and he agreed with me, but he said that he could not get enough money to publish it in the English and the foreign-language papers from his friends. A few days went by, and he said that he succeeded to have his friends agree to raise $100,000, and when we figured out what it would cost in the English papers and in our papers, it amounted to over $200,000; so that I said to him, "You have to get the other money," and he tried, and went out again and came back a few days later. This all took time from February until about April 1, and he claimed that he convinced his friends to do it.

Then Mr. Momand and myself, and then the agency that we had placed the business through in the English papers, the vice president, Mr. Rankin, came down and we made out the copy and Dr. Rumely was there from time to time and helped do it, which came out this year.

Senator NELSON. Did you not know all this time that this was a a movement to aid Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not; no, sir.

Senator NELSON. You did not have any suspicion that it was a movement to aid Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not the least suspicion. I would be willing to give my life to it.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you know how he got the money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He said he got it from these people who wanted to preserve humanity.

Senator NELSON. You acted solely to get the money? Was it for the money that was in it or was it for the sake of humanity or to help the Germans that you did it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I acted to get the advertisement.

Senator NELSON. To get the money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; to get the money.

Senator NELSON. That was all you wanted?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not think anything then about that. I did not like to help the Germans.

Senator OVERMAN. He did not tell you from whom he expected to get the money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Did he discuss Dr. Albert with you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. You do not know Dr. Albert?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I saw him on the boat, on the boat that I came back on, but I never knew that he was a man that had anything to do with German propaganda or with the German Government. I understood from the captain of the boat that those three men that were always together there and had a fight with all the rest of the passengers on the boat—we were all sore because we could not get any money exchanged to come to Copenhagen——

Senator NELSON. Did you at any time when you were carrying on this business ever have any remotest suspicion that it was connected with Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I did not. If I had, I would never have touched it. I wish I would be dead before I touched it.

Maj. HUMES. You say you finally came to an agreement with Dr. Rumely?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that a few days before you commenced the investigation of this matter and the outlining of your plans for the publishing of this appeal, Ambassador von Bernstorff called at your office?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that he never called there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He did not. If you can prove it, I will be dead right here.

Maj. HUMES. Now, while these negotiations were going on, you were in constant touch with Dr. Rumely, were you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; he used to come in. He was there all the time, practically.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever have any conversation with or any business with Dr. Albert at his office?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never before.

Senator NELSON. Did you at this time?

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any business with Dr. Albert at his office in relation to this matter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You never went to Dr. Albert's office?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went there once to collect a bill.

Maj. HUMES. A bill in connection with this transaction?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; a balance.

Senator WOLCOTT. How much was the balance?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About $4,900.

Senator WOLCOTT. When did you go there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. After the advertisements were all expired. The arrangement was that I had to present them receipted bills for the entire amount of money paid, and when I turned these bills over I was laid up in my house. Dr. Rumely said that the bills I had to present to him, and not being in the office he came to the house and brought Dr. Albert to me, introduced me to him, and he asked me to hand these bills to Dr. Albert, and Dr. Rumely finally gave us a check for the balance, which was about $5,000, which check was not cashed, the bank reported short of funds, and I finally went over to see the man Albert and had it out with him, and finally got the money from Mr. Rumely.

Maj. HUMES. How much did you receive from Dr. Rumely in cash?

Mr. HAMMERLING. $200,000.

Maj. HUMES. You got $200,000 from Dr. Rumely in cash?

Mr. HAMMERLING. And the balance also in cash.

Maj. HUMES. You got the balance from Albert?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir: from Rumely.

Maj. HUMES. You told him——

Mr. HAMMERLING. I conferred with him.

Maj. HUMES. And subsequent to that Dr. Rumely came around and paid you the balance?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. When was that that Dr. Albert came to your house?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would say that it was a few days after the bills were gotten in.

Maj. HUMES. But is it not a fact that you gave an interview to the New York Times that was published on April 6?

Mr. HAMMERLING. What year?

Maj. HUMES. The day of the publication, April 6, 1915, in which you said:

I accept full responsibility for it. No German propagandist or German interest whatever is concerned in it. The money was contributed through a campaign I started on August 14 last. Individuals, societies, churches, and other organizations gave to the fund.

Did you not give such an interview to the New York Times?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You know that such an interview was printed in the New York Times?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not read the New York papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do; but I do not pay any attention to them. [Laughter.]

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say that an interview of that kind was published in the New York Times and you did not repudiate it if it was not true?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If I did repudiate it they would not print it anyhow. They print many things they would not repudiate.

Maj. HUMES. Why would they not print it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The papers do what suits their advertisers. I have tried it. I have sent——

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a minute. Did the advertisers have any grievance against you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The advertisers of the New York Times may not like me, or the New York World.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know whether any of them did or not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If I do?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. It certainly must be, the way they are treating me.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I am going back into 1915. Do you mean to say that the reason you were reported this way in the Times was because any advertisers of the New York Times had anything against you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I mean before. The English newspapers have no love for me, for the reason that I am taking so much money away from them and placing it in these foreign-language newspapers, which they had before; so that I am one out of 110,000,000 people.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your statement, then, now is that it would have been absolutely useless for you to deny this?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. To deny this interview in the New York Times?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. For the reason that the Times would not have published your denial, for the reason that the Times might lose some of this advertising?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Now, a practical illustration of it is this. I was a few days ago asked by the Committee on Public Information

to help them out to place an advertisement in New York in an English paper and in an Italian paper and one French daily. I placed this advertisement for one-half——

Maj. HUMES. Be exact in your statement.

Mr. HAMMERLING. The agency that got it charged them $2,900. I got it in for about $1,300, and when I sent it to the papers and sent the details the papers would not publish it, but they published the besmearing about it, for the reason that they wanted to injure me, or Mr. Creel, I do not know. I never saw him in my life. That is a fact.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that the last $4,900 you got was German money, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I did not know that it was.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not know who Dr. Albert was?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I did not know at that time. I knew it later, when the papers began to expose it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not say that you had him pointed out to you on the steamer?

Mr. HAMMERLING. As a Hamburg-American director. The captain of the boat is still alive. He introduced me to a good many of the passengers that were on the boat that night, and he said these were three Hamburg Line directors.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that he was a German citizen?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I did not know about his citizenship—I mean of what country he was.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not know Mr. Albert in St. Louis while he was there from 1904 to 1908?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I never knew that such a man existed.

Maj. HUMES. You did not know him during that time at all?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that at the time you were putting out this appeal one of your employees came to you and told you that he knew this was German money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is false. He did not make such a statement. I know to whom the Major refers.

Maj. HUMES. Arthur Gabriel was treasurer of your company at that time.

Mr. HAMMERLING. By name.

Maj. HUMES. His name was on your letterhead.

Mr. HAMMERLING. He was, by name. The officers of the association outside of myself are officers by name.

Maj. HUMES. What do you mean by that, "by name"?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They are clerks.

Maj. HUMES. They are clerks——

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; he was a solicitor.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; but he carried the title of vice president?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; to sign the mail and go around.

Maj. HUMES. He was just as much a vice president as Nomand was?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; exactly.

Maj. HUMES. He was made vice president by you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; by me.

Maj. HUMES. And that was his title?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; that is the way most of our banks and other things are run; the people that own it are not vice presidents

Maj. HUMES. Did he not, at the time this appeal was in your hands, come to you one day and say this was a German scheme?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; he did not.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not call him into your office?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I did not.

Maj. HUMES. And did you not ask him what he knew about the matter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, Major, before we ever dreamed——

Maj. HUMES. Just answer the question.

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I said no.

Maj. HUMES. You never did. And did you not say to him, "What people do not know will not hurt them"?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false.

Maj. HUMES. And if he kept his mouth shut he would not get hurt?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He would say anything for a drink.

Senator OVERMAN. That is the kind of man you made vice president of your company?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Pardon me, Senator; I did not know it at the time, what was in the man. I knew it later, after he went into business and made a failure of it. He went into the same business. He was my competitor and lasted a short time, and then he combined with this man who is trying to save himself and discredit me.

Senator WOLCOTT. Who is he?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mr. Zotti, a notorious man named Zotti, who took the money of 15,000 poor countrymen of his and went bankrupt and never paid them a cent.

Mr. LEWIS. Never mind that.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is the man that is bringing me here.

Maj. HUMES. No; he did not bring you here. The committee brought you here.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Pardon me; he is claiming so. A few days ago he made a speech at a banquet claiming that he did.

Maj. HUMES. We are not concerned about that. When you came to this country from Hawaii, you came here on a transport and you had no funds, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You landed in Wilkes-Barre in 1898 or 1899, and you had no money then, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I did not.

Maj. HUMES. What are you worth to-day?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think this is personal, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Well, it may be personal, but it is rather pertinent, we think.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I can sell everything I possess in this country to you for $250,000 to-day, or to anyone you would designate.

Senator WOLCOTT. So would I, or half of that. Your answer is not very illuminating.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Pardon me, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say that you would sell everything you possess for $250,000. That does not indicate that you are worth that.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is all I am worth.

Maj. HUMES. Do you say that you are worth that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; about that.

Maj. HUMES. You own an estate in Galicia?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. When did you acquire that?
Mr. HAMMERLING. About eight years ago.
Maj. HUMES. About eight years ago?
Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1911, I think.
Maj. HUMES. That is not included in that $250,000 estimate, is it?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; for the reason that I do not own it any more. It was confiscated.
Maj. HUMES. When was it confiscated?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I have received word that it was confiscated.
Maj. HUMES. How do you know?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I was told so.
Maj. HUMES. Who told you so?
Mr. HAMMERLING. A gentleman told me so, from Copenhagen.
Maj. HUMES. Did you not tell Mr. Benham when you talked with him last week that you had not heard a word, and did not know anything about what had happened to that estate?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. I will repeat what I said to Mr. Benham. I did not hear from my place since March, 1916, and I heard from a man in Copenhagen whom I trust, a gentleman, who said that every piece of American property in Austro-Hungary was confiscated by the government since war was declared.
Maj. HUMES. Is the Austrian Government treating you as an American?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.
Maj. HUMES. How do you know that?
Mr. HAMMERLING. How do I know that?
Maj. HUMES. Yes.
Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1908, when they had an amnesty there, releasing from serving in the army people who had run away any man who was a citizen of another country could come back. When I left the place there, in the last days, maybe, the 27th or 29th of July, 1914, I put up the American flag.
Maj. HUMES. Where did you put it up?
Mr. HAMMERLING. On the house.
Maj. HUMES. You mean in Galicia?
Mr. HAMMERLING. On that place; yes, sir.
Maj. HUMES. All you know about the disposition that has been made about your estate over there is what you hear from rumor?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Senator NELSON. Who is this man in Copenhagen?
Mr. HAMMERLING. That man is a representative of the ——
Senator NELSON. What is his name?
Mr. HAMMERLING. E. Dircks.
Senator NELSON. How do you spell it?
Mr. HAMMERLING. D-i-r-c-k-s.
Senator NELSON. Where is he from?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Copenhagen.
Senator NELSON. What is his nationality?
Mr. HAMMERLING. He is a Swede, I think.
Senator NELSON. He is a Swede?
Mr. HAMMERLING. He is Swedish or Danish.
Senator NELSON. He is a Dane?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; maybe he is a Dane.
Maj. HUMES. Do you know Louis E. Miller?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Of the Jewish Weekly?
Maj. HUMES. Yes.
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. Do you remember the fact of his going to Europe after the war started?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. I think he told me. No, sir; I do not know about it.
Maj. HUMES. Did you not ask him to look after some matters in connection with your estate when he went?
Mr. HAMMERLING. After the American war stated?
Maj. HUMES. No; after the European war started.
Mr. HAMMERLING. Well; I said if he went through that way—yes. He came in, I think, to ask me to help him to get some papers to accept these articles. But I do not remember exactly what passed in the conversation.
Maj. HUMES. Do you know a man by the name of Berko?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; he is a publisher of a Hungarian paper.
Maj. HUMES. What are your relations with him?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know.
Maj. HUMES. Are you not friendly with him?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Not that I know of.
Maj. HUMES. You know whether you are or not, do you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Well; I do not know who my friends are now, Major.
Maj. HUMES. You know Horwarth, do you?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember him.
Maj. HUMES. Horwarth?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Horwarth, from Cleveland; yes.
Maj. HUMES. He and you and Berko are very friendly?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; to my face; but behind my back very far from that, so far as I know.
Maj. HUMES. You are friendly with them now, are you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Not friendly. I do business with both.
Maj. HUMES. Did you not attend an anniversary dinner, the eighty-fifth anniversary of Franz Joseph, in New York?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not; not that I remember. I understand that my name is put on the program, as they do almost every week all over the United States; they put my name on the program, that I am there; but I was not there, to the best of my memory.
Maj. HUMES. Are you sure you were not there?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I asked every soul in my office before I came to Washington, to see if I could correct this one thing, and no one seemed to remember.
Maj. HUMES. Do you not remember being there when Berko proposed a toast to the Kaiser?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember, Major.
Maj. HUMES. At the Whitehall Club?
Mr. HAMMERLING. At the Whitehall Club? I do not remember, Major.
Maj. HUMES. Are you a member of the Whitehall Club?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. This $200,000 that you got from Rumely and Albert, how was that spent?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was paid for advertising in the English and the foreign-language papers, for the mechanical work and the commission.

Maj. HUMES. How did you place the English advertisement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I placed it through the John E. Mahan Advertising Agency.

Maj. HUMES. How did you pay that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the best of my knowledge, as I told you, I delivered to them the receipted bill. I thought it was $48,138.

Maj. HUMES. This was $38,148. It does not exceed $48,000?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Something like that; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you offer that advertisement to all of the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did they print it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Pretty nearly all.

Maj. HUMES. Did you pay them all for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. All that printed it were paid, were they?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, yes.

Senator NELSON. Did you have it printed in the Scandinavian papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. In what Scandinavian papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. There was an advertisement in the Skandinavien, of Chicago.

Senator NELSON. Was there in the Decorah Posten?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. The Posten is a Norwegian paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. The Danski Pioneer had it, too.

Senator NELSON. That is in Omaha?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. That is a Danish paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. I think it was printed in Norwegian. It was printed in the Minneapolis Tidende?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was in all of the papers; yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. It was?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Senator Hitchcock printed it free of charge.

Gentlemen, I want to say this as to what happened to me: If I would have listened to the solicitors and publishers of the newspapers to give this advertising, I would have been out, because the cry was to get more and to get more. "We will do anything to get more"—that was the cry. But as soon as the World came out that it was German propaganda I dropped it like a dead one. I have the signatures right here. I understand that some blackmailers say that these are not genuine names. I have the original signatures, every one of them [producing paper].

Maj. HUMES. All right, sir; we will let you find some of them.

Senator NELSON. May I just interpolate there?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Did you have that notice published in the Normander, of Grand Forks?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Or in the Northman, of Minneapolis?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Or in the Skandinavine, of Chicago?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. They all published that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Do you know what was paid them? Have you got the bills? Put the bills you paid those papers in the record.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember, Senator, the exact amount.

Senator NELSON. Then you hand that to the stenographer.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember the amounts.

Senator NELSON. Have you got the records in your office?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not for that year. The papers have those records.

Senator NELSON. Oh, but if you paid them would you not have a record of it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not for that year. We only kept the record for the last two years.

Senator NELSON. What did you do with the others; destroy them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We put them out; yes, sir; otherwise it would take more room than we can afford to keep them.

Maj. HUMES. I have a list of papers here that I wish you would find the authority to sign.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Are they on that list?

Maj. HUMES. Here is the way it appears [indicating list].

Mr. HAMMERLING. They are the signatures [indicating].

Maj. HUMES. Here is the same thing from the New York World [indicating list].

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; you have not gotten it, Major, for the reason that the World did not have that additional list [indicating another paper].

Maj. HUMES. Then there are some that we have not checked. This is the one that the World printed. This is a part of the list. Look and find the authority that you had to use the names of those publishers.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Will somebody help me with this list?

Maj. HUMES. I expect we had better do that at the recess time, after the committee adjourns.

Senator NELSON. Was the Decorah Posten one of the papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think it was, but I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Have you those in the order?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We put them in the order as they signed.

Maj. HUMES. As they signed?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you say a while ago that you understood that the shipment of munitions that was complained about was shipment to Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You thought that this appeal, if it was effective, would stop the shipment of munitions to Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To Germany, exactly. That is the way we understood it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was this appeal published in any Austrian papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In this country, you mean?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. In the Hungarian-Austrian papers, yes, sir; also in German papers.

Senator WOLCOTT. Those papers certainly could not have thought that this appeal was against the shipment of munitions to Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. When it is paid advertising the papers do not care what it is. So long as they know that the big English papers take it, they will take it.

Maj. HUMES. You say that you thought this involved shipments into Germany as well as into Austria?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. At the time of this occurrence you were having difficulty in keeping in touch with your own property interests in Germany, were you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If I had trouble?

Maj. HUMES. Were you not having trouble in keeping in touch with your property interests in Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not in 1915.

Maj. HUMES. When did you first have trouble?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To get letters or to send anybody there? I think that the man who went down there to look after my property, a Polish man, went down when Italy declared war. I do not remember the date.

Maj. HUMES. How did he go there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Through Italy.

Maj. HUMES. Did you expect that munitions would be sent to Germany through Italy, or some of the countries at war with Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I understood they were going to Denmark and Sweden or Holland.

Senator NELSON. Did you not know that the British had a blockade, preventing communication with Germany on the North Sea?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not at that time.

Senator NELSON. Yes; at that time, 1915.

Mr. HAMMERLING. But I did not know it at that time.

Senator NELSON. Why did you not know it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not know everything——

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Hammerling, everybody in the United States that was endowed with a moderate amount of intelligence knows that the complaint was that these munitions were being shipped to France and England, to the allies. Nobody was complaining about the shipment of munitions to Germany. Do you mean to tell me that in the face of all that information that everybody in the United States had you did not know it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not know it; no, Senator. I did not. I worked about 18 hours a day.

Senator WOLCOTT. I know, but you do not look like a stupid man, Mr. Hammerling.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Thank you.

Senator WOLCOTT. With all due respect I make that statement. You were in the minority in the United States, I think, in that belief.

Maj. HUMES. We will check up these papers later, during a recess of the committee, with Mr. Hammerling.

Do you know, or did you ever know, a man by the name of Romer, who was at one time directly or indirectly connected with the Austro-Hungarian consulate?

Mr. HAMMERLING. What is the name?

Maj. HUMES. Romer.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I never heard of him.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know a man by the name of Gregr?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Very well.

Maj. HUMES. What was his activity along political lines or national lines?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I understood from people that he was very proally. He is a very big man in the Bohemian community.

Maj. HUMES. You and he are very close friends, are you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well—close friends. I like him; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you and he were in touch with the Austrian consulate through this man Romer, and was it not your effort, and Gregr's with you, to align the Bohemians in this country up with the Austrians?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false; no, sir; absolutely false. I think it is a crime saying things about Gregr.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know a man named Wandmayer?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. You do not know about him?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. How much advertising did you receive from the German steamship companies up until the time war was declared?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I handled every steamship company in the United States, including the Canadian Pacific. I could not give you the number offhand, but I should think that the largest one—am I answering your question properly?

Maj. HUMES. Go on.

Mr. HAMMERLING. The largest one, I think, would be the Cunard Line, $15,000. Then there was the Hamburg-American next, with $12,000; and then the Italian lines, with perhaps $10,000, and the North German, $8,000, and then it dwindled down to the Scandinavian, about $5,000 a year.

Maj. HUMES. When did that stop?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I got a cable, when I came in from the farm there. I cabled that I was leaving and that is the way I kept in touch; and the last cable was about the 30th of July, 1914, and they discontinued a few days before that, every line, with the exception of the Scandinavian, the Cunard, and the Italian, which are still running. We are not handling the Cunard. We are handling the Italian, I think.

Senator NELSON. There are three of those lines—the Scandinavian, the Swedish line, and the Norwegian line?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Did you handle all three lines?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then, you knew that the German steamship advertising had ceased before you got back to the United States?

Mr. HAMMERLING. All steamship advertising had ceased, with the exception of these three I have mentioned.

Maj. HUMES. Which were those?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The Cunard, the Italian lines, and the Scandinavian lines.

Senator WOLCOTT. Was not that notice to you that there was not any shipment of munitions going on to Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not understand——

Senator WOLCOTT. You did not understand at all?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not know why it was then.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did not have any idea that it was because of the war?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Or that the British blockade had interposed any obstacle?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I did not.

Maj. HUMES. Why did you not come back on the Hamburg Line? Why did you come back on a Danish line?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I had a ticket on the Hamburg Line, and they returned me the money.

Maj. HUMES. Then, as a matter of fact, you knew that there was no shipping going into Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of course I knew there was no steamers going in there.

Maj. HUMES. Then, if you knew there was no shipping going into Germany, you knew that the so-called appeal——

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). Was intended to interfere with the activities of the allies, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, Major, I will go back to the simple statement, which in my humble way is truth; I did not know a thing about it. He said that this money was spent by people to protect humanity and not to ship munitions anywhere, and I understood from publishers that I asked that the people had been mostly destroyed in Poland by what was taking place in Russia, and it was Germany, and that this was going to Germany, and in all that time I never heard of munitions being made anywhere except by those companies—the Du Pont Co. and the Remington Arms Co.—and Mr. Schwab told me a few years ago that at another place here they were making guns for Austria-Hungary. I am not in favor of militarism, so that I do not know a thing about it and never studied it, and never hope to.

Maj. HUMES. How did you get authority to sign the names of different publishers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They are right here in this list [indicating papers].

Maj. HUMES. How did you do it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I sent out a letter.

Maj. HUMES. Did you send a letter to all of them or communicate with them personally?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Every one got the same circular letter.

Maj. HUMES. Did you send it to all through the mails?

Mr. HAMMERLING. All through the mails.

Maj. HUMES. Did you undertake to persuade or coax any of them to sign it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never. I did not care whether 10 of them signed it or a hundred.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that the publishers who would not sign this appeal at your request were taken off your advertising list, and that you threatened you would take them off and did take them off and never put them on afterwards?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false. The same man who has been blackmailing me makes the same statement.

Maj. HUMES. Who is he; Mr. Zotti?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; Mr. Zotti.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Popovich?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What paper is he connected with?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He has got a little Serbian paper.

Maj. HUMES. His connection with Mr. Zotti is purely imaginary, is it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir. I have a paper here I will show you.

Maj. HUMES. Now, just wait a minute and answer the questions. Mr. Popovich runs a newspaper and Zotti is not connected with it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. Mr. Zotti runs a good many papers that he is not supposed to be connected with.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you sent one of your solicitors out to secure the signature of Popovich to this appeal——

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Wait until I finish the question.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Pardon me.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). That he refused to sign it, and that he called you up on the telephone and told you he did not think it was right for you to put out a thing of that kind, and you told him he had better sign it or he would be sorry for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And is it not a fact that from that day on you have never given him one dollar of advertisement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is absolutely false, for the reason that I did give him advertising since that for a daily paper, a Serbian paper, that was established, and some advertisers who want to reach the Serbians use that paper. That is all there is about it and nothing else.

Maj. HUMES. Was not that Serbian paper started in order that there should be a Serbian paper that you could dominate and control?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely had nothing to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. How many of your advertisers furnish you a list of the papers that these advertisements are to go into?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About 99 per cent of them.

Maj. HUMES. About 99 per cent of them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Andreae never designated them, did he?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I know, but that is quite a different proposition

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Rumely designate the papers that he wanted his advertisements to go in?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir—not the foreign papers, but all the English papers.

Maj. HUMES. I am speaking about foreign papers. Did he not designate the foreign papers that he wanted used?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He used them all.

Maj. HUMES. He used them all?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did the Standard Oil Co. designate their papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Do they give you the particular papers they want used?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you the data showing what they designate?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; the regular order. They give the information.

Maj. HUMES. You have a form of order here [indicating paper]. Here is one right here.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; that is it. I will give you the whole thing.

Maj. HUMES. This is your form [examining paper].

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; that is my form.

Maj. HUMES. Supposing a man wanted matter published in 200 or 300 papers, how could you designate them on the forms you use?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Designate it?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. He generally says, "I want to cover this territory. I want to cover this kind of people, or nationality."

Maj. HUMES. Does he not mention the sort of papers or the class of papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you select the papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I do not.

Maj. HUMES. But your office does.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; in some cases they could select them themselves.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you have not given Mr. Popovich one dollar's worth of advertising since——

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is absolutely false. I saw him here, and he called up only a few weeks ago and asked if a certain bill was paid from my office, and it was paid.

Maj. HUMES. Tell us what you know about the organization of the Liberty Immigration Society, a few years ago.

Mr. HAMMERLING. This society was organized to work against the literacy-test bill.

Maj. HUMES. Who organized it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was among the organizers.

Maj. HUMES. And you gave out a little green card, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You sold those cards for membership?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not sell them. The membership for a year was $1.

Maj. HUMES. You issued them these green cards?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that it was represented to the aliens, whose membership was sought, that that would enable them to bring into this country, through Ellis Island, their friends, and that they would not have any trouble there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is absolutely false.

Maj. HUMES. Did not the Government take a hand with that organization?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. What became of it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The President of the United States at that time was the honorary president of it.

Maj. HUMES. What became of it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. When we got through with it it was wound up by the attorney.

Maj. HUMES. Who was the President?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mr. President Taft.

Maj. HUMES. He was the honorary president?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He was.

Maj. HUMES. Did he know about it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; I should say he did. Most of the money put into it I put in.

Maj. HUMES. How many members did you have?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A couple of thousand.

Maj. HUMES. What did that organization do?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They went around on committees to make speeches in different places to educate people against the literacy-test law, on the ground that it was not the fault of a human being if his father or his country did not give him an education, and it was not right to expect him to be kept out of the country on that ground.

Maj. HUMES. How many meetings did you have?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of this society?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Quite a few; as many as were necessary.

Maj. HUMES. Was not the first purpose of that organization to give you a name that you could use for your propaganda purposes?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, I did not need that at all. I did not need it, Major.

Maj. HUMES. You could use your own name for propaganda purposes?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir—what propaganda purposes, if you will pardon me?

Maj. HUMES. The immigration propaganda.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Do you think it was a wrong thing to defend the rights of these people?

Maj. HUMES. I am not discussing the merits of the question.

Mr. HAMMERLING. The strongest men in the country were in that. I was only one among them.

Maj. HUMES. Just shortly before you put out this appeal you carried on some investigations of labor conditions about munition factories in this country, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not investigations. We had the inspection. You take a business of an unknown kind and the thing to do is to

find out what they are doing. I will give you an example. A few years ago a man came from Louisiana by the name of Watkins. He wanted to sell farms in Louisiana. We said to him, "We will take this advertising if the papers can feel that they can handle it"; we sent a committee down there to see that land and see if the title was correct, and so forth; and it was all right, and when the report was that it was all right we accepted the business.

When Rumely began to talk that he was going to do this advertising the question was how we shall reach these foreigners; I said to them, "The best thing is to find out who these workers are, where they are from." I did not know a thing about it—where they were from. So that in the course of time he brought me in a list, a piece of yellow paper, and handed it to Mr. Momand, who repeated it to me yesterday—he is now an officer in the United States Army—and he said when I got the list I went into my room and said to Arthur Gabriel, "You go there," and to another fellow, "Go there," and I think it was five or six names, and we asked Wazeter, and he personally went to Brooklyn, he said. I would not have remembered it, but he said he went to Brooklyn and spent a couple of hours and came back.

Maj. HUMES. What did you send these men for?

Mr. HAMMERLING. These men were to find out where these places are, and what there was there, and the priests, or the newspapers, or whatever there was there—what these fellows have in this work and to inquire of the priests or the papers or the saloons. They came back in a couple of days and I understood from Mr. Momand that the reports was that they said—if the ladies will pardon me—"They did not give a damn what they were doing so long as they made good money," and they said there were less than 20 per cent foreigners and the rest were Americans or Germans.

Maj. HUMES. Then if you found out a situation of that kind as the basis for your activity with this appeal, why did you go on and put out an appeal and spend $200,000?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Major, I went just according to Dr. Rumely exactly, and I did not discourage him to place the advertisement, for the reason that I wanted the advertisement. Times were hard and I thought it was good business to get it.

Maj. HUMES. This appeal you put out was an appeal to the American people, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And it was not an appeal to the foreigners?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We called ourselves Americans. If a man addresses me as an American he is protected under our flag.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not your purpose in sending these men out to these different munition factories to get a line on this proposition with a view of carrying a propaganda into munitions factories.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false.

Maj. HUMES. These men who went out and made a written report——

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not a written report that I ever saw. I asked Mr. Momand yesterday, and he said that it was absolutely false.

Senator WOLCOTT. You mentioned just a moment ago, as an illustration, the case of a Louisiana advertiser, advertising for the sale of land?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You did not want to accept that advertising until you had satisfied yourself that there was such land there as they represented they owned, and that the title was all right?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your purpose in doing that, I should suppose, was——

Mr. HAMMERLING. To protect the purchasers.

Senator WOLCOTT. To make sure that there was no fake advertisement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And that it would go out and that these people that put up their money would not be defrauded by somebody who had gotten up a scheme to get their money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. The investigation you made into the munitions plants as preliminary to the publishing of this advertisement could not have been from any such motive as that, because this advertisement was not of something to sell. Therefore it strikes me that the investigation you were conducting into the munitions plants was not for any such reason as that which you conducted in the Louisiana case, and there must have been some other reason. What was that other reason?

Mr. HAMMERLING. There was another reason, to find out what these people were. I did not know what papers to employ. He paid it himself. We did not pay these expenses.

Senator WOLCOTT. But is not this as clear as sunlight, that the thing the advertisement was intended to accomplish was the stopping of the shipment of munitions; and in that case how did you get any information from communicating with the Du Pont people who manufactured powder or with the Remington people who made guns? It did not make any difference; you wanted to stop the shipments.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not me; the advertiser wanted to stop the shipment.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; the advertiser.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. But you made the investigation to protect your concern from putting out a fraudulent or fake advertisement or something of that kind, you say?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Will you explain to me how an investigation such as you conducted in connection with a thing like this would prevent your handling any fraudulent thing? Can you explain that now?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am trying to, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are making a very poor try of it, I must say.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not get that, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. I do not follow your explanation, at all.

Mr. HAMMERLING. My explanation is that we sent these men over there to see what kind of men, to find out if this advertising would have any value, and we reported the truth. When Rumely came in, I called him, and I think Gabriel is here, and no different opinion was presented. They said that this fellow said they did

not give a damn what they were doing, so long as they made money; that they were mostly in the minority; that they are mostly Americans and Germans; and he said "Go ahead with it."

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, he would have said that, whatever the result of the investigation might have been, because the investigation threw no light on the question of whether you should take the advertisement or not.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was absolutely irrelevant.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely.

Senator WOLCOTT. And it was time wasted and no use.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Absolutely foolish and ridiculous.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Then, if that is the case, what was the real reason of making that investigation by these men you sent to the munitions plants?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I told you, Major.

Maj. HUMES. If this appeal had been successful it would have meant that the munition factories and workers in munition factories would have quit working on munitions.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. That is an appeal to ask these men to quit working in munition factories? That was the purpose?

Mr. HAMMERLING. This was the feeling of the Nation at the time, anyhow; of the residents of the United States, and of the Senate.

Maj. HUMES. The thought that you and Rumely had in mind was not to prevent the shipping of munitions already manufactured, but to prevent the manufacture of munitions by workmen in the country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I had nothing of the kind in mind at all.

Maj. HUMES. That was evidently what Rumely wanted?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Who wrote this?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am telling you, Momand and myself and Mr. Rankin and Dr. Rumely.

Maj. HUMES. Then you helped write it. Who wrote this paragraph?

"We appeal individually to the workmen of such factories, even at the sacrifice of their positions, to go on record as being unalterably opposed to being employed for the purpose of manufacturing ammunition to shatter the bodies and blot out the lives of their own blood relatives."

Who wrote that paragraph?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know anything about it.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that was in there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I have not read it since it appeared. I read it before it appeared.

Maj. HUMES. How could that appeal that I have just read interfere with the shipping of munitions?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. I do not think I understand your question.

Maj. HUMES. You say this was to prevent the shipping of munitions. If that appeal that I have just read had been heeded in this

country, how would it have interfered with the shipping of munitions?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not understand it yet.

Senator WOLCOTT. Apparently there would not have been any munitions shipped.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. In other words, apparently this appeal was to cause industrial trouble and to prevent men from working in munition factories. That was the purpose of it.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am not an industrial trouble maker.

Maj. HUMES. Was not that the effect of it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator NELSON. Was not that the purpose of it? Was not that the result?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am not responsible for that.

Senator NELSON. I am not asking you if you are responsible. I am asking you if that was not the effect of such an appeal as that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know.

Senator NELSON (continuing). Upon the men.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know.

Senator NELSON. If that had been addressed to you would it not have impressed you so?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. At any rate I am not impressed with what an advertisement says.

Maj. HUMES. You say you helped write that advertisement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator NELSON. You will put this in the record?

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Put it all in the record.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

(The appeal and supplement thereto are here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 155.

[The World: Monday, April 5, 1915.]

NOTE: The name of the Narodni List will not be found below. It refused to sign the "Appeal," or to publish this advertisement.

Compliments of Narodni List, the oldest American daily in Croatian.

AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"LET US ALLEVIATE HUMAN SUFFERING AND PRESERVE LIFE—NOT HELP TO DESTROY IT."

As a result of receiving hundreds of thousands of letters, cables and messages through various sources containing heart-broken appeals, prayers and pleas from the people of our mother countries, we, the undersigned editors and publishers, have concluded to place this appeal before the great American people on behalf of our readers.

The readers of our newspapers are vitally affected, almost without exception, by this disastrous conflict of the European nations. Their brothers, their sisters, parents, children or relatives live in the warring countries. This does not mean that the American people as a whole is not vitally affected, but our readers are more closely linked through the bonds of blood relationship with the peoples of countries now plunged in the depths of barbaric warfare. Each day's mail with its news of the pitiful progress of the war, brings some new and bitter anguish to the hearts of our people.

The pleas of the millions of widowed mothers, the appeals of the fatherless children and orphans and the prayers of the starving thousands of Europe

directed to us, justifies us, we believe, in making this appeal in the name of humanity and justice.

We appeal to the American people, to the high minded and courageous American press, and to the American manufacturer of powder, shrapnel and cartridges, and we appeal to the workmen engaged in the plants devoted to the manufacture of ammunition for use by the nations at war, to immediately cease making powder, shrapnel and cartridges destined to destroy our brothers, widow our sisters and mothers and orphan their children as well as destroy forever the priceless possession handed down by our ancestors.

We appeal particularly to the American manufacturers and their workmen engaged in manufacturing any of these articles, to suspend at once the manufacture of powder and bullets which are being made for the cruel and inhuman purpose of mutilating and destroying humanity.

We appeal individually to the workmen of such factories, even at the sacrifice of their positions, to go on record as being unalterably opposed to being employed for the purpose of manufacturing ammunition to shatter the bodies and blot out the lives of their own blood relatives.

The honor of the American people, the integrity of the Nation, the standing of our manufacturers and the patriotism and manhood of the workmen, demand that the entire world be shown, once and forever, that money soaked with the blood of humanity cannot purchase these qualities.

We ask the American people, therefore, in the name of humanity and a true spirit of neutrality to do everything in their power as individuals and collectively as a Nation to influence the manufacturers and workmen in the United States, engaged in the manufacture of powder and bullets for use by any of the warring countries of the world, to end this manufacture, the selling and the shipping of such materials.

We appeal to you, and every reader, to help us save our brothers abroad from further destruction. Let us Americans rise with courage and decision to our responsibility.

First, we must stop the wholesale manufacture of ammunition for profit, and thus end our own participation in the war.

Then, we can insist that Europe heed our demand for peace. Stop your work on powder, shrapnel and cannon.

Make your will felt through resolutions of your societies, by appeal to your local press, by action in your churches, by letters to your representatives in public office.

Our participation must stop now and then our influence for justice and righteousness can help end the war.

The cost of this advertisement has been voluntarily given in the shape of small contributions by our people, who are actuated by a sense of humanity and justice and a patriotic desire not to have this peace-loving Nation directly or indirectly the cause of futher loss of life or destruction of property.

The following is the resolution signed by the publishers authorizing this appear to the American people:

"We, the publishers of the undersigned newspapers, authorize an appeal to the American people, industries and workmen, not to manufacture, sell or ship powder, shrapnel or shot of any kind or description to any of the warring nations of Europe, or Japan."

Vincent A. M. Morelli, Publisher. Marconi Telegraph, Italian newspaper.
V. J. Nemec, Publisher. Slovensky Pokrok, Slovak newspaper.
Vincenzo D'Anita, Publisher. Il Messaggero di Paterson, Italian newspaper.
W. A. Mazur, Publisher. Telegram Codzienny, Polish newspaper.
Louis Gerson, Publisher. Philadelphia Jewish Morning Journal.
Rev. Lad. Horsanyi, Publisher. Amerikai Magyar Reformatusok Lapja, Hungarian newspaper.
F. Wandel, jr., Publisher. Ameryka, Ruthenian newspaper.
P. S. Montanaro, Publisher. L'Osservatore, Italian newspaper.
P. S. Yonosky, Publisher. Freie Arbeiter Stimme, Jewish newspaper.
William Wendt, Publisher. Przyjmzel Ludu. Polish newspaper.
D. O. Divey, Publisher. Olympia, Greek newspaper.
Prof. A. Colletta, Publisher. Il Gazzettino, Italian newspaper.
Afifa Karam, Publisher. The New World, Arabic newspaper.
Rev. Carmelo Di Sano, Publisher. La Croce, Italian newspaper.
B. Strzelecki, Publisher. Slowo Polskie, Polish newspaper.
Achieber Press Association, Publishers. Hatoren, Hebrew newspaper.
Pasquale Matullo, Publisher. L'Ora, Italian newspaper.

Samuel J. Rosen, Manager. Der Yid, Yiddish newspaper.
S. J. Tybubski, Publisher. Praca, Polish newspaper.
N. G. Badran, Publisher. The Eagle, Syrian newspaper.
Joseph Isola, Publisher. L'Italiano in America, Italian newspaper.
Israel Friedkin, Manager. Der Amerikaner, Yiddish newspaper.
V. Yaktis, Manager. Kova, Lithunian newspaper.
Harry E. Guarasci, Publisher. L'Indipendente di Syracuse, Italian newspaper.
Theofil Wasowicz, Publisher. Patryota, Polish newspaper.
J. Sefir & H. Zind, Publishers. Al-Ettehad, Syrian newspaper.
Giorgio Pinelli, Publisher. L'Eco d'Italia, Italian newspaper.
B. K. Kohanyi, Publisher. Szabadsag, Hungarian newspaper.
Leon Burstein, Publisher. Brooklyn-Brownsville Post, Jewish newspaper.
F. Curzio & Co., Publishers. L'Eco del Rhodè Island, Italian newspaper.
Br. Zelski, Publisher. Motyl, Polish newspaper.
Rev. Zaltan Kuthy, Ph. D., Publisher. Reformatus Hirado, Hungarian newspaper.
James D. Caporasoe, Publisher. La Stella Coloniale, Italian newspaper.
Adolph Held, Manager. Philadelphia Jewish Daily Forward.
T. B. Friedson, Manager. Boston Jewish American.
Joseph Bruno, Publisher. Mastro Paolo, Italian newspaper.
Stephen M. Nowaczyk, Publisher. Gwiazda, Polish newspaper.
H. F. Roy, Publisher. Petit Journal, French newspaper.
Martin Himler, Publisher. Maygar Banyaszlap, Hungarian newspaper.
F. S. Marinaro, Publisher. L'Eco Coloniale del New England, Italian newspaper.
Ig. Kozlowski, Publisher. Gazeta Tygodniowa, Polish newspaper.
Cornelius H. Lont, Manager. Het Oosten, Hollandish newspaper.
Phil. Nardone, Publisher. La Voce del Bronx, Italian newspaper.
Jacob Marinoff, Publisher. Big Stick, Jewish newspaper.
N. A. Mokarzel, Publisher. Al-Hoda, Arabic newspaper.
D. Marnlio & Sons, Publishers. Il Progresso, Italian newspaper.
J. Vincent Labate, Publisher. La Vita Economica, Italian newspaper.
Braz de Souza, Editor and Publisher. As Novidades, Portugese newspaper.
S. M. Nagy, Publisher. Kepes Tudosito, Hungarian newspaper.
J. E. Lambert, Publisher. Le Supplement, French newspaper.
Albert Tarchiani, Publisher. Il Cittadino, Italian newspaper.
Adolph Held, Publisher. Zukunft, Yiddish newspaper.
A. B. Strimaitis, Secretary. Tevyne, Lithuanian newspaper.
Frank De Feo, Publisher. La Verita, Italian newspaper.
E. Dahmen, Manager. Vart Land, Swedish newspaper.
Peter Schmukler, Publisher. Volksadvocat, Jewish newspaper.
Lithuanian Co-Operative Pub. Soc., Publishers. Laisve, Lithuanian newspaper.
Joseph J. Yabroudi, Publisher. Al-Sahhat, Arabic newspaper.
Rev. D. A. Rocca, Publisher. La Verita in Carita, Italian newspaper.
L. D'Amanda, Publisher. La Tribuna di Rochester, Italian newspaper.
Joseph Lussier, Publisher. La Justice, French newspaper.
John Jachetti, Publisher. Il Bollettino, Italian newspaper.
Joseph Smotczynski, Publisher. Gazeta Buffaloska, Polish newspaper.
D. R. Vomby, Editor and Publisher. Literatur un Leben, Yiddish newspaper.
G. D. Berko, Publisher. Amerikai Magyar Nepszava, Hungarian newspaper.
Monsignor A. Arcese, Director. Bollettino Mensile, Italian newspaper.
Axel Fredenholm, Editor and Publisher. Osterns Veckoblad, Swedish newspaper.
M. S. Gadol, Publisher. La America, Spanish-Hebrew newspaper.
A. B. Koller, General Manager. Amerikai Magyar Hirlap, Hungarian newspaper.
Goffrerto Caryani, Publisher. La Stampa, Italian newspaper.
Jacob Ginsburg, Publisher. Jewish World.
S. Baddour, Publisher. Al-Bayan, Arabic newspaper.
Charles K. Johansen, Publisher. Nordstjernan, Swedish newspaper.
J. J. Demoro, Publisher. La Riforma, Italian newspaper.
Frank Bokory, Publisher. Amerikai Magyarsag, Hungarian newspaper.
Victor E. Pomeranz, Editor and Publisher. Jewish Progress.
Rafael Viera, Publisher. La Prensa, Spanish newspaper.
L. Benedik, Publisher. Glas Naroda, Slovenian newspaper.

Charles A. [illegible]
L. F. Wazeter [illegible]
Prof. V. [illegible]
Joseph [illegible]
J. A. Harper [illegible]
paper.
S. Maidansger [illegible]
Israel Fri[illegible]
Joseph Gu[illegible]
Japanese T[illegible]
John Milan[illegible]
S. Efinaff, [illegible]
E. M. Grel[illegible]
Herman [illegible]
Arthur Re[illegible]
N. Carciana [illegible]
John F. San[illegible]
Herman [illegible]
E. M. Grel[illegible]
M. Pasvolsk[illegible]
Herman [illegible]
Pasquale d. [illegible]
Joint Board [illegible]
Yiddish newspa[illegible]
Onorio Ru[illegible]
E. Weinberger [illegible]
Prof. E. Sp[illegible]
Peter Sch[illegible]
Achilla P. [illegible]
Monfoon Ju[illegible]
E. M. Gre[illegible]
Peter Schm[illegible]
Ivan Kres[illegible]
M. Sisca, P[illegible]
L. E. Me[illegible]
Antonio Pa[illegible]
D. Koutso[illegible]
A. V. Cro[illegible]
Adolph Her[illegible]
Vincenzo [illegible]
P. Acelrad, [illegible]
A. Bartolini, [illegible]
Kung Y. Sang, [illegible]
Michael M. Bern[illegible]
paper.
Louis V. Sarpeter, [illegible]
Pietro Jacovini, [illegible]
A. Milukas, Publisher [illegible]
John R. Palanders[illegible]
August Stieber, M[illegible]
Alexander Zamber[illegible]
paper.
Rev. Joseph Hannigan, [illegible]
E. Falcidia, Publisher [illegible]
Charles R. Hosenger[illegible]
D. Alter, Publisher [illegible]
A. Rode, Secretary. [illegible]
Nat. H. Strauss, [illegible]
paper.
Eugene Hwozdyk, [illegible]
Peartree & Power, Pu[illegible]
[illegible] Plekun[illegible]
[illegible]

Michael Saggese, Secretary. La Tribuna, Italian newspaper.
Leavitt & Rubenstein, Publishers. Boston Jewish Voice, Yiddish newspaper.
John F. Morgan, Manager. Jednosc, Polish newspaper.
Vilvio Liberatore, Publisher. L'Opinione del Popolo, Italian newspaper.
John H. Urban, Publisher. American Slavonic Gazette, Slavok newspaper.
Joseph Baltrusaitis, Publisher. Djigeles, Lithuanian newspaper.
N. A. Pacella, Publisher. La Stella D'Italia, Italian newspaper.
Jewish Record Co., Publishers. Jewish Record, Jewish newspaper.
A. C. Vieira, Publisher. O'Independente, Portuguese newspaper.
Vincent Dmowski, Editor. Gornik Polski, Polish newspaper.
A. S. Collini, Editor. Il Minatore, Italian newspaper.
C. E. Lindstone, Publisher. Skandia, Swedish newspaper.
John H. Urban, Publisher. Amerikansko Slovensky Svet, Slovak newspaper.
J. Oskala, Publisher. Straz, Polish newspaper.
D. Basile, Publisher. Araldo di Auburn, Italian newspaper.
M. Porwit, Publisher. Gornik, Polish newspaper.
Flavio Pasella, Publisher. La Sardegna, Italian newspaper.
Noe Hameley, Manager. Le Citoyen, French newspaper.
A. A. Turlson, Publisher. Svea, Swedish newspaper.
E. Lo Presti, Publisher. La Tribuna del Popolo, Italian newspaper.
A. Weidenthal, Publisher. Jewish Independent, Jewish-English newspaper.
A. Capecelatro, Editor & Manager. Il Pensiero Italiano, Italian newspaper.
A. Antell, Publisher. Finska Amerikanaren, Swedish newspaper.
Rev. Thomas Terlizzi, Publisher. Bollettino Parrocchiale, Italian newspaper.
W. L. Bourquet, Manager. L'Opinion Publique, French newspaper.
Frank Ruszkiewicz, Publisher. Dziennik dia Wszystkich, Polish newspaper.
Angelo Searpa, Publisher. La Luce, Italian newspaper.
Charles J. Urban, Publisher. Unista, Polish newspaper.
F. Rosin & William Shubin, Editors. Strahdneeks, Lettish newspaper.
James V. Domarunna, Publisher. Gazzetta del Massachusetts, Italian newspaper.
D. Diacoumopoulos, Publisher. Demonios, Greek newspaper.
Cornelius Paelstra, Publisher. De Telegraaf, Hollandish newspaper.
A. Lewandowski & Bro., Publishers. Gazeta Ludowa, Polish newspaper.
Italo-American Pub. Co., Publishers. L'Italo-Americano, Italian newspaper.
Oscar E. Lindborn, Publisher. Svenska Veckobladet, Swedish newspaper.
W. Pietkiewicz, Publisher. Tygodnik Gorniczy, Polish newspaper.
Joseph Santella, Publisher. Corriere del Connecticut, Italian newspaper.
Matthew Fiitto, Manager. Pohjan Tahti, Finnish newspaper.
Peter Kiryluk, Publisher. New Life, Ruthenian newspaper.
Luigi Finocchiaro, Publisher & Editor. Ma-Chi-E, Italian newspaper.
John J. Apdan, Publisher. Norodna Wola, Ruthenian newspaper.
R. Canudo, Publisher. Sicilia, Italian newspaper.
Rev. Ernest Porzsolt, Publisher. Johnstowni Hirado, Hungarian newspaper.
S. A. Dangel, Publisher. The Nationalist, Polish newspaper.
Gerardo Balzano, Publisher. La Stampa, Italian newspaper.
A. A. Haddad, Publisher. As-Sayeh, Arabic newspaper.
S. Di Leo, Publisher. La Spazzino, Italian newspaper.
Theodore Pischok, Publisher. Svit, Russian newspaper.
John J. Rougetti, Publisher. La Verita, Italian-English newspaper.
Wegweiser Publishing Co., Publishers. Der Wegweiser, Yiddish newspaper.
M. Mancelliere, Publisher. La Trinacria, Italian newspaper.
Alexander Gondos, Publisher. Bridgeport, Hungarian newspaper.
A. M. Liebling, Publisher. Jewish Progress, Jewish newspaper.
S. F. Noton, Publisher. Il Frustino, Italian newspaper.
Morris Seskind, Manager & Editor. Jewish Labor World, Jewish newspaper.
L. J. Tupy, Publisher. Slavie, Bohemian newspaper.
C. G. Petherson, Treasurer. Missions Wannen, Swedish newspaper.
Alexander von Dessenffy, Publisher. Otthen, Hungarian newspaper.
H. Durante, Publisher. L'Italia, Italian newspape
Louis S. Berlin, Publisher. The Sentinel, Jewis h newspaper.
O. G. Melaragno, Publisher. La Voce del Popolo , Italian newspaper.
Dr. A. Pessenlehner, Managing Editor. Magy arnapja, Hungarian newspaper.
J. E. Chudatsik, President. Katolicke Sloven Slovak
Abraham M. Liebling, Publisher. Jewish D Yiddi
P. Swickos, Publisher. Draugas, Lithuanian

John R. Palandech, Publisher. United Servian, Servian newspaper.
Harry A. Pilsky, General Manager. Daily Jewish Courier, Yiddish newspaper.
Andrew F. Dueg, Publisher. De Detroitenaar, Flemish newspaper.
Julius Fodor, Publisher. Magyar Ujsag, Hungarian newspaper.
J. Carman, Publisher. Lekarz Domowy, Polish newspaper.
E. A. M. Dahn, Secretary. De Hollandsche Amerikaan, Hollandish newspaper.
J. E. Chudatsik, President. Slovensko Americky Dennik, Slovak newspaper.
John J. Barc, Manager. Polonia, Polish newspaper.
John R. Palandech, Publisher. Balkan World, Servian newspaper.
W. Fren, Editor. Polonia Na Wschodzie, Polish newspaper.
Giuseppe Farinasci, Publisher. La Capitale, Italian newspaper.
E. A. Buonpone, Publisher. Il Cittadino Italo-Americano, Italian newspaper.
Victor Alski, General Manager. Haslo Lolski, Polish newspaper.
Sylvester Tamburella, Publisher. Il Corriere dell'Ohio, Italian newspaper.
T. Potchynok, Manager. Robitnyk, Ruthenian newspaper.
M. Berghege, Manager. De Calvinist, Hollandish-English newspaper.
M. Spitz, Publisher. Jewish Voice, Jewish-English newspaper.
E. Lo Presti, Publisher. Il Messaggero d'Worcester, Italian newspaper.
Leo Wise, Publisher. American Israelite, Jewish-English newspaper.
N. M. Diab, Publisher. Daily Mirror, Syrian newspaper.
John Cottone, Editor. Il Pensiero, Italian newspaper.
Henry Geeringsen, Publisher. De Hope, Hollandish newspaper.
C. A. Brandes, Publisher. Jewish Daily Press, Jewish newspaper.
J. Asenko, Publisher. Dziennik Ludowy, Polish newspaper.
C. Anderson, Manager. Chicago Bladet, Swedish newspaper.
J. Asenko, Publisher. Bicz Bozy, Polish newspaper.
C. A. Pettkoski, Publisher. Telegraf, Polish newspaper.
W. Haven, Manager. National Slovak Daily, Slovak newspaper.
Luigi Caroburi, Publisher. El Figaro Italiano, Italian newspaper.
Ernest Valentine, Publisher. International Music and Drama, Italian newspaper.
Joe Conforto, Editor and Publisher. La Tribuna, Italian newspaper.
A. D. Domenica, Editor and Publisher. Il Cristiano Italian newspaper.
A. A. Lind, Editor and Publisher. Superior Posten, Swedish newspaper.
Frank M. Delatch, Editor and Publisher. Narodni Vestnik, Slovenian newspaper.
Albert L. King, Publisher. Skordemannen, Swedish newspaper.
J. P. Deo, Editor and publisher, L'Osservatore, Italian newspaper.
M. J. Kokkonen, Publisher. Paivalehti, Finnish newspaper.
N. P. Olson, Editor and Publisher. Svenska Roman Bladet, Swedish newspaper.
Edi. Sulo, Editor. Sosialisti, Finnish newspaper.
N. Fr. Hansen, Publisher. Qvinnan och Hemmet, Swedish newspaper.
Louis Fadanelli, Editor and Publisher. Corriere del Popolo, Italian newspaper.
Nelson T. Thorson, Editor and Publisher. Omaha Posten, Swedish newspaper.
M. F. Brzezicki, Publisher. Polak W. Ameryce, Polish newspaper.
L. C. Lunn, Editor and Publisher. Vaegtarch, Danish newspaper.
N. Fr. Hansen, Publisher. Kvinden og Hjemmet, Norwegian newspaper.
George A. Pettersen, Publisher. Superior Tidende, Norwegian newspaper.
Tonyde Haas, Publisher. De Vrije Hollander, Dutch newspaper.
T. E. Vodickar, Editor. Ceska Zena, Bohemian newspaper.
Vasil Stephanoff, Editor and Publisher. Naroden Glas, Bulgarian newspaper.
Theodore Kaleef, Editor. Svoboda, Bulgarian newspaper.
Joseph Corti, Publisher. La Parola del Socialisti, Italian newspaper.
Vincent Budrovich, Editor and Publisher. Hrvatski Narod, Croatian newspaper.
Martin V. Konda, Editor and Publisher. Glas Svobode, Slovenian newspaper.
A. Wielowiejski, Editor and Publisher. Jutrzenka, Polish newspaper.
G. Bogdany, Editor. Kis Magyarorszaz, Hungarian newspaper.
P. M. Schoenen, Editor and publisher. Il Pensiero, Italian newspaper.
Henry Greenfield, Publisher. East and West, English-Jewish newspaper.
Evangelisten, Norwegian newspaper.
George C. Rutis, Publisher. Radnicka Straza, Croatian newspaper.
Sztandar Polski, Polish newspaper.
T. E. Vodickar, Editor. Hlas, Bohemian newspaper.
Auttaja, Finnish newspaper.

A. C. Muribelli, Editor and Publisher. Minatore Italiano, Italian newspaper.
M. J. Kokkonen, Publisher. Siirtolainen, Finnish newspaper.
C. J. Larson, Editor and Publisher. Minnesota State Tidning, Swedish newspaper.
M. Latro, Publisher. The Patrie, Greek newspaper.
Ch. Damasius, Editor and Publisher. Saloniki, Greek newspaper.
Claudet Dunlap, Publisher. Svenska Posten, Swedish newspaper.
Isador S. Horwitz, Editor and Publisher. Milwauker Wochenblat, Jewish newspaper.
Jehiel D. Liebling, Editor and Publisher. Chicago Jewish Times.
Dr. Daz Novak, Editor and Publisher. Sipy. Bohemian newspaper.
S. Margolies. Editor and Publisher. The Jewish World.
Swan J. Turnblad, Editor and Publisher. Svenska Amerikanska Posten, Swedish newspaper.
Alessandro Mastro Valerio, Editor. La Tribuna Italiana, Italian newspaper.
Stanley P. Tananevicz, Ed. and Publisher. Katalikas, Lithuanian newspaper.
J. Worzalla, Editor and Publisher. Gwiazda Polarna, Polish newspaper.
K. Gugis, Publisher. Naujienos, Lithuanian newspaper.
W. B. Wingeln, Editor. Nya Wecko Posten, Swedish newspaper.
Joseph Ad. Trojan. Editor and Publisher. Nove Smery, Bohemian newspaper.
Erik Dahlhiolm, Editor. Veckobladet, Swedish newspaper.
James J. Van Pernis, Editor. De Neuwe Courant, Hollandish newspaper.
Louis Novak, Publisher. St. Louiske Listy, Bohemian newspaper.
V. Giuliano, Editor and Publisher. La Tribuna Italiano d'America, Italian newspaper.
J. F. Strass, Editor and Publisher. Fremad, Norwegian newspaper.
F. A. Emenson, Editor and Publisher. Iron County News, Italian newspaper.
Coloman Kaldor, Editor and Publisher. St. Louis Es Videke, Hungarian newspaper.
A. Langeland, Publisher. Onze Toecomst, Hollandish newspaper.
George Kemeny, Editor and Publisher. Dongo, Hungarian newspaper.
Heyrmar Kuypers, Editor and Publisher. De Volksstem, Hollandish newspaper.
Philip Gadink, Publisher. Glasilo, Slovenian newspaper.
Andrew G. Johnson, Editor and Publisher. Svenska Folkete Tidning, Swedish newspaper.
N. Eripodi, Editor and Publisher. La Stella, Italian newspaper.
E. L. Mengshod, Editor and Publisher. Gaa Paa, Norwegian newspaper.
J. N. Zazzara, Editor and Publisher. New Guide, Italian newspaper.
John Soukup, Publisher. Vlastenec, Bohemian newspaper.
S. H. Worzalla, Editor and Publisher. Rolnik, Polish newspaper.
Emil Seamporrino, Editor. L'Intemcrato, Italian newspaper.
George H. Kaufman, Publisher. The Jewish Journal.
Rev. R. Klafkowski, Editor. Ognisko Domowe, Polish newspaper.
F. Hurop, Editor and Publisher. Social-Demokraten, Danish newspaper.
Tarcai Luje, Publisher. Vilagossag, Hungarian newspaper.
J. G. Geguzis, Publisher. Keleivis Lithuanian newspaper.
Alexander Gumberg, Publisher. Novy Mir, Russian newspaper.
J. A. Adams, Editor and Publisher. Il Corriere, Italian newspaper.
Publisher, La Voce del Popolo, Italian newspaper, Detroit, Mich.
Joseph B. Polonsky, Editor. Russian Life.
Prof. John De Iorio, Editor. Scintilla Elettrica, Italian newspaper.
Fancu Roman, Publisher. Desteaptate Romane, Roumanian newspaper.
John Matlocha, Editor. Rovnost Ludu, Slovak newspaper.
O. N. Verenius, Publisher. Svenska Monitoren, Swedish newspaper.
P. S. Lambros, Publisher. The Greek Star, Greek newspaper.
H. H. D. Langereis, Publisher. Holland Farmer, Hollandish newspaper.
Gust. Beigquist, Manager. Svenska Amerikanska Tribunen, Swedish newspaper.
Rev. R. L. Haan, Publisher. De Boodschapper, Hollandish newspaper.
A. Khouri & E. Yazdak, Publishers. Fatat Boston, Syrian newspaper.
Felix Nylund, Publisher. Uusi Kotimaa, Finnish newspaper.
H. H. D. Langereis, Publisher. De Huisvriend, Hollandish newspaper.
Joseph Cesaick, Manager. Glasnik, Slovenian newspaper.
I. H. Uusaker, Manager. Fram, Norwegian newspaper.
I. Haduch, Manager. Zorza, Polish newspaper.
Gust. Beigquist, Manager. Duluth Posten, Swedish newspaper.

Hyman Liderman, Publisher. Daily Jewish Call, Jewish newspaper.
F. E. Macha, Editor. Drubeznicke Noviny, Bohemian newspaper.
Marco A. Russo, Editor. L'Alba, Italian newspaper.
H. P. Oggel & Son, Publishers. De Volksvriend, Hollandish newspaper.
D. Moldovan, Publisher. Romanul, Roumanian newspaper.
Joseph L. Van Lancker, Manager. Gazzette von Moline, Flemish newspaper.
Rev. Caesar Tomaszewski, Publisher. Wielkopolanin, Polish newspaper.
W. Ayer, Editor and Manager. Reform, Norwegian newspaper.
H. H. D. Langereis, Publisher. Het Ideaal, Hollandish newspaper.
Arpad Tarnocy, Publisher. Akroni Hirlap, Hungarian newspaper.
Edward Caffaro, Publisher. Il Lavoratore Italiano, Italian newspaper.
Henry Bengtson, Editor. Svenska Socialisten, Swedish newspaper.
Henry Morris, Publisher. Volkswaechter, Yiddish newspaper.
Philip M. Ksycki, Publisher. Echo Niedzielne, Polish newspaper.
Gt. Hagen, Publisher. Vesterheimen, Norwegian newspaper.
B. T. Tarkanyi, Publisher. Pgh Hungarian Herald, Hungarian newspaper.
H. F. Johnson & Co., Publishers. Pelias Weekblad, Hollandish newspaper.
M. Kangas, Publisher. Laimen Sanomia, Finnish newspaper.
C. S. Papa, Publisher. La Tribuna Italiana, Italian newspaper.
Goldberg & Ruppin, Publishers. Texas Jewish Herald, English-Jewish newspaper.
J. E. Perrier, Business Manager. Le Lynnois, French newspaper.
M. Kangas, Publisher. Aura, Finnish newspaper.
Dr. Paola Parin, Publisher. Il Molimento, Italian newspaper.
D. Schram, Publisher. De Standaard, Hollandish newspaper.
Gust. Falk, Publisher. Moline Tribun, Swedish newspaper.
Joseph & R. A. Nicolais, Publishers. La Lega Italiana, Italian newspaper.
Rev. S. Byuzynskyi, Publisher. Sojuz, Ruthenian newspaper.
M. Kangas, Publisher. Amerikan Suometar, Finnish newspaper.
Leon Kamalky, Publisher. Jewish Daily News.
N. N. Ronning, Manager. Ungdomens Ven, Norwegian newspaper.
Sarasohn & Sons. Jewish Gazette.
E. Severin, Manager. Texas Posten, Swedish newspaper.
J. Worzallas' Sons. Publishers. Rolnik, Polish newspaper.
M. Strizzi, Managing Editor. Il Sole, Italian newspaper.
Y. C. Kastmas & Emil J. Bonde, Publishers. Svansk-Amerikanska Familj Journalen, Swedish newspaper.
Frank Mancini, Publisher. Il Risveglio, Italian neswpaper.
Z. Stefanowicz, Publisher. Nowiny Aexaskie, Polish newspaper.
M. Kangas, Publisher. Lasten Lehti, Finnish newspaper.
Ralph Ludovici, Publisher. La Stella del Texas, Italian newspaper.
Victor Cruz, Publisher. El Correo Mexicano, Spanish newspaper.
M. Jachetta, Publisher. Il Vindice, Italian newspaper.
N. N. Roninve, Publisher. Kvindens Magasin, Norwegian newspaper.
Garcia & Maestas, Publishers. El Faro, Spanish newspaper.
Giuseppe Mapelli, Publisher. La Capitale, Italian newspaper.
B. Downorowicz, Editor and Publisher. Gazeta Handlowa, Polish newspaper.
C. P. Lanza, Publisher. Il Progresso, del New England, Italian newspaper.
L. Stefano, Manager. Hrvatska, Croatian newspaper.
Jose De La Campa Gonzalez, Publisher. Heraldo Dominical, Spanish newspaper.
A. Vierti, Publisher. L'Italo-Americano, Italian newspaper.
Jewish Publishing Co., Publishers. True Voice, Yiddish newspaper.
A. C. Torres, Editor. El Defensor del Pueblo, Spanish newspaper.
Leo Wise & Co., Publishers. Chicago Israelite, Jewish-English newspaper.
Louis Albi, Publisher. Il Roma, Italian newspaper.
N. F. Galleyo, Publisher. El Fenix, Spanish newspaper.
P. O. Thorson, Publisher. Normanden, Norwegian newspaper.
William J. Solomon, Publisher. Hebrew Standard.
Joseph Novak, Publisher. Americky Obean, Bohemian newspaper.
Louis E. Annijo, Publisher. El Independiente, Spanish newspaper.
Felix Lepore, Publisher. La Nazione, Italian newspaper.
A. C. Miera, Publisher. La Union del Pueblo, Spanish newspaper.
Blas Fraucha, Publisher. El Combate, Spanish newspaper.
Blas Fraucha, Publisher. Wagon Mound Pantagraph, Spanish-English newspaper.
A. C. Bertolini, Publisher. Il Corriere Italiano, Italian newspaper.

Otto Rydman, Publisher. Utah-Korrespondenten, Swedish newspaper.
William Milano, Publisher. La Gazzetta Italiana, Italian newspaper.
Sdarados Zabor, Editor & Publisher. Elore, Hungarian newspaper.
"Let us alleviate human suffering and preserve life—not help to destroy it."
John Matlocha, Editor. Rovnost Ludu, Slovak newspaper.
O. N. Verenius, Publisher. Svenska Monitoren, Swedish newspaper.
P. S. Lambros, Publisher. The Greek Star, Greek newspaper.
H. H. D. Langereis, Publisher. Holland Farmer, Hollandish newspaper.
Gust. Beigquist, Manager. Svenska Amerikanska Tribunen, Swedish newspaper.
Rev. R. L. Haan, Publisher. De Boodschapper, Hollandish newspaper.
A. Khouri & E. Yazbak, Publishers. Fatat Boston, Syrian newspaper.
Felix Nylund, Publisher. Uusi Kotimaa, Finnish newspaper.
H. H. D. Langereis, Publisher. De Huisvriend, Hollandish newspaper.
Joseph Cesaick, Manager. Glasnik, Slovenian newspaper.
I. H. Ulsaker, Manager. Fram, Norwegian newspaper.
I. Haduch, Manager. Zorza, Polish newspaper.
Gust. Beigquist, Manager. Duluth Posten, Swedish newspaper.
Hymen Liderman, Publisher. Daily Jewish Call, Jewish newspaper.
F. E. Macha, Editor. Drubeznicke Noviny, Bohemian newspaper.
Marco A. Russo, Editor. L'Alba, Italian newspaper.
H. P. Oggel & Son, Publishers. De Volksvriend, Hollandish newspaper.
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H. F. Johnson & Co., Publishers. Pellas Weekblad, Hollandish newspaper.
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C. S. Papa, Publisher. La Tribuna Italiana, Italian newspaper.
Goldberg & Ruppin, Publishers. Texas Jewish Herald, English-Jewish newspaper.
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Dr. Paolo Parin, Publisher. Il Molimento, Italian newspaper.
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Gust. Falk, Publisher. Moline Tribun, Swedish newspaper.
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Rev. S. Byczynskyi, Publisher. Sojuz, Ruthenian newspaper.
M. Kangas, Publisher. Amerikan Suometar, Finnish newspaper.
Leon Kamaiky, Publisher. Jewish Daily News.
N. N. Ronning, Manager. Ungdomens Ven, Norwegian newspaper.
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J. Worzallas' Sons, Publishers. Rolnik, Polish newspaper.
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Y. C. Kastmas & Emil J. Bonde, Publishers. Svensk-Amerikanska Familj Journalen, Swedish newspaper.
Frank Mancini, Publisher. Il Risvegilo, Italian newspaper.
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M. Kangas, Publisher. Lasten Lehti, Finnish newspaper.
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N. N. Ronlnve, Publisher. Kvindens Magasin, Norwegian newspaper.
Garcia & Maestas, Publishers. El Faro, Spanish newspaper.
Giuseppe Mapelli, Publisher. La Capitale, Italian newspaper.
B. Downorowicz, Editor & Publisher. Gazeta Handlowa, Polish newspaper.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with David Lamar?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Jeremiah O'Leary?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I never saw him in my life. I saw him mentioned in the newspapers.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with the Labor's Peace Council?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never known it existed until I saw it in the newspapers.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that the propaganda they were carrying on was included in this appeal, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. Your purpose was to prevent the manufacture of munitions, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I had nothing to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. But you wrote this advertisement, or helped to write it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was there with them, but I had nothing else to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Henry Martin?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never heard of him. Where is he from?

Capt. LESTER. Associated with Lamar.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never heard of him.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Hammerling, in the American Leader—what contract did you have with the other writers besides Andreae for the articles that appeared in the Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We just had three paid contributors.

Maj. HUMES. Who were they?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Ira Bennett, of Washington, and L. B. Namier.

Maj. HUMES. Was George Creel one of your contributors?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never.

Maj. HUMES. I notice an article by him.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am not acquainted with it. It may have been put in in my absence. I would have sworn that I never saw it. Are you sure it is there?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have not seen it.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with George Sylvester Viereck?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have only seen his name in the paper.

Maj. HUMES. Have you ever had any business transactions with him of any kind?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have never seen outside of the papers, Major.

Maj. HUMES. You are familiar with the periodical the Fatherland, are you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of what I saw in the papers. I have not read it.

Maj. HUMES. Is it a German periodical?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is what I understand.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know it was English?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I never saw it.

Senator NELSON. You have never seen the Fatherland in New York City?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator NELSON. You must be blind a part of the day.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I may be. I think I have enough papers to see without the Fatherland.

Maj. HUMES. And you never had any business transactions with it at all?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any arrangement with Viereck by which he was to republish any articles in the Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not, sir.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the issue of the Fatherland of May 5, 1915, and show you an article to discourage the traffic in arms and munitions, by Hon. Charles Nagel, ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and ask you what agreement you had—what arrangement you made—for the publication?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Myself—no, sir. Right here is the statement "Everything contained in this is not copyrighted and can be republished by anybody." It does not need any arrangement at all.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the statement that the article is published by the courtesy of the American Leader. That is the heading under which it is printed.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mr. Nagel may have printed it. We did not print it.

Maj. HUMES. But they were reprinted in the Fatherland—the articles that appeared in the American Leader.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. If there is a general consent to republish articles from the Leader, that statement is unnecessary, that it is published by the courtesy of the Leader.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Many publications republish like we do from others, and from us.

Maj. HUMES. You did publish, and paid a contributing editor to write in the spring of 1915 in the Leader about the time this appeal was put out, an article advocating the same things as this advertisement was advocating, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Major, Mr. Nagel, when he agreed to act as our contributor, was understood fully at the time as an ex-member of the cabinet of the United States, that we would not interfere with what he wrote, and we never did.

Maj. HUMES. And was he confined to any particular subject?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; absolutely not.

Maj. HUMES. Did you always publish everything that the contributing editor sent in to you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To the best of my knowledge, yes; the ones we paid for.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to the American Leader of November 22, to an article by Nagel on the traffic in arms and munitions. Does not that article carry the same sentiment that is embraced in the "Appeal to the American People"?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have not seen it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not read the American Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do, but I do not remember every week nor every article. Mr. Nagel, I think, should take the responsibility, because of the arrangement we had with him.

Maj. HUMES. How much did you pay him?

Mr. HAMMERLING. $125 an article.
Maj. HUMES. And how frequently did his articles appear?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Pretty nearly every issue.
Maj. HUMES. Your magazine is a weekly?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Semimonthly.
Maj. HUMES. And he got $125 cash for each article?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.
Senator NELSON. Did John Koren contribute any articles?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember now. I do not think so, Senator.
Maj. HUMES. Does it strike you that there is anything peculiar about the fact that this article appears in the American Leader in April and the same article appears in the Fatherland at the same time that this appeal goes out to the American people?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I never suspected. I thought Mr. Nagel was an American, as honest as any that I know of in the United States, so his articles when he sent them in were printed, to the best of my knowledge. Of course Mr. Caldwell had charge of that department most of the time.
Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Stephen Brosevich?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Never heard of him.
Maj. HUMES. He was formerly managing editor or something on Mr. Zotti's paper.
Mr. HAMMERLING. There are so many of those fellows, I do not remember him.
Maj. HUMES. You do not remember him?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not.
Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that Mr. Brosevich came to Washington and had a conference with Dr. Dumba, the Austrian representative, and came back to you with a letter of introduction or something from Dumba, and that you had him start a paper by investing $500?
Mr. HAMMERLING. If it can be produced then——
Maj. HUMES (interposing). Just answer the question.
Mr. HAMMERLING. False; I want never to leave Washington, if that is true. This is going a little too far. I think it is terrible that such blackmailing be admitted in this high body—the highest legislative body on earth—that such a crime could be produced. I want only the facts on this thing.
Senator OVERMAN. Just answer the question without remarks.
Mr. HAMMERLING. I know, but it puts my life out of me that such things should be said.
Maj. HUMES. Do you remember on one occasion when you bundled up four bunches of papers and sent them up to your house to be burned?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false. Can I answer this question?
Maj. HUMES. Go ahead.
Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1913 we moved our office from the World Building to the Woolworth Building, and it takes a few carloads of stuff to clean out our place twice a year. It takes about two carloads to clean out the papers. But when we moved our records like orders that we received from clients and things, we had previously had one of our employees steal some of our records, so that instead of leaving them in the World Building to burn up, as the superintendent said it

was against the rules of building to do so, the manager of the Mansfield, where I lived, said that we could take them there and burn them up.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that when these papers were taken to your house to be destroyed you discovered that the house was being heated other than by a furnace and that it was impossible to burn them, and you said you would take care of them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know anything about that. The building is still standing there, and the manager would be glad to tell you if he remembers.

Maj. HUMES. In 1915 and 1916 did you not have a good deal of correspondence with a man named Heinrich, of Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What became of that correspondence?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think it is there.

Maj. HUMES. In 1915?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If 1915, it is not there. We keep only one year's papers.

Maj. HUMES. We subpœnaed the correspondence with brewers or anyone in connection with the propaganda.

Mr. HAMMERLING. We have hundreds of people that we deal with.

Maj. HUMES. Where is the correspondence you had with Paap?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It must be in the office. I was not asked to bring it.

Maj. HUMES. You were asked to bring it.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not understand so.

Maj. HUMES. Paap is a brewer, is he not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think he was an advertising manager of some concern. I did not know his business.

Maj. HUMES. You did not know his business?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He owns an interest in a brewery.

Maj. HUMES. We subpœnaed the correspondence you had had with brewers, did we not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was not in Paap's name. I would be glad to bring it.

Maj. HUMES. You also know that he is president of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, do you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To-day, maybe. I did not know it at that time. I do not think he was. I understood a man named Schmidt was president.

Maj. HUMES. Why did you insist on the Rumely money being paid in cash?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I never did anything of the kind. He handed me the money in cash. Nothing of the kind. If anybody says so, it is false.

Maj. HUMES. Did it not strike you as a rather peculiar thing that $100,000 cash currency should be given you instead of a check, in the ordinary course of a man's business?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To tell you the truth, it did. I was so glad to get the advertisement that the money looked better than the check.

Maj. HUMES. What was the company that Rumely was president of?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The Rumely Co., a $30,000,000 corporation.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not know at that time that the company was in the hands of a receiver?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; but he was such a big man I had no reason to suspect.

Maj. HUMES. What entry of this transaction did you make on your books?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Entry?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I turned over the money to the treasurer.

Maj. HUMES. How did you have it charged on your books?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Charged to Rumely.

Maj. HUMES. To Rumely personally?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And what is your practice with reference to your books; do you destroy them every year?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Every year. I do not have anything to do with that. It is the regular custom in New York business houses, and especially advertising, to throw out the paper that they are through with every year.

Maj. HUMES. Do you destroy your ledger records?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We do not keep a ledger.

Maj. HUMES. So you even destroy your financial records and all the records you have on the receipt and disbursement of money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The vouchers show this.

Maj. HUMES. But it does show receipt of money.

Mr. HAMMERLING. But we have a card, which I showed you. Our system is accepted by accountants that it is all right.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not one of the stipulations that you had with Rumely that the transaction was not to appear on the books?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false, if anyone made such a statement.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever know a man by the name of Horowitz, over in Scranton?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Wilkes-Barre: Joseph Horowitz. He is dead.

Maj. HUMES. What were your relations with him?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He was a very high-grade man. I had a great respect for him—if it is the same Horowitz. He was in the foreign-exchange business.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is the same man.

Maj. HUMES. You and he were very close friends?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I liked him; he was a very high-grade man, in my judgment. I understand he died two or three years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Now tell us about the transaction between you and Mr. Houston when you made the donation of $5,000.

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you will pardon me [referring to certain papers] I want to recall the transaction. I was asked some time during the year 1917 by Mr. Houston to serve on a committee of 17, on the advertising board, and naturally I accepted. I was in Chicago at the time and came back and attended a meeting—a couple of meetings.

Senator OVERMAN. What Houston is this?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Herbert Houston, the partner of the ex-Ambassador to England, Mr. Page, connected with World's Work. And

while on this committee, as the gentlemen have no doubt read the correspondence, you notice that I contributed only $5,000. I heard that the thing was not as represented, and sent in and found out through the Treasury Department that this committee was not a Government committee, that they had nothing to do with it, and did not want to recognize it, for the reason that they wanted to get money from the Government for paid advertisements. I understand from Mr. Houston—the correspondence corroborates my statement—that it was not a Government institution and therefore I did not have any right to contribute this money from my company—besides the State laws of New York did not permit it—and I did it in haste, and I asked this money back. I finally turned the money back to the company and Mr. Houston paid me back $4,200, and the balance I finally contributed so as to get rid of it.

Maj. HUMES. The reason I am asking about this, Mr. Hammerling, is that I want to clear the thing up.

Mr. HAMMERLING. We finally got the money back, and here is what we spent it for. [Indicating.] We took a page in the New York Times, the Sun, World, Tribune, and Chicago—I do not remember whether it was the Tribune or the Examiner—and the Cleveland Plain Dealer, some name like that, eight of our papers, and not only spent this money from the agency, but spent $3,200, to show the American people what the foreign-language papers were doing with the Liberty Loan. That is all I can answer on the Houston question, Major, unless you want to go into details. I would have to look it over.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Hammerling, I want to try to refresh your recollection on two or three matters. Is it not a fact that you first returned to Austria about 1893?

Mr. HAMMERLING. 1893? No, sir; it was not.

Maj. HUMES. About 1893?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never.

Maj. HUMES. And did you not at that time seek the father of the girl that you married, saying that you wanted to marry her so that you could escape the draft in Austria?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Utterly false.

Maj. HUMES. And did you not then go into the Austrian Army?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. When I was taken in there, when I was called, I was laid up with an abscess, and they put me in a hospital and I went to the hospital; never in the army.

Maj. HUMES. You were in the service for a while?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not a day.

Maj. HUMES. You left on a furlough and came back while on a furlough?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you were on a furlough when you were married?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And did not the Austrian Government notify you after some little time, after your furlough had expired?

Mr. HAMMERLING. And I came right here.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). That if you did not appear you would be prosecuted?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You borrowed the money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not have to borrow any money.

Maj. HUMES. You had money at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I had enough. I told you that I hired myself out.

Maj. HUMES. How old were you at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I was about 27. It was either in 1896 or 1897.

Maj. HUMES. What are the ages of compulsory military service in Austria?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Between 21 and 23 at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Then, if you were 26 or 27, how did they happen to call you for military service?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that when they want to examine you, and you are sick, they may call you any time. It depends on the condition of the regiment to which you are assigned.

Maj. HUMES. You went from your home to Bremen, Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. When you were in Bremen you communnicated with your wife and told her how she could find out where you had gone?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember it.

Maj. HUMES. And did you not leave word there that you had gone to South America?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false. She knew as much where South America was as I did where Jerusalem was.

Maj. HUMES. Now, is it not a fact that your wife came to this country about 1897?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not have the year exactly, Major. I told you she came after I did. You just said 1897 or 1898.

Maj. HUMES. I am accepting your dates up to this time. I am asking you about some other dates. Was it not in 1897 that your wife came to this country and you found out that she was living in Philadelphia, and did you not write to her from Honolulu?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did, yes, sir; and I came right here; but I do not remember the year.

Maj. HUMES. She had been in Philadelphia about six months when you notified her that you were in Honolulu?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and I came right away.

Maj. HUMES. And about three months after that you came and joined them in Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did not your father-in-law send you the railroad ticket from San Francisco to Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Are you on friendly terms with your father-in-law?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think not.

Maj. HUMES. Are you on friendly terms with your brother-in-law?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The worst blackmailer that ever lived.

Maj. HUMES. Your associates seem all to be blackmailers.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; that is what some of them were.

Maj. HUMES. How did you happen to be friendly with them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was not. That is the misfortune. You gentlemen do not know the kind of people that exist in this country. If

you deal with 2,000 people, and you find 3 or 4 of that kind, it is not so bad.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, in 1904, tell your wife and her family that you were there at Wilkes-Barre, and that you were going to live with them in Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Will you say you did or did not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not buy a house in Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Where was that house?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I bought two; one on Spruce Street and one of them near the park. I do not remember the street, Major.

Maj. HUMES. And you opened an office in Philadelphia, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. What was your business?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not an office. I bought some interest in a lubricating company.

Maj. HUMES. In a lubricating company?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. How long did you engage in this business?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I was here a year and a half or so, but I was not running the business. I was interested. I was an officer in the company.

Maj. HUMES. After engaging in the business in Philadelphia for some time—

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was still keeping my home in Wilkes-Barre.

Maj. HUMES. You maintained two homes?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I always had only one home, Wilkes-Barre.

Maj. HUMES. You were engaged in business in Philadelphia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was not; I was coming to Philadelphia to see—I was interested in this lubricating company.

Maj. HUMES. Then some short time afterward you went back to Austria and Germany, did you not—or went to Europe, in other words—about 1905?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went to Europe the first time I could after 1908, after the amnesty, as they would have taken me into the army before.

Senator NELSON. You went to Galicia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I could not go there without that paper being passed first. But I think I was in Italy and the other parts of Europe before.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that before you ever went to Europe on that occasion, your wife pointed out to you that you could not go to Austria because you were a political offender, and did you not say to her that you were not afraid and that you had your discharge, and did you not pull it out of your pocket and show it to her at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false.

Maj. HUMES. When you went back you went to Carlsbad, among other places?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did, sir. This was in 1909 or 1910.

Maj. HUMES. How long were you over there on that trip?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About three months or three and a half months.

Maj. HUMES. And when you came back you told your wife that you wanted to sell out and go back to Austria—wanted to leave the United States—did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Well, was that your sentiment when you came back.

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Was that the time you acquired this estate in Austria?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; in 1911.

Senator NELSON. May I ask a question there? How big is that estate?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About 600 acres.

Senator NELSON. Have you got tenants running it for you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. I had had my own men running it.

Senator NELSON. You hired them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Had a manager there?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. This is all under cultivation?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. What is it worth?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, before the war they claimed it was worth a couple of hundred thousand dollars.

Maj. HUMES. Have you ever said that it was worth half a million?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Never said that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. When you came back from Austria did you not tell your wife that you had enough money to live for the rest of your life, and that you had no love for this country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Absolutely false. Is this her statement, Major?—pardon me.

Maj. HUMES. That does not make any difference, although it does not happen to be.

Mr. HAMMERLING. If it is my brother-in-law, you want to look out and see what he is before you take him seriously.

Maj. HUMES. He is a blackmailer, is he?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; one of the worst kind.

Maj. HUMES. At that time, after you came back you sent your wife back to Austria, did you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. She went back for her vacation.

Maj. HUMES. And you sold your house in Philadelphia at that time, and you told her at that time that you wanted time to wind up your business in this country, and then you would join her?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is absolutely false.

Maj. HUMES. You did follow her, did you? You went over shortly after that and stayed over there a little while and then came back again?

Mr. HAMMERLING. What year was that?

Maj. HUMES. I do not know. That is what I am asking you.

Mr. HAMMERLING. She went over there in 1911, when I bought that place.

Maj. HUMES. When you bought her a place?

Mr. HAMMERLING. When I bought her that farm; yes.
Maj. HUMES. She went over at that time?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. And you bought this farm at that time?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. After that you bought a house in Brooklyn, did you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Not after that; no. I bought a house in Brooklyn before that.
Maj. HUMES. You lived there a couple of years after that, after you and your wife came back from Austria, did you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not go to Austria.
Maj. HUMES. You went over after she went over?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; that was after I sold the house in Brooklyn.
Maj. HUMES. After you both went to Austria, did you not live in Brooklyn for a couple of years?
Mr. HAMMERLING. After I came back?
Maj. HUMES. Yes.
Mr. HAMMERLING. No.
Maj. HUMES. When did you live in Brooklyn for those couple of years?
Mr. HEMMERLING. I think in 1909 and 1910.
Maj. HUMES. Was that before your wife went to Austria?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. I know, according to when I sent my boys. I sent the boys to school in England at the same time, seven years ago.
Maj. HUMES. Did you not send your wife to Austria twice, once before you acquired this estate and then once after you acquired it?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I think she went over a couple of times with the children to a summer resort.
Maj. HUMES. Did you not say to her that you would arrange your business in this country so you could live in Austria and attend to it from there?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.
Maj. HUMES. Attend to it here?
Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.
Maj. HUMES. And you say that you had authority to sign the names of all these foreign newspapers, and that you have the record of it?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Every one of them, but outside of yourself or any one you would designate, I would not leave them here.
Maj. HUMES. I want you to find them and put them in order, so that we can look at them. Have you got them in the order in which the names appear?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I think so.
Maj. HUMES. All right. We will check them over when we get leisure.
Mr. HAMMERLING. I am willing to stay here all night if you want to, to tell every name, until every name is verified on this list that I have there. Of course, I am appearing continuously, I think for six or eight months anyhow. I could stay all night if you want me to.

Senator OVERMAN. It is nearly 6 o'clock, and I think we had better adjourn until half past 10 to-morrow. How long will it take you to finish with this witness?

Maj. HUMES. I do not think it will take a great while longer. I would like to check over a great mass of stuff and see if it has been covered. I do not think it will take very long to finish with him in the morning.

Senator OVERMAN. Then we will adjourn until half-past 10 tomorrow morning.

(Accordingly, at 5 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m., the committee adjourned until Wednesday, December 4, 1918, at 10.30 a. m.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m. in room 226, Senate Office Building, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), King, Wolcott, Sterling, and Nelson.

Senator OVERMAN. You may proceed, Maj. Humes.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LOUIS N. HAMMERLING—Resumed.

Mr. HAMMERLING. With your permission may I correct a statement?

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling wants to correct a statement he made yesterday.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I made a statement yesterday about when I found out that I was born in 1870 instead of 1874; and last night I was thinking, and I found a card on which is written the date, the card being dated June 9, 1917, about a year and a half ago.

Maj. HUMES. And the card you use to refresh your recollection is of the military enrollment of the State of New York?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That was made in June, 1917?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you secure that information as to the date of your birth just at that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About that time.

Maj. HUMES. What called it to your attention at that particular time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They told me that I should not make an affidavit.

Maj. HUMES. Who told you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. My relatives told me not to make any affidavit.

Maj. HUMES. Not to make any affidavit; and then when they told you to make no affidavit, what investigation did you make as to your correct age?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went to my uncle and he told me that.

Maj. HUMES. You went to your uncle, and your uncle is your authority for the statement that you were born in 1870 instead of 1874?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then this investigation, resulting in making you four years older than you thought you were, came about as the result of a prospective military enrollment?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I beg your pardon—for the reason that my sister, who comes from the second mother of my father's marriage, is 45 years old, and she lives in New York and has 3 children.

Maj. HUMES. But you made this investigation because of a prospective military enrollment?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; they made me do it. They asked me to do it.

Maj. HUMES. Your family made you do it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You were not interested in it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No.

Senator OVERMAN. You knew how old you were when you came here, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I did not. I was too young.

Senator OVERMAN. You were nine years old when you came here?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. And too young to know that you were nine years old?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In our country, it is. We have no schools nor any system of education nor anything. I never saw a school in my life.

Senator OVERMAN. You have never been to school?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; never have been.

Maj. HUMES. It was on the theory that you were born in 1874 that you said you were 9 years old when you came to this country, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You must have been 13 or 14 years old, then, if you were born in 1870.

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I do not know about that. I always claim I was 9 years old when I came. They would not let me work in the mines. This could be verified.

Maj. HUMES. Here is a paper which I will ask to have marked "Exhibit 1140." Mr. Hammerling, I show you a photostat of a letter signed by you, on the letterhead of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, and ask you if that is a letter sent out by you.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Sent out by the association.

Maj. HUMES. And signed by you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. This was a letter sent out in interest of the signatures and support of the foreign-language press, in signing the appeal.

Senator OVERMAN. Support to what? What is that letter about?

Maj. HUMES. It is a letter that he sent to the foreign-language newspapers to get their consent to sign this appeal.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you going to make use of it?

Maj. HUMES. I was going to offer it to be printed in the record.

Senator OVERMAN. You are not going to read it?

Maj. HUMES. That depends on the desire of the committee.

Senator OVERMAN. I think you had better read it.

Maj. HUMES. Very well, I will read the letter:

EXHIBIT No. 1140.

Telephone, Barclay 5592–5593. Chicago Office, People's Gas Building. American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Woolworth Building.

NEW YORK, *March 27th, 1915*:

To the publishers.

MY DEAR SIR: Since August 1st we have made a careful study of the serious and world-wide affect of the dreadful conflict now going on in Europe from every viewpoint and we have come to the conclusion that the 33,000,000 foreign born residents and citizens of the United States, including those of foreign parentage, are directly affected without exception as most of them have their brothers, sisters, parents or relatives in the warring countries. This does not mean that the American people and the American nation as a whole are not gravely affected, but we are more closely linked with the warring nations and are feeling the effects more every day.

We believe that the plea of the widowed mothers, children and orphans of Europe to us should cause us in turn to appeal to the American people, to the American manufacturer of powder and shot and to the workmen engaged in these plants devoted to the manufacture of ammunition of any description to immediately cease manufacturing this powder, shrapnel, and bullets destined to destroy our brothers, widow our sisters and mothers and orphan their children. We believe this should cease no matter if the workmen lose their positions as a consequence. The patriotism of the American people, the integrity of the American manufacturer and the honor of the workman are such that we must prove to the world that money soaked with the blood of humanity cannot purchase them.

We, therefore, ask you in the name of humanity, justice and true spirit of neutrality to do everything in your power, through your newspaper, your societies, and your churches to bring about an end to the manufacture, sale and shipping of ammunition of any kind or description to the warring countries for the purpose of destroying and mutilating humanity.

We are preparing an appeal to the American people, manufacturers and workmen in this connection and we are enclosing herewith a blank and ask you to sign it and return to us in the enclosed stamped envelope on behalf of your publication. This work has been undertaken in the name of humanity, the spirit of patriotism and is being supported by small contributions to cover the expenses of the work. We, therefore, ask you to extend the influence of your paper and join us in this laudable undertaking and we hope that your name will appear as one of the signers of the appeal we are preparing and which is for the preservation of the lives and happiness of our brothers, without regard to creed, color or nationality; they are all our brethren.

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
LOUIS HAMMERLING, *President*.

Now that is the communication that you sent to all of the foreign language press of the country, is it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. As a result of your talk with Dr. Rumely?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. At the time you sent out this letter you knew that this appeal was not being financed by small contributions——

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not know that, Major, if you will pardon me.

Maj. HUMES. Just wait until I finish my question. At the time you sent out this letter you knew that it was not being supported by small contributions that covered the expense of the work, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that the money was to come from Dr. Rumely, didn't you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He said he got it from patriotic Americans.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you not say yesterday that he said he got it from rich friends?

Mr. HAMMERLING. From patriotic——

Senator WOLCOTT. Friends.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Friends, or Americans.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you not testify here yesterday that he told you that they were wealthy people who were putting up this money?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If I said it, I said it.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you get any small contributions in response to this letter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We did not; no, sir. All the money we got was from Dr. Rumely.

Senator NELSON. Is this what you had published in your advertising papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The same thing.

Senator NELSON. All over?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. How many of these foreign newspapers responded to that letter?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think—I really don't know the number.

Senator OVERMAN. What per cent?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The majority. I don't know how many.

Maj. HUMES. I think there were over 400 whose names appear on the appeal.

Senator NELSON. I would like to have a copy of that letter.

Maj. HUMES. We have some extra copies, and I will see that you get a copy of it, Senator.

Senator NELSON. Will you supply me with a set of copies? I want to use them.

Maj. HUMES. We will get the set together for you. Now, Mr. Hammerling, in this letter you also appealed to them to use the influence of their papers and their editorial columns to prevent the manufacture of munitions and the shipment of them, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The letter speaks for itself, Major. The letter was not made out by me; it was made out by Mr. Rumely and myself.

Maj. HUMES. As I understand, you said yesterday that your only interest in this transaction was purely a commercial interest.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is all it was.

Maj. HUMES. As an advertising proposition.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is all it was.

Maj. HUMES. Then a portion of the consideration to be given by you, a portion of the service to be rendered by you, was your influence with the foreign-language press of the country, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Shall I answer that?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. The average papers, including the largest in the United States, support their advertisers in different ways. I am simply doing what I learned in this country from the American newspaper people in the way they are doing it. There is hardly an

advertiser who is not asked if he wants something in that paper when he advertises.

Maj. HUMES. Then your practice in conducting your advertising business is to undertake to use your influence to deliver the editorial support of the paper to the advertisers, no matter who the advertisers are. Is that correct?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is, in a general proposition, Major.

Maj. HUMES. You say that is a common practice?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I mean as a whole. Many papers also will say many things, if their business manager would not have to consult with the editors.

Maj. HUMES. You did use your influence to furnish the editorial support of the papers in consideration for the advertising which was being furnished?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not furnish any editorial support in my life to anybody.

Maj. HUMES. I said your influence to secure editorial support.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know.

Maj. HUMES. That letter appeals for that support, does it not? Now, Mr. Hammerling, you made a statement to the Alien Property Custodian in regard to this matter, did you not—to Mr. White, who represented the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Over my signature?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know anything about it.

Maj. HUMES. That is your signature, is it?

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examination). Yes; it is.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not at that time say that you had said to Mr. Rumely, "I also stated that the copy which would go into our papers and be sent out by the association would have to be written by ourselves, to which he agreed"?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; including himself. Yes; he was there. We could not do it without his "O. K."

Maj. HUMES. Then you insisted upon controlling the character and contents of this advertisement when you negotiated this with Mr. Rumely?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that I had the signatures of the papers, and I thought it was my duty to do that. I did not want anything without it.

Maj. HUMES. Then you are absolutely responsible for the contents of this appeal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know—whatever you gentlemen say.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Rumely acquiesced in your demand that you prepare the advertisement, did he not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. He was there to prepare it. I did not know anything about that thing.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were all responsible for it, were you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am supposed to be, and I am perfectly willing to take the responsibility, if it is put on me. And I want to be punished if it was such a thing as I ought to be punished for.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also exact as a requirement from Dr. Rumely that this advertisement must be printed in some of the English-language newspapers?

Maj. HUMES. Then this investigation, resulting in making you four years older than you thought you were, came about as the result of a prospective military enrollment?

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Senator OVERMAN. What per cent?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The majority. I don't know how many.

Maj. HUMES. I think there were over 400 whose names appear on the appeal.

Senator NELSON. I would like to have a copy of that letter.

Maj. HUMES. We have some extra copies, and I will see that you get a copy of it, Senator.

Senator NELSON. Will you supply me with a set of copies? I want to use them.

Maj. HUMES. We will get the set together for you. Now, Mr. Hammerling, in this letter you also appealed to them to use the influence of their papers and their editorial columns to prevent the manufacture of munitions and the shipment of them, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The letter speaks for itself, Major. The letter was not made out by me; it was made out by Mr. Rumely and myself.

Maj. HUMES. As I understand, you said yesterday that your only interest in this transaction was purely a commercial interest.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is all it was.

Maj. HUMES. As an advertising proposition.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is all it was.

Maj. HUMES. Then a portion of the consideration to be given by you, a portion of the service to be rendered by you, was your influence with the foreign-language press of the country, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Shall I answer that?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. The average papers, including the largest in the United States, support their advertisers in different ways. I am simply doing what I learned in this country from the American newspaper people in the way they are doing it. There is hardly an

advertiser who is not asked if he wants something in that paper when he advertises.

Maj. HUMES. Then your practice in conducting your advertising business is to undertake to use your influence to deliver the editorial support of the paper to the advertisers, no matter who the advertisers are. Is that correct?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is, in a general proposition, Major.

Maj. HUMES. You say that is a common practice?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I mean as a whole. Many papers also will say many things, if their business manager would not have to consult with the editors.

Maj. HUMES. You did use your influence to furnish the editorial support of the papers in consideration for the advertising which was being furnished?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not furnish any editorial support in my life to anybody.

Maj. HUMES. I said your influence to secure editorial support.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know.

Maj. HUMES. That letter appeals for that support, does it not? Now, Mr. Hammerling, you made a statement to the Alien Property Custodian in regard to this matter, did you not—to Mr. White, who represented the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Over my signature?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know anything about it.

Maj. HUMES. That is your signature, is it?

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examination). Yes; it is.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not at that time say that you had said to Mr. Rumely, "I also stated that the copy which would go into our papers and be sent out by the association would have to be written by ourselves, to which he agreed"?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; including himself. Yes; he was there. We could not do it without his "O. K."

Maj. HUMES. Then you insisted upon controlling the character and contents of this advertisement when you negotiated this with Mr. Rumely?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that I had the signatures of the papers, and I thought it was my duty to do that. I did not want anything without it.

Maj. HUMES. Then you are absolutely responsible for the contents of this appeal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know—whatever you gentlemen say.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Rumely acquiesced in your demand that you prepare the advertisement, did he not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. He was there to prepare it. I did not know anything about that thing.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were all responsible for it, were you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am supposed to be, and I am perfectly willing to take the responsibility, if it is put on me. And I want to be punished if it was such a thing as I ought to be punished for.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also exact as a requirement from Dr. Rumely that this advertisement must be printed in some of the English-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. If this was a purely commercial transaction, why did you require of him that the advertisement be inserted in some English-language papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. For the reason that I did not think we could handle this advertising and accomplish what he wanted to accomplish by putting it simply in our papers.

Maj. HUMES. Then your purpose was to pursue a policy that would accomplish the purpose Mr. Rumely had in mind in sending it out?

Mr. HAMMERLING. He was the advertiser. He was an advertiser, that is all I knew about it.

Maj. HUMES. You wanted to assist him in accomplishing your purpose?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Just as people leave it to us to place any business.

Senator OVERMAN. You wanted to put it in the English papers to accomplish the purpose of your advertising?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Of the advertising. It was not my advertising.

Senator OVERMAN. You said you wanted to put it in the English-language papers in order to accomplish your purpose.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not my purpose—his purpose. He wanted this advertising to be placed before the American people, before the people who either manufacture these munitions or the workmen who make them, and, as I stated yesterday, the men who inquired in a few places stated that the majority of them were American-born men who worked in these factories.

Senator NELSON. Why were you anxious to have it in American papers? Why were you anxious to have this published in American papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was not anxious. I simply suggested it.

Senator NELSON. How is that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I told them.

Senator NELSON. I am not asking you what you told him; I am asking you why you were so anxious.

Mr. HAMMERLING. For no particular reason but what I stated.

Senator WOLCOTT. See if I state your position correctly. This man Rumely came to you to get publicity for this idea?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. And as an expert advertising man you said, "If you want to give it wide publicity, use not only our papers but the English-language papers." Is that the idea?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Exactly. That was the idea I wanted to convey.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not your purpose, in requiring that it should be published in English-language papers, to prevent yourself and the foreign-language press from being placed in the position of exclusively conducting this particular kind of German propaganda?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. That was not your reason?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir. I had no idea that it was German propaganda. As I said yesterday, and will repeat, if your honored body think I did know it, I want to be punished to the limit, and the first one to be hanged in the United States, and if you don't do it you are not doing your duty, if anybody can prove I had anything to do

with any German propaganda. I would be the last man on earth to destroy my home, and I can not stand anything like this.

Senator STERLING. You knew it would have a wider influence if published in the English-language papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. This was a time when advertising was bad, and when that man said he would spend $200,000, I am frank to admit I was so enthused about it that I took it, and I did not give it any thought.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not say that you could not accept the business and undertake this work for $100,000?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; it could not pay the bill.

Maj. HUMES. You insisted on the full $205,000?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, if he had had more—if he could have paid more—I would have asked him to pay more.

Maj. HUMES. And yet you were not so anxious to secure advertising that you were willing to do this advertising unless Dr. Rumely assured you that it would simultaneously appear in English-language papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't think I understand that, Major.

Maj. HUMES. You demanded of Dr. Rumely that he give you absolute assurance that this would appear in English-language papers at the same time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did.

Maj. HUMES. And you did not want this $200,000 worth of advertising badly enough to take the money unless you knew it was going to appear in English-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't see why I didn't want it. The more papers it went in, the more commission we made.

Senator NELSON. How much did you get out of the $205,000?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I got our commission, from 10 to 15 per cent—whatever the papers say.

Senator NELSON. How much in the aggregate?

Mr. HAMMERLING. About $30,000, I should say.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, you say you only received the commissions. Is it not a fact that you did not pay the foreign-language newspapers of this country as much as $25,000 for the advertising space that they gave you on this?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is absolutely false. Every time I will give just the same answer.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any record to show how much you paid to each one of these papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The papers have it. Every paper has it.

Maj. HUMES. I have a report here from a very considerable number of these papers—from the papers themselves. The ones I have heard from indicate that they have received not to exceed $14,000 for the publication of this advertisement from you. Do you question the accuracy of their report to this committee?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do; yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are not prepared to say that, are you? You do not know how many papers are represented in these reports.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not. Pardon me. I simply answer that I do not know how many papers there are. Thank you, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. Of course, a certain number of papers would not receive over $14,000—five or six papers, say?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How many foreign-language newspapers were there that received nothing?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know.

Maj. HUMES. I have here a bundle of a good many of the papers who signed this, who say, in communications addressed to this committee, that they received nothing for the publication of this appeal.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Some of them have not been used; no, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any way of checking to determine whether the information that they are furnishing to this committee is correct?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I have not.

Senator OVERMAN. Have you a list of those that did receive money from you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; we do not have it now.

Senator NELSON. What have you done with the list?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I was saying that every year, when the year is over, like 1916, the records are put away, as long as we are in business.

Maj. HUMES. How does it come that you kept these signed authorizations to sign that appeal, and yet you kept no record of the payments you made to the papers for printing it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. These authorizations, that I kept, I always kept those. Those are the arrangements for everything that we have. We have kept that in our box, so that at any time any papers that say they did not sign it, we always have it in our vaults.

Senator OVERMAN. How did you pay—by check?

Mr. HAMMERLING. By check and cash; just as we always do.

Senator OVERMAN. Whom did you pay by cash?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not do the paying. I don't think I paid one.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you destroy your checks?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Where are those checks?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We did not pay with checks. We paid with vouchers.

Senator OVERMAN. Vouchers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The voucher system.

Senator OVERMAN. Is the voucher destroyed?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know if they are there for that year. I don't know.

Maj. HUMES. Here are the so-called authorizations that you have produced, purporting to have been signed by each one of the newspapers that signed the appeal.

Mr. HAMMERLING. That list; yes.

Maj. HUMES. And that is the only record of any kind that you have preserved of this transaction?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I have the copy, and I have the letter we sent out with it. That is all the thing we kept.

Maj. HUMES. But you kept no record of the financial transaction?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not keep them.

Senator OVERMAN. Did Dr. Albert tell you to make a statement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have to present the bill—the mechanical work connected with that thing cost a great deal of money. Dr. Rumely

asked me to hand it in, and I have handed it in to him. I had it ready for him.

Senator OVERMAN. He told you he wanted it sent to Dr. Albert?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; he did not. He introduced me to Dr. Albert.

Maj. HUMES. Did you go on record yourself in favor of this propaganda that you were advertising?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have not had any propaganda at all.

Maj. HUMES. Is not this a propaganda—this appeal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I do not call it such.

Maj. HUMES. You do not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you advocate, personally or through your association, an adherence to the embargo that was advocated in the appeal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. You are the editor and publisher of the American Leader, are you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am one; yes.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a copy of the American Leader of April 22. and the leading editorial.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, this here has not been written by me.

Maj. HUMES. It is the leading editorial in the magazine that you own and control, is it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, it is all right—do you mean commenting on it?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. This is done by the editor, Mr. Caldwell; yet I am willing to take the full responsibility.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say you will not assume responsibility for the articles appearing in the Leader?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Jointly, I suppose I have to; I don't know.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to this editorial, appearing in the American Leader of April 22, 1915, which I will read to you:

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE EDITORS APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

A truly astounding instance—

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you will pardon me, can I interrupt you? I remember Mr. Caldwell bringing that to my attention. He said this editorial appeared in the New York Evening Post, and he asked me if he should copy it, and I said I did not know anything about it. I remember the incident; and, if you will examine the New York Evening Post, you will see that we copied it.

Maj. HUMES. You did not give the New York Evening Post credit for it.

Mr. HAMMERLING. We never do.

Maj. HUMES. Then you printed it as an original editorial?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I understood so from Mr. Caldwell at the time.

Maj. HUMES. And the purpose of the American Leader was to put out editorial matter that could be copied and used by the foreign-language newspapers of the country, was it not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If they wanted to; yes.

Maj. HUMES. In this editorial you say:

A truly astounding instance of the democratizing effect which residence in this country has upon strangers from foreign lands is the "Appeal to the American people," which a large number of the editors of foreign-language newspapers of this country have signed and caused to be published, in full-page display, in some of their own papers and in the chief papers printed in the English language. It is a fine thing to realize that in this broad, free land, members of all of the chief races of the earth can touch shoulders in daily toil and come to know and respect one another. The national hatreds, so natural in Europe, are here largely rubbed away under the leveling influence of our tolerant and liberal institutions. The cosmopolitan character of our population tends to destroy prejudice. Knowledge of a people breeds sympathy and respect for their qualities. We no longer generalize about the Swedes, the Poles, the Germans, or the French, because we have met so many worthy specimens of each, and have come to know that a gentleman is a gentleman the world over no matter what language he speaks; and that a good workman is a good workman no matter what hill or valley of Europe he originally came from.

And, now, when our Government is striving so hard to maintain, officially, a strict neutrality in the present European conflict, it is a fine thing to see so many of the leaders of thought and the shapers of popular opinion among the various language groups of our population come thus voluntarily and frankly out with a plea that the American people, as a whole, attempt to shorten the war, not only by general suggestions offered from time to time to the belligerent peoples, but by a definite and active program of our own, calculated to reduce the number of days of strife and misery in this most brutalizing of modern wars. Among the petitioners are Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Italians, French—in fact, members of all the non-English-speaking belligerent nations (except Germany), and with them all the adjacent neutral countries.

But is a significant fact that the list of signers, while representing all the principal races in this country, does not include the names of the publishers, managers, or editors of all the newspapers which go to make up the foreign-language press. This important fact emphasizes the too-little-known truth that the foreign press of this country is independent in policy and opinion. The papers of the country in each language differ among themselves in their attitude on vital questions and show the same individual independence of thought as do the big American dailies published in the English language.

Now, you published that with a view of having it republished in the foreign-language newspapers, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know. They can if they want to.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that this appeal was not the result of the independent thought of the foreign-language press, but was inspired by you and Dr. Rumely and prepared by you for their signature and for their publication, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I don't know.

Maj. HUMES. There you presented in that editorial to the public something that you knew was absolutely untrue?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have said how the thing happened, and this Senate committee can verify my statement. May I read from another editorial, which I was accused that it was not written by me, and the editor, Mr. Caldwell, who has been heralded as a Scotchman, has written me this note? I do not want to call any names.

Senator OVERMAN. When was it written?

Mr. HAMMERLING. August 13, 1914.

Senator OVERMAN. You can put in anything that you want.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I will consider it a privilege if you will permit me to do this.

Senator OVERMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I want to state how this came about. When I landed in Breslau, about the 28th of July, 1914, I read in the London Mail, I think, an article about the different crimes Austria had com-

mitted. I made some changes, and I dispatched it immediately to Mr. Caldwell, as I thought it was timely, and Mr. Caldwell states in his letter——

Senator WOLCOTT. You mean you sent him an article taken from the London Mail?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; changed to suit our purpose. I will read it. This was the leading editorial that day:

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 156.

AUSTRIA'S CRIMES.

The bloodiest conflict of recorded history is now on. Austria—the ferret of Europe, the chronic disturber of continental peace—has again plunged the civilized countries of Christendom into international warfare. The great English statesman, Gladstone, once asked, "Can anyone put his finger on any spot of the map where Austria has done any good?" But Gladstone died 16 years ago. What would he say of Austria's rôle during these later years? All over Europe there has been a rapid advance in civilization in which Austria has not fully participated. In diplomacy, her ways have been medieval, barbaric. Her present conduct is no exception.

After years of encroachment upon the Serbs, she annexed the Slavic countries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1909, without so much as a "thank you," and with Germany's full approbation. During the recent Balkan war, Austria tried once more to set the prime nations of Europe at one another's throats. But masterly diplomacy warded off the catastrophe. Now, hardly has the smoke of the Balkan war cleared from the skies, when Austria trumps up a charge against the small, exhausted state of Serbia. She accuses a whole race of an individual's murderous folly. She sends an imperious ultimatum to Belgrade. The Serbian Government, aware of its own comparative weakness, bows the knee to every condition of the offensive ultimatum save one, viz, that Austrian officials shall sit in the court which is to investigate the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his consort. To grant Austrian representation, under the circumstances, was to sign Serbia's own death warrant, since Austrian prejudices had already convicted Serbia. Furthermore, Serbia realized that she was not nationally responsible, and could not manfully bring herself to the admission of any such high-handed charge.

On this slim pretext—unprecedented in history—the great dual monarchy invaded depleted Serbia. Never was there such subserviency on the part of a weakened but proud nation; never was there such open violation of the basic usages of modern civilization on the part of a so-called civilized modern power. And, from these slight causes, all the armed strength of Europe is arrayed brother against brother.

And who is to bear the brunt of the war? With all the bourses of the world closed, with the merchant marine of the world nearly at a standstill, with prices soaring and famine staring even neutral countries in the face, who shall pay the piper? The Serbians are fighting the unsought aggression of a hated race; the Russians are supporting their kindred Slavs—but for what are the line-men of the Austrian ranks fighting? What shall they gain, even if they win—but impoverished fields and fortunes and the perpetuation of a mistrusted government?

To begin with, Austria is an artificially constituted empire. The Germanic blood of the ruling class constitutes less than a quarter of the total population, while the Slavic population of Austria numbers 46 per cent of the total inhabitants. Austria is made up of a variety of conflicting and unassimilable peoples—Bohemians, Moravians, Poles, Ruthenians, Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, Morlaks, Bulgarians, Italians, Armenians, Jews, Gypsies (100,000), Magyars, Germans, and Roumanians. What can we expect of national unity from this mixture of tongues and nationalities under a government which is unpopular with most of them? For what is the individual contending? What may he hope to reap as a reward, save death and further subjection?

Of the outcome of the gigantic slaughter, we can only hazard the possibilities. Among the plausible probabilities are: That France will endeavor to take back Alsace-Lorraine; that Serbia will secure Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as form a union with Montenegro; that these last-named countries, aided by

100,000 seasoned Greek allies, and thousands of Rumanians, will alone be able to hold Austria in check in the fastnesses of the Serbian hills; that Poland will seek this last favorable opportunity to achieve its freedom; that Great Britain will permanently cripple the German fleet, and thus destroy for a half century Germany's naval competition; that Russia will take part of the adjacent Austrian territory; and that there will arise from Austria's ruin a new Slavic union of small states. These loom up only as possibilities. Meanwhile, Italy has chosen wisely in electing to remain neutral, if possible.

One thing seems just now certain—the map of Europe will be fundamentally altered. Germany has bitten off a larger chunk than she can easily chew. Besides, she has alienated a lot of good feeling by disregarding the neutrality of Luxemburg, Belgium, and Switzerland, and by invading France before a declaration of war. The neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the treaty of 1864, signed in London, and Germany's utter disregard of her obligation in this matter has been the chief factor in dragging unwilling England into the war, thereby jeopardizing all of her marine movements.

The frightful toll of life and property will set Europe back nearly a quarter of a century. Germany has most to lose and seemed rashly willing to risk it. Her 40 years of tremendous industrial advance is now to be robbed of its chief benefits. Never was there waged so ruthlessly unjustifiable a war as the present, and no part of the world will fail to be harmed by its effects. We can be reconciled only by the meager confidence that much peace must follow.

Senator STERLING. From what did you read?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am reading from the American Leader, the leading editorial.

Senator STERLING. And that is an editorial that appeared, you say, in an English paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It appeared and we changed it. I gave the statistical figures, etc., and sent it in for our papers, for the Leader; yes, sir—made the changes.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, at the time that was printed in the American Leader you were in Europe, were you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. When had you gone to Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I went to Europe in April.

Maj. HUMES. You went there in April?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you had been in Europe continuously from April up until the time this was printed in the American Leader on the 13th of August.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And you were on the high seas, on your way back to this country, at the time this was printed on the 13th of August?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Here is the authority for it [producing paper].

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Hammerling, at the time that you were in Europe and at the time this was published, Mr. Arthur Gabriel was one of the vice presidents of your company, was he not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Armour Caldwell was the editorial writer?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And is it not a fact that when you came back to this country you took Mr. Caldwell to task for that editorial——

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is absolutely false.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). And threatened to dismiss him if he ever made a repetition of it; and did you not systematically go out to the foreign-language press of the country personally, or have your representatives go out personally, and apologize to them, and ex-

plain that it was written while you were out of the country, and was not a correct expression of your sentiments?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is absolutely false.

Maj. HUMES. You deny that, do you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I deny it. Mr. Caldwell denied it. He brought it to my attention.

Maj. HUMES. And this is a letter that Mr. Caldwell——

Mr. HAMMERLING. That Mr. Caldwell sent to me after Mr. Gabriel made that statement.

Maj. HUMES. Dated May 29, 1918?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; he handed me the letter without my suggestion.

Maj. HUMES. Do you want this to go in the record with that article?

Mr. HAMMERLING. If you say so.

Maj. HUMES. It is a matter of your desire.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. Let it go in.

(The letter referred to is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 1141.

[The American Leader. Published semimonthly by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers (Inc.), suite 908–926 Woolworth Building, New York City.]

MAY 29, 1918.

Mr. LOUIS N. HAMMERLING,
President American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers,
Woolworth Building, New York City.

DEAR MR. HAMMERLING: You asked me a few days ago from what source I secured the material for the editorial entitled "Austria's Crime," which appeared in The American Leader, in the issue of August 13, 1914. In reply I would state that, to the best of my memory, the editorial was based on a clipping received from you taken from an English newspaper, about which I wrote in the general editorial way.

Very cordially yours,

ARMOUR CALDWELL, *Editor.*

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, I show you an interview with you, published in the New York Times on April 6, to refresh your recollection, and ask if you authorized that interview, or if you ever saw it before?

Senator OVERMAN. What year?

Maj. HUMES. 1915, the day after the appeal was first printed.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; I remember that.

Maj. HUMES. You remember the interview?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not give any interview.

Maj. HUMES. You did not give any interview?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. You saw it published?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I saw it. It was brought to my attention.

Maj. HUMES. You never made a denial of it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I denied it every time.

Maj. HUMES. You never made any formal denial?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I denied it to every one that came out.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ask the Times to print any denial?

Mr. HAMMERLING. The Times is not the Government. I gave the Government of the United States, the Department of Justice, the information when I was asked. I do not see why I should give it to these papers.

Maj. HUMES. I should like to put that in the record; but I will read it in later and not take the time now.

There was something said yesterday about your testimony before Mr. Becker. I show you the stenographic report of your testimony there, and ask you if that stenographic report is a correct report.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know, Major. I have not read it. I did not see it.

Maj. HUMES. Well, glance at it.

Mr. HAMMERLING. They brought me over there in the excitement of a political campaign, and I really do not know. I was brought over from my farm Saturday afternoon, just like I had killed somebody. I do not know what was said there.

Maj. HUMES. If there was the excitement of a political campaign on, what were you doing out on your farm?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I had nothing to do with the campaign. Mr. Becker did.

Maj. HUMES. Oh, Mr. Becker?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not called before that committee in connection with the investigation of Mr. Rumely's activities?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; about Mr. Becker's election.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Becker's election?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Mr. Becker wanted some of this stuff to help him to be elected.

Maj. HUMES. To be elected what?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To be nominated—I beg your pardon—for Attorney General.

Maj. HUMES. And when was the primary?

Mr. HAMMERLING. A few days later, I think.

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Becker, or Mr. Lewis?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mr. Becker. Mr. Lewis ran for governor, I think.

(A gentleman in the hearing room stated that Mr. Becker was the candidate for Attorney General of the Republican party.)

Maj. HUMES (producing paper). On the 15th of July you signed this statement for Mr. White, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I did not. This statement I gave to Mr. Harper, of the district attorney's office; not to Mr. White.

Maj. HUMES. To Mr. Harper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. To Mr. Harper.

Maj. HUMES. You did that on the 15th day of July?

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examining paper). Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And as a result of this statement, then, in connection with the investigation of Mr. Rumely's affairs, you were called as a witness before Mr. Becker, were you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. I think so; yes.

Maj. HUMES. And do you deny that you made the statement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. Yesterday I heard you read that I said that Hawaii was the most wonderful country in the

world. I said it was the most beautiful country in the world, not the most wonderful. I am out of there 20 years, and still have marks on my back. I would not state here that it is wonderful. I say it is beautiful—beautiful flowers and beautiful country, but not a beautiful treatment. I would rather be dead than to have made such a statement.

Maj. HUMES. You also testified yesterday that your purpose in sending these men out to all the munition factories of the country was to find out what the condition of industrial rest or unrest was in those factories, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I did not.

Maj. HUMES. Why did you send these men out to Bethlehem and Bridgeport?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I stated that yesterday, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Well, I want to know. I have my recollection of what you said yesterday, but I seem——

Mr. HAMMERLING. I stated, and am very glad to repeat, that when this man wanted this advertising placed I said in the course of a week's negotiation, after talking to a few of the publishers, we should find out who these people were and where they were working; and he finally came in with a piece of yellow paper and brought in five or six or seven names, I do not remember just how many, and I handed it to the secretary of the company, Mr. Momand, and told him, as we do in other business transactions, "Send out these fellows to let them find out."

Maj. HUMES. What did you want that information for?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We wanted to know what papers to use. This was all in the negotiation, Major—how much money he was going to spend.

Maj. HUMES. He wanted to know the papers of which nationalities to use?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. This was in the talk. It was not agreed right there to put up $200,000. It takes a good solicitor to get $200,000 of advertising.

Maj. HUMES. Was it your purpose to buy special copies of papers with these advertisements in them?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I never buy any papers.

Maj. HUMES. Then you had to utilize the papers of the nationalities that were published in the various communities, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In the various communities?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, you mean where the munitions were made?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. To buy papers to distribute them?

Senator WOLCOTT. No; utilize them, use them.

Mr. HAMMERLING. There were no papers in the places that Mr. Momand told me, lately. Brooklyn had foreign-language papers. The other [illegible] that they went, I think, was Wilmington, and there [illegible]ge no foreign paper there; and some small town [illegible] was no paper there.

[illegible] Bridgeport?

[illegible] know. Somebody went to Bridgeport.

Maj. HUMES. There are foreign-language newspapers there, are there not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think there are.

Maj. HUMES. There are foreign-language newspapers at Bethlehem, are there not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. No, sir; there are not to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. You had the newspaper directory, and you were entirely familiar with the various nationalities of the papers published in these localities?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, but Major, the papers were not the question to consult. It was to find out what this man wanted.

Maj. HUMES. As a matter of fact, you found out that most of the employees were Americans, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Americans; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And then you insisted upon the advertisement being put in the American newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir. It was all in the negotiation.

Maj. HUMES. And your purpose was to lead workmen to quit employment?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was not my purpose at all. I had nothing to do with it. I placed the advertising.

Maj. HUMES. Of this $205,000 there was $48,000 paid for the publications in the English newspapers, was there not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Something like that. I could not swear to it.

Maj. HUMES. I show you your statement, made over your signature.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, something like that; I have not the exact figures.

Maj. HUMES. Refresh your recollection.

Mr. HAMMERLING (after examining statement). Yes; $48,000.

Maj. HUMES. $48,000?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I would not say it was exactly that.

Maj. HUMES. And the balance, $153,000, was used for the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. What English newspapers did you put it in?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In all the leading papers in the United States, the big papers; what they call the metropolitan papers, Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. You put it in as an advertisement?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; a page advertisement. That is all any newspaper had. I would not place anything else.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit No. 1143. Is that one of the authorities or authorizations that you secured from a newspaper to sign the name to the appeal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir. The seal shows it. It is a society paper, an independent church paper—a Polish independent church paper.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Mr. Mirski, the manager of that paper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; I am not.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to a letter which he has addressed to this committee, and ask you for your explanation of it.

(Maj. Humes here read the letter above referred to, which is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 1142.

THE POLISH WEEKLY STRAZ,
Scranton, Pa., November 21, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your favor of November 16 we must state as follows: In your letter you said: "Early in April, 1915, you published an advertisement entitled 'An appeal to the American people.' You also appear as one of the signers of that appeal."

We must deny of advertising such appeal in our paper Straz, we not received any money for such political advertising. And when some unfriendly newspapers published that Straz signed appeal of Mr. Hammerling to American people, Publishers of Straz have denied it in N. 16, April 22, 1915, in the follow statement: "In last week Mr. Hammerling from New York announced in appeal to American people that some Oskala from Straz signed this appeal. First we have not in editorial staff of Straz no such man Oskala, and secondly Straz as organ of the Church have nothing to do with politics and have no intention to defend of Germans. Publishers do not agree with this appeal and nobody of them signed it." To prove that our declaration is correct, we send to you the copy of mentioned paper, which you will be so kind to return after using. And if will be necessary we will be glad to send to you all our publications in April, 1915.

Very respectfully yours,

POLISH NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.
By G. MIRSKI, *Manager.*

Maj. HUMES. How do you account for that transaction, Mr. Hammerling?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I think it explains right here, Major. You can see the signature and the seal of the organization is there.

Maj. HUMES. Who is this man Oskala?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know, but Mirski is a new man there, and this is why he states it. The best thing is to send for him.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever see the denial that they published in their paper within two weeks after the publication of this appeal?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I never saw it. Maybe they did. I do not know.

Senator WOLCOTT. You say the explanation of it is here?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, absolutely. There is the official seal of the society, Senator. This is a society of an independent church. It belongs to a priest by the name of Father Hordor, and this publication is known all over the country as just what it represents. If I am permitted to say so, before I came here I heard from one of my men in the office that some of the publishers in New York said: "We will just dig out circulars for the United States Senate," and I wanted to be certain which ones it is, so that the Senate can send for these fellows that signed it and then said they did not sign it, you see. That is the way those fellows do business; and yesterday I checked up here with this gentleman to show that every signature on that paper is here.

Senator NELSON. Let us see that list.

Mr. HAMMERLING. You know some of the signatures, Senator, so you can see it.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, you sent all of these out by mail, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. All by mail; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. This was sent out under date of March 27, 1915. I notice that you have in your files the signed authority from a paper in Texas dated on the same day. How do you account for that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Maybe he has a man in New York. I do not know, Major. If you will let me see the paper I can tell you.

Maj. HUMES. I will come to it in a minute.

Mr. HAMMERLING. You see, a good many of those papers have representatives in New York, and we send all the mail, payments, orders, and everything to their representatives, just like the English papers do. Other papers have their representatives in Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and such places.

(At the request of Maj. Humes, the reporter marked as "Exhibit No. 1143" the letter of authority above referred to, dated Scranton, Pa., March 29, 1915, and signed "Polish National Publishing Company, publisher, F. Oskala," and bearing a seal reading: "The Polish National Publishing Company. Scranton, Pa. Seal. 1906.")

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, I have here all of these papers that deny that they ever signed or authorized you to sign this appeal.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I say it is false, Major, as we verified it last night with you.

Maj. HUMES. I do not want to take the time to go over them one by one.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I know; but do you not think I am entitled to that fairness from the Senate of the United States?

Senator OVERMAN. Did you check them over with Mr. Hammerling?

Maj. HUMES. I have what purports to be the authority attached to each letter and the letter of the publisher.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you check over with him to see whether these papers correspond to each other?

Maj. HUMES. I did not check all of them, but I checked the ones that I had information did not sign it. I did not undertake to go through the whole bunch. It would have taken two days to do that.

Senator WOLCOTT. You checked some of them with Mr. Hammerling?

Maj. HUMES. He picked out what he claims was the authority for the use of the name. We picked those out together here last night, and I have attached what he presents as his authority for the use of the name and the communication of the publisher denying that authority was ever given.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you want to put those in?

Maj. HUMES. I do not know what the desire of the committee may be on that subject. Of course, that is a question purely of veracity.

Senator WOLCOTT. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that if the committee consider it material, the people who undertake to repudiate the signature ought really to be summoned as witnesses, and not have them stick a letter in here.

Senator STERLING. How many are there that deny the authority, Major?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Thirty-six, exactly.

Maj. HUMES. I have forgotten the number.

Senator KING. I suppose Mr. Hammerling claims the authority from some writing?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Oh, yes.

Senator KING. So that there would be an equal dignity to the denial to the paper which he claims to be the authorization?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is right.

Senator WOLCOTT. The difference is that Mr. Hammerling supports the writing that he brings here with his oath. The other people do not support it with anything.

Maj. HUMES. But the disposition to be made of that matter can be considered by the committee.

Senator OVERMAN. Let the fact go in that 36 deny that they ever signed it.

Maj. HUMES. Yes, sir.

Senator WOLCOTT. Thirty-six deny by letter that they ever signed it.

Senator OVERMAN. Thirty-six deny by letter to this committee that they ever signed it.

Senator KING. Perhaps the names ought to be given to the reporter.

Maj. HUMES. There are several in which I am satisfied that the signatures are the same. In other instances the signatures do not correspond sufficiently that I can judge which is the correct signature.

Mr. HAMMERLING. No; but pardon me, Major; they change. Are they the same people?

Maj. HUMES. In some instances.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are there some instances, Maj. Humes, where the authorization to Mr. Hammerling seems to be signed by one official of the publication and the denial that comes to this committee is signed by a different person connected with that particular publication?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; there are instances of that; and there are instances where there is a denial that the man who purports to have signed the authorization to Mr. Hammerling, is or was ever connected with the paper or ever had any authority to sign.

Senator STERLING. How many authorizations are there about which there is no question?

Maj. HUMES. I do not know about the rest of these authorizations. We want an opportunity to check that over a little bit.

Mr. HAMMERLING. A little over 400, Senator—450.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Hammerling, I want to ask you one question with reference to the naturalization business.

Senator WOLCOTT. Maj. Humes, before you proceed with that, I should like to ask a question. Mr. Hammerling, referring to the authorizations that you have produced here and which you received, justifying the appending of these various names to the appeal, do you swear that you knew that the men signing them had authority to sign?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I could not swear to that, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. I will say to the committee that there are a great number of these that, because of the handwriting, we want an opportunity to go into pretty carefully. There are about 125 of

them in which the handwriting is of such a nature that we want to make an investigation of it.

Senator OVERMAN. All right; go ahead, Major.

Maj. HUMES. With reference to your naturalization, and the naturalization that was being carried on in the locality in which you resided at the time of your naturalization, was it a common practice there for aliens to be naturalized without regard to the length of residence in this country?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Before elections; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Before elections it was a common practice to bring in a lot of aliens and get them naturalized so as to qualify them for voters?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That was my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. Was there an organized effort being made in that community to carry on this practice?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not say in that community. It was all over the coal region.

Maj. HUMES. All over the anthracite-coal region?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; to my knowledge.

Maj. HUMES. Were there certain men there who made a business of rounding up these aliens and getting them in and getting them naturalized?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It did not require them. It was the county organizations; the political parties.

Maj. HUMES. The political parties?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you simply went along with that practice; one of these political organizations came to you and asked you to be naturalized, and they prepared your papers, and you paid no attention to them, and they went away?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They were not prepared at all. It was a regular thing to just put in the name. That is the way citizenship was given. Now it is changed. It is the United States Government. Before, it was a county court.

Senator OVERMAN. They naturalized you in order that you might vote in that election? Was that the reason?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. Who was it that came to you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember, Senator.

Senator STERLING. Where were you at the time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Wilkes-Barre, Pa. It is never more than about a week or two weeks before an election in that county that they tell you who they want elected. There is nothing wrong about it. It is done. If we have some town like Duryea, the election is over whenever the parties on both sides agree that such a man shall be elected.

I will give you an instance. We had a Congressman by the name of Henry W. Palmer, who was a very high-grade man. I worked under him in the United Charities. Mr. Palmer was a good man, but he recommended a postmaster not satisfactory to the Irish. In Wilkes-Barre they wanted a certain Irishman by the name of Athener. The district, as you gentlemen will see from the Congressional Directory, is overwhelmingly Republican, but we elected

John T. Lanahan with an overwhelming majority as a Democrat, for the reason that those were the instructions from the bosses—I mean from Washington, whoever is the head of the party.

Senator OVERMAN. Both sides agreed that he should be elected?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That John T. Lanahan should be elected against Mr. Palmer, and we elected him. It is a matter of record. Mr. Lanahan would be very glad to come here, and I can tell him to his face. He told me the night of the election; he said: "This is the biggest surprise I ever got in my life." He had no show.

Maj. HUMES. Naturalization frauds were a common practice up in the anthracite-coal region?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Nobody considered it a wrong thing to do. It was just done. When they were short of men in a certain district they used to send to another town, to Scranton, get a couple of carloads in, and vote them. That is absolutely true.

Senator OVERMAN. They sent them over by carloads?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; they sent them over by carloads. One man might go into 10 different places to vote—I mean the less intelligent ones—not only foreigners, but everybody.

Senator OVERMAN. They repeated, then?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. Nobody objected to it that I know of.

Maj. HUMES. And your activities in that particular were what got you into politics in New York, were they—your experience in that line?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Politics in New York? I have never been in politics in New York. They elected me against the most popular man in New York City for a delegate to the Republican national convention. I was elected against Oscar Straus. He was a Roosevelt man, and I happened to be against Roosevelt for the reason that when he went to Europe he wanted the foreigners to stand in parade and bow to him, and I, with my humble influence, said, "No"; and it was not done, and he knows it, too. So I was elected by an overwhelming majority against Oscar Straus as a delegate from New York. The people did not know me. They did not know anything about who they were voting for.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, are you acquainted with Mr. Byoir, of the Committee on Public Information?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Have you had any business transactions with him?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Never. I met him about a year ago in Chicago. He came over to see me there and asked me to go with him.

Maj. HUMES. Have you ever had any conference with him with reference to your affairs?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I saw Byoir a good many times. He asked me to do many things for the committee in regard to foreign papers. The last thing, gentlemen, is here, I think, that he wanted me to do. I am glad to have an opportunity, by the way, to show it. Mr. Byoir asked me to make a special campaign for the Provost Marshal General of the United States in behalf of the last registration, and I have a letter from the Provost Marshal General of September 26, acknowledging what I have done.

(The letter produced by the witness is here printed in full, as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 157.

Mr. LOUIS N. HAMMERLING,
Pres., American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers,
Woolworth Building, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I wish to express my appreciation and the appreciation of the War Department for the splendid support secured by you with the Foreign-Language Press in assisting to make the Selective Service Draft Registration a success. Many publishers of these papers have sent sample copies and clippings to this office, and they are revelations. Your ready response to my appeal for widespread announcement makes me confident of your future cooperation.

E. H. CROWDER,
Provost Marshal General.

By LUCIUS B. BARBOUR,
Capt. Inf. U. S. A.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Mr. Pruden?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with the Von Patten Agency?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Unfortunately, yes.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that even after the time that this country entered the war you sought and consulted with them about a publicity campaign that you proposed to put on immediately following the close of the war in behalf of German interests and looking to a reconciliation, commercially and otherwise, with Germany?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It is absolutely false, Major.

Maj. HUMES. All right, sir. Do you know Mr. John Nemath?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it or is it not a fact that in the fall of 1916, through him, you transferred a considerable sum of money from this country to Europe?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir; I never remember anything of the kind in 1916.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever, through Mr. Nemath, transfer a considerable sum of money at any time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Senator OVERMAN. You do not remember whether you sent any money over?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, not during 1916, Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. At any time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. At any time before, years ago?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I supported the entire family——

Senator OVERMAN. During the last six years?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; but I do not think I did it through Nemath. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. Did you transfer in 1916 a considerable sum of money through anybody else?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you transfer approximately $180,000?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not 180 cents to anybody. If it is produced here I want to be the first one shot in this country, and I am going to demand it by the justice of America, which I believe in, if I have done anything of this kind.

Senator OVERMAN. You did transfer money, you admit?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Before. This was maybe 10 years ago or so.

Senator OVERMAN. Not within 10 years?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Not during the war, Senator.

Maj. HUMES. There is no charge of illegality in the case of that particular transaction.

Mr. HAMMERLING. But I would not do it. To whom shall I transfer money? I have nobody there. My place was destroyed. My people were killed.

Maj. HUMES. When was your place destroyed?

Mr. HAMMERLING. My place was destroyed the first week in December, 1915. My father-in-law went there, and he said: "The place is completely destroyed."

Maj. HUMES. Destroyed by what means?

Mr. HAMMERLING. By the German Army.

Maj. HUMES. Moving over it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. They were moving over it. The Russians were a couple of miles away from it; and when the Germans came there, with the American flag and my reputation—they knew all about this stuff that I was doing in this country. If I am permitted to answer this, gentlemen, I really believe that it is due to the great justice of America, and why we immigrants come here, to give me that opportunity.

This opportunity of mine to appear here has been the greatest of my life; and I want to say this, gentlemen, that if there is anything that this honorable body or any Government authorities have that I have done against the interest of the United States during this war or previous to this war, I think it would be the greatest benefit to America to punish a man like me, who is as well known among the foreigners, and settle this thing forever, for the reason that it will give them a good lesson. Now, I believe that at our peace conference our great representatives there will demand that no peace or bread shall be given to those fellows there until they produce the guilty people—and they no doubt have them there—who have done wrong things. I am sure the Austrian Government would do it, for the reason that it is now in the hands of people that would be very glad to help this country to know who the spies were; and I think the same thing would apply to Germany.

Senator OVERMAN. That is enough, now. Go ahead.

Maj. HUMES. You were discussing the Galician estate. When did you acquire it, from whom did you acquire it, and what did you pay for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I bought it from a man by the name of Samick in 1911.

Maj. HUMES. In 1911?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In 1911.

Maj. HUMES. What did you pay for it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. $105,000; about $60,000 cash, the rest mortgage.

Maj. HUMES. If you were so attached to this country, why in 1911 were you so anxious to acquire a large estate in Austria?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I bought it for a summer place. Many people have it.

Maj. HUMES. And that was your only purpose?

Mr. HAMMERLING. That is all I ever had any purpose.

Maj. HUMES. Did you always spend your summers there after that time?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, yes; a few weeks.

Maj. HUMES. And you invested this $105,000 in an estate which you say now is probably worth more than that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I said it was worth about $200,000, for the reason that I made improvements.

Maj. HUMES. You invested about $200,000 in a place for the purpose of spending a couple of weeks there each summer?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and, besides, I had it in mind to do something for this country as an example, to show what a boy who came here from slavery can accomplish. That also was one of my happy moments.

Maj. HUMES. Then it was a philanthropic enterprise, among other things?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hammerling, yesterday you identified some exhibits with reference to the translation of this personal-liberty article for foreign-language newspapers. Whom did you get to translate it for the Armenian, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Serbian, and Syrian papers?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). To whom you paid $200 a month?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that you arranged with individual editors in New York, at a nominal compensation, to do that translating for you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have arranged it. I did not do, Major, all this arranging. Sometimes the office did.

Maj. HUMES. Well, you are responsible for the work of your office.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, I do not know about that.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not arrange with Mr. Popovich at the rate of $10 a month——

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. At the rate of $10 a month?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not, Major.

Maj. HUMES (continuing). For the translation from Serbian and possibly some other languages, for the work Mr. Andreae was turning over to you?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not know. Some of this work was done outside of our office——

Maj. HUMES. You did not spend the whole amount of the compensation you were allowed?

Mr. HAMMERLING. We did not have to.

Maj. HUMES. You made a profit on that, then?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I suppose so; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And yet, when you billed these expenses to Mr. Andreae, you billed them as a pay roll, and your contract required that you pay translators.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not bill it.

Maj. HUMES. You identified a great many bills here yesterday.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; they were from our office. The association did.

Maj. HUMES. You do not disclaim responsibility for what the association did?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not say I disclaim it, but I do not know the details of the billing at all.

Maj. HUMES. Then you made a profit on this pay roll?
Mr. HAMMERLING. We no doubt did.
Maj. HUMES. Did you not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. We no doubt did.
Senator OVERMAN. Do you mean that you would pay a certain sum for translating, without regard to what you were paid?
Mr. HAMMERLING. We had nothing to do, to pay a man. He made his own specifications.
Senator OVERMAN. You sent in a bill for the amount of money you employed him for, and it was more than you paid him?
Mr. HAMMERLING. According to the contract—the specifications.
Senator OVERMAN. And the difference between what you paid him and what Andreae paid you you put in your bill?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I did not put anything in my bill.
Senator OVERMAN. You did not?
Mr. HAMMERLING. It was the association.
Senator OVERMAN. I mean the association?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; I suppose so.
Maj. HUMES. What dividends has the Association of Foreign Language Newspapers paid in its existence?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Different dividends.
Maj. HUMES. How much a year?
Mr. HAMMERLING. The preferred stock pays 6 per cent and the common stock pays sometimes 12 per cent and sometimes more.
Maj. HUMES. What is the most that it ever paid in one year?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I do not remember.
Maj. HUMES. What is your salary?
Mr. HAMMERLING. My salary to-day is $1,500 a month.
Maj. HUMES. $1,500 a month?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. Are you not collecting $3,000 a month?
Mr. HAMMERLING. It used to be $3,000 before the war, but since July—the minutes will show it—we decided to reduce it. I think the first year, if you gentlemen will notice on the minutes, I did not receive any salary at all, and then my salary began with $200 a month, and so on, according to the condition of the business.
Maj. HUMES. Up to July you were getting $3,000 a month?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Maj. HUMES. And you have been getting $1,500 a month since that?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes. I pay my own expenses from it. I am on the road most of the time.
Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Hammerling, the most you have ever received per month is $3,000?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; to my knowledge.
Maj. HUMES. When did you commence to receive that much?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I would say maybe in 1911 or 1912; somewhere along there. The books will show.
Maj. HUMES. In 1912 you commenced to get $3,000?
Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.
Senator OVERMAN. You mean $3,000 a year or a month?
Mr. HAMMERLING. A month. My expenses are more than half of that per month.
Maj. HUMES. What did you receive before that time?
Mr. HAMMERLING. I think it was $1,500 or $1,000.

Maj. HUMES. $1,000 or $1,500?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Where did you get $105,000 in 1911 to buy an estate in Galicia?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I had it long before. I sold some of my stock and bonds that I had.

Maj. HUMES. When you came to Wilkes-Barre in 1899——

Mr. HAMMERLING. It was not 1899. I said yesterday, Major, I did not remember; 1897 or 1898 or 1899, or whatever it was.

Maj. HUMES. Whenever it was, you came there without a dollar, did you not?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. In about 1900 or 1901 you had $300 to invest in a newspaper?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Have you had sources of income other than papers and newspapers, etc.?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; lots of advertising; and I do printing.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have known men that made millions over night. If I had with you gentlemen all together what Morgan has made during the last two years we would have all of us more than we want. I am proud of what I have made in this country. I am proud of it. I made it all by hard work.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not true that most of the money you have made you have made from political and other propaganda?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. Did you make any of it by speculation?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Very little. I never bought anything on margin in my life. I do not believe in it.

Maj. HUMES. All that you have made you have made from your own personal efforts?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and in good investments. Here, Senator, I believe that will interest you in my feelings. This was the first loan, when America was pretty well divided. I subscribed and paid for that [handing paper to the chairman].

Senator OVERMAN. You want this to go into the record?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir; if the Senator will permit it to be put in the record.

Senator OVERMAN. This subscription is of Anglo-French bonds?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes; and I was one of the 8 or 10 managers who made it a success.

(The letter referred to is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 158.

THE LIBERTY NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK,
October 26, 1915.

LOUIS N. HAMMERLING, *Esq.*,
924 Woolworth Building, New York City.

DEAR SIR: We hereby acknowledge receipt of the full payment, namely—$98,000.00, of your subscription to $100,000.00 Anglo-French 5% Loan of October 15th, and it is our understanding that you do not wish to withdraw your share of the bonds from the Syndicate.

We, therefore, tender you this letter to use as a temporary receipt during the life of the Syndicate and to be surrendered to us at the expiration of the same

when we shall be glad to make the adjustment in accordance with the terms of the Underwriting Agreement.

Yours very truly,

L. W. KNOWLES,
Assistant Cashier.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Can I ask the honorable Senator to permit me to read a few lines and communicate what I have done during this war?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; or if you want to put it in the record you may do so.

Mr. HAMMERLING. This is a few important things.

Senator OVERMAN. If you do not want to read it, you can put it in the record.

Mr. HAMMERLING. I have it all in my memorandum here. The reporter could not read it. It is all scratched up. It is not readable, Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. Give it to the stenographer or read it.

Mr. HAMMERLING. On the 12th of May, 1913, we got the publishers together and presented to the President a memorial to express their devotion to the Nation. That is, on my instance. I have shown you a letter about subscribing, in August, 1915, to the Anglo-French loan. I subscribed to the Dominion of Canada loan also, which was the next loan. I handled the advertising campaign for Lee Higginson & Co., Senator, on the Italian loan in the Italian papers. It was not successful with the American people, and I placed it with the Italians and sold it.

I took part in the movement for the protection of the people during the war, a safety-first movement. I was invited to submit a form of work, and not only that, but we had a campaign through the papers; I personally contributed $2,400 to hire a man to write the stuff for our papers. I got 450 papers to contribute $75,000 worth of space, and we supplied the copy, for the work of the United States Government. The space was used by the Treasury Department for liberty loans, by the war savings, by the War Department for advertisements and different things, the Navy Department, and the Labor Department, etc. This is what I have done. It would have cost the Government a couple of million dollars. I traveled from one end of the country to the other to make speeches on the request of the different departments, for which I have letters from the Treasury Department, etc. In 1916 I traveled, under the auspices of the National Security League, all over the country and made speeches in the same way.

I organized, on the request of the different reserve districts, committees of the different races to help and assist in the sale of war-savings stamps, and I have letters of acknowledgment from the different directors.

I have purchased bonds in every liberty-bond drive myself, have been a member of the committees to the limit, and I think when my fortune is checked up you will find that the majority of what I possess in the United States to-day is in liberty bonds.

I also had every one of the employees in my office to subscribe, with the guaranty that they would never lose money; if the bond goes down they would always cash in with me and get interest; and during one of the liberty-bond drives we presented each of the employees with a bond, because they said they could not afford to take it.

In November, 1917, I succeeded with friends, maybe 100 of them who joined me, and sent 21,000 Christmas presents to the American soldiers, and Gen. Pershing sent me a letter that I would not give up for the world. These 21,000 presents consisted each of 200 cigarettes in a package, 10 packages of smoking tobacco, and 10 packages of chewing tobacco, and a letter. I contributed the majority of the money for that myself. I am proud of it.

Now, my wife has two first cousins as officers in the Italian Army, and I can give you the names if the Senate wants them. We contributed $12,000 and purchased for them—it was on the request of one of the relatives of the King—through the Italian Chamber of Commerce of New York, of which I am a member, and we sent for that money, for which I have a receipt, 10,400,000 cigarettes. We bought them at wholesale.

I also contributed cigarettes to the Polish and Bohemian volunteers, at the request of Mr. Marburg and Mr. Paderewski.

I also contributed personally, and I have the receipts here with me, to every movement of the Red Cross, all the way from $2,500 to $750. To the last campaign, $2,500 I gave.

I also contributed specially, for the reason that the different races asked me, to the Polish victim relief fund so much a month, and I contributed to the Knights of Columbus, to the Jewish relief fund, and to the Italian relief fund right along.

When Russia threw over the Czar, I thought it was a timely thing to do, and I called the publishers of New York together, and said, "Let us send these people a cable of encouragement"; and after speaking five or six hours, two of the publishers insulted me and would not sign it, and we sent it, and were very proud that we did it.

There is a Russian paper which was published by a man by the name of Leon Trotsky, one of the worst destructors in the world to-day. He is now at the head of the Russian people. He was not known, when he was in New York, for what he was. He was twice in my office, and he would not see anybody but me, and he not only made statements and threatened to organize unions to destroy manufactures, but threatened to take my life.

Senator OVERMAN. Who is that?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Leon Trotsky, who is now the foreign minister of Russia. I finally took him by the neck, one time, and he had on a rubber collar, and I cut my hand—the people in my office will remember; he used to wear a collar made of rubber, and I cut my hand; and I threw him out; and that paper, I reported to the Government—the Department of Justice, rather—that they would not accept a paid advertisement offered by the second Liberty Bond committee, and they would not take it; and the Department of Justice called the men in, and they said they would not take it; it was true; and they put them out of business.

I reported other papers, of which the Department of Justice has the record.

I was asked by Mr. Fosdick, the chairman of the war activities, to see if I would publish articles in the foreign-language papers, teaching them that it is more dishonorable to bring home a disease than to be defeated in battle, and I agree with Mr. Fosdick; and I traveled about the United States at my own expense; we wrote articles, and I myself paid for the transportation. Then Mr. Fosdick

asked me if I would supply matter for the newspapers in the different languages, to assist these people that could not talk English, and to pick papers that were 100 per cent American, and the records will show, in Mr. Fosdick's files, he picked the papers, and some matter was submitted and they found it was O. K. and we did the work, and are keeping it up to-day. We pay, and do all that work, and we send out to 60 some papers matter, with a couple of new features each day. I am not saying this for bragging. I think it is little enough—for what this country has given me the opportunity to do. I do not want any particular credit for it.

In August, 1918, the Labor Bureau was organized, and a representative came down from the Secretary of Labor and asked me if I could put out an advertising campaign making these people understand what the people mean with this Labor Bureau, so that they do not get foolish and move and do things. I immediately sent out a letter to these papers showing what this meant, and the response was that 812 pages were given free for the United States Government, with the advertisements that the Labor Department sent them. The letter that I read here from the Provost Marshal General they allowed a page, a half page, or a quarter of a page, which their papers insert free.

I sent a letter, and it is in the hands of the War Department, to the foreign-language papers, requesting them to give to the Government of the United States a page free regarding the last draft, and 600 pages of free advertising were given to the Government.

Now, this is what I have done for the country that I love, and people are trying to show that that is different. I have made mistakes, gentlemen, and if justice is done me, all right; and if not, I want to be punished; and I want to thank you for giving me the opportunity to show how I have suffered for two years. My child fell out of the nurse's arms, and died as a result; and my wife has been ill since that.

Senator OVERMAN. Is there anything else, Major?

Maj. HUMES. Not with this witness, except two or three exhibits I want put in the record.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you want to offer those for the record?

Maj. HUMES. If it is your purpose to continue the session a while longer, we have a very short witness we could put on.

Senator NELSON. It is after 12 o'clock now, Mr. Chairman.

Senator OVERMAN. We will take an adjournment at this point until half past two.

(At 12:10 o'clock p. m., the subcommitee took a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.)

The following papers, submitted by Mr. Hammerling, are here printed in the record:

HAMMERLING EXHIBIT No. 159.

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.]

CHICAGO, ILL., *November 8, 1915.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Will you please sign the enclosed contract and send one copy to me at the Blackstone Hotel as I want to take it home with me. The other copy is for your files.

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
By LOUIS N. HAMMERLING, *President.*

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.]

NEW YORK, *October 13, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: We are in receipt of your letter of October 11th enclosing article for the American Leader.

Yours very truly,

LOUIS N. HAMMERLING,
President.

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.]

NEW YORK, *June 10th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letter of the 8th inst. enclosing check for $24.00 in payment of our invoice rendered June 6th. Enclosed herewith please find receipted bill.

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.

Treasurer.

A duly authenticated copy of the naturalization petition and records of Louis N. Hammerling is, by direction of the committee, here printed in the record, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
State of Pennsylvania, Luzerne County, ss:

In the court of quarter sessions of Luzerne County.

Be it remembered, That on this eleventh day of November, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and one (1901) Louis N. Hammerling an Alien and a Native of Hawaii having complied with all the Acts of Congress respecting the Naturalization of Aliens, was sworn and admitted as a citizen of the United States and of said Commonwealth.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the Court of Wilkes-Barre, this Fourth day of June, 1918.

GEORGE WAGNER,
Clerk of Quarter Sessions.

Petition without previous written declaration of intention.

To the honorable Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Luzerne County:

The petition of (a) Louis N. Hammerling, an alien, hereby applying to be admitted to become a citizen of The United States, respectfully Represents:

1. That his present place of residence is (b) 379 South River in the City of Wilkes-Barre, county of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania; and that the name of his proposed witness in support of this application is James H. Shea, who resides at 299 South St. in the City of Wilkes-Barre, County of Luzerne and State aforesaid.

2. That the petitioner was born in the 21st day of March A. D. 1874 in the (c) town of (c) Waipahn in the (c) State of (c) Ohau in the (c) Kingdom (c) of Hawaii, and is now over twenty-one years of age, to wit, of the age of 27 years.

3. That he arrived in the United States of America, to wit, at the Port of Sanfrancisco in the 20th day of May A. D. 1885, at which time he was a subject of the (d) Kingdom of (d) Hawaii under the age of eighteen years, and that he had not since acquired citizenship under any other foreign government.

4. That he has never borne any hereditary title, or been of any of the orders of nobility, of the kingdom or state from which he came. (e) He has not

5. That no court of the United States or of any of the states thereof has ever refused, upon application of the petitioner, to admit him to become a citizen of the United States. (f) They have not

6. That he has for the continued term of five years at least next preceding the time of making this application, and ever since his arrival as aforesaid, including three years next preceding his arriving at the age of twenty-one years, actually resided within the United States of America and not elsewhere, and within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the continued term of one year at least, and that doing all of said continued term of five years he had constantly behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

7. That for the continued term of two years next preceding the date of making this application, it has been and it now is the bona fide intention of the petitioner to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, particularly to the Kingdom of Hawaii of which he has been a subject.

The petitioner therefore prays that he may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, and he will ever pray etc.

LOUIS N. HAMMERLING.

Witness:
JAS. H. SHEA

LUZERNE COUNTY, *ss.:*

Louis N. Hammerling the petitioner above named, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says, that the several facts set forth to the foregoing petition, are true and correct.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 4 day of Oct. A. D. 1901.

LOUIS N. HAMMERLING.

REESE LLOYD,
Clerk Q. S.

AFFIDAVIT OF WITNESS.

LUZERNE COUNTY, *ss.:*

James H. Shea being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: that he resides in the City of Wilkes-Barre in the County of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania: that he is now and has been for the last three months and over a citizen of the United States; that he has continuously been acquainted with the foregoing named petitioner ever since the latter arrived in the United States: that for the continued term of at least five years next preceding the date hereof and ever since the arrival of the petitioner in the United States as aforesaid, including three years at least of the latter's minority, the said petitioner has actually resided in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the continuous period of at least one year of said term: that during the continued term of five years last past, the petitioner has constantly behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same; that as deponent verily believes, the said petitioner is now over the age of twenty-one years, and was under the age of eighteen years at the time of his arrival in the United States as aforesaid: and that for the continued term of two years next preceding the date hereof, it has been the bona fide intention of said petitioner to become a citizen of the United States.

JAMES H. SHEA.

Sworn and subscribed in open court, this 11" day of Nov. A. D. 1901

JOHN M. BAUSCH
Prothonotary.
Pro clerk.

OATH AND RENUNCIATION OF PETITIONER.

LUZERNE COUNTY, *ss.:*

I, Louis N. Hammerling the foregoing named petitioner, do, on my solemn oath, declare; that I will support the constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; that I do hereby renounce and relinquish any title or order of nobility to which I am or hereafter may be entitled; that for the continued term of two years next preceding the date of making this application, it has been and it now is my bona fide intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever, and I do absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure, all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whatever,—particularly to Kingdom of Hawaii of which I have been a subject.

LOUIS N. HAMMERLING.

Sworn and subscribed in open court, this 11 day of Nov. A. D. 1901.

JOHN M. BAUSCH,
Prothonotary.
Pro clerk.

[No 744. Term 1901.]

Petition of Louis N. Hammerling (arriving under 18 years) of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., for admission to citizenship. Filed Oct. 4, 1901, proposed Witness James H. Shea, residing at Wilkes-Barre, County of Luzerne. Now, Nov. 11, 1901 after hearing, the application of the petitioner to be admitted to become a citizen of the United States is Granted By the Court.

JAS. H. SHEA,
Attorney for petitioner.

Certified from the records this 4th day of June, A. D. 1918.

GEORGE WAGNER,
Clerk of Quarter Sessions.
Per FRANK J. KEISER,
Deputy Clerk.

Explanations.

(a) Insert name of petitioner, legibly and in full, and also carefully and legibly fill in all blank spaces for dates, places, etc., though no reference be there made to these explanations.

(b) In first space of this paragraph insert the number of the house and the name of the street or alley, if the petitioner resides in a city or Borough but if not, leave that space blank: also observe the directions in corresponding space for number of house and name of street or alley, in the case of the proposed witness.

(c) These six spaces, each marked (c) must be filled so as to indicate, first the name of the city, town or village where the petitioner was born, or if not born in either, the name of the smallest municipal or territorial subdivision in which the place of birth is located, second, the name of the State, which includes the smaller place of birth, on the one hand, and on the other is one of the first governmental sub-divisions of the ultimate republic, kingdom, empire or country to which the place of birth belongs: third, the name of such ultimate republic or kingdom, or other designation, as the case may be. To illustrate the meaning above intended, if a petitioner were born in Lemberg, In Galicia, his petition should read that he was born "In the City of Lemberg, in the Province of Galicia, in the Empire of Austro-Hungary."

(d) Insert the name of the republic, kingdom or empire as the case may be, of which the petitioner was a subject at the time of his arrival.

(e) If petitioner has borne any hereditary title, or been, etc., add the word "excepting" and state title, etc., definitely and in full.

(f) If the fact be otherwise, state what court refused to admit, the date thereof, and the reason assigned, if any.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The committee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 2.30 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF MR. DUSHAN POPOVICH.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Where do you live, Mr. Popovich?

Mr. POPOVICH. No. 207 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

Maj. HUMES. What is your business?

Mr. POPOVICH. I am a printer, publisher, and editor of a Serbian newspaper.

Maj. HUMES. What is the name of that newspaper?

Mr. POPOVICH. In English it means the Serbian Sentinel.

Maj. HUMES. How long have you been in the publishing business?

Mr. POPOVICH. Seventeen years.

Maj. HUMES. Is your paper a daily or a weekly?

Mr. POPOVICH. It is a weekly.

Maj. HUMES. A weekly paper?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Mr. Louis N. Hammerling?

Mr. POPOVICH. Since he started that association of foreign-language newspapers. He came to my office asking me—this was about 10 years ago—I am not quite sure how long it is.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. POPOVICH. He came to me asking me if I would take an advertisement for my paper. I said, "Oh, yes; why not?" So that he asked me for rates. I told him my rate, I think 25 cents per inch, and he brought right away advertisements, and I can't say how much, but he paid me. Every first, in the morning, there was a bill and check in the mail, over there, all the time.

Maj. HUMES. Did you take a part or purchase any stock in the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes. He said to me that I can get advertisements from him under one condition only, if I buy shares in this association, so that I said to him that I don't want to buy any shares; I have no money for buying shares. I don't know the man, and to come right away and ask me to buy a hundred dollars of stock—so that he says, "You must not pay that. I will give you advertisements, and every month I will deduct so much, and I will give you the shares." So that in that way I got the advertisements and they were paid for, and in the same way I got the shares, too—two shares.

Maj. HUMES. The two shares that you got were of the preferred stock?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes; of the preferred stock. I have one of them here [handing stock certificate to the chairman].

Senator OVERMAN. This is one certificate?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes. One I sold, about a year ago.

Senator OVERMAN. You sold one. What did you get for it?

Mr. POPOVICH. $100.

Senator OVERMAN. You got par for it?

Mr. POPOVICH. I sold to Mr. Franz Zotti.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Popovich, from the time that you bought this stock up until the spring of 1905, how much did you receive a month, on an average, of advertising for Mr. Hammerling?

Mr. POPOVICH. From the beginning I did not get much. I got about—I don't remember exactly—from $15 to $25 a month, and gradually it was always more and more, so that I had up until he put that appeal before me that I should sign—I had then about $70 or $80 a month; and he sent Mr. Gabriel—should I continue about that?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; just go ahead and tell about that transaction.

Mr. POPOVICH. He sent Mr. Gabriel to me. There are two Mr. Gabriels in his office—there were two—I think two brothers; one who is now here. I think it is his brother. He came to my office at 384 Second Avenue one afternoon, as much as I remember, after dinner, and said to me, "Mr. Popovich, please sign that. Mr. Hammerling would like if you would sign it." So that before I sign something I want to see what I am signing, and I started to read one line, two lines, three lines, and then it was perfectly clear to me what it is. I read a little further, and so I found out that he wants that I should sign an appeal to the American people that they should stop manufacturing munitions and stop sending munitions to our allies. As a good Serbian, and a good American citizen, too, I got angry right away, and I said to him, in high words, "Mr. Gabriel, tell to Mr. Hammerling that Mr. Popovich will never sign that."

Senator NELSON. Whom did you say that to?

Mr. POPOVICH. To Mr. Gabriel, his representative, who brought that to me.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. POPOVICH. And as soon as he went on the street, after two or three minutes, I took the telephone receiver and I telephoned right away to the Serbian Vallie, to Mr. Rankovich. I said to him, "Mr. Rankovich, was Mr. Gabriel in your office today?" He said, "No." I said, "Well, he is coming right away. He is coming in a few minutes to get you to sign something, and you may not look at it. Do not sign what he will bring there. You are a busy man, and maybe you will not look at it; he is giving you so many advertisements every month and maybe you will be careless and sign that, and it as against our Serbian-American interests"—and I told him what it is—"and please inform your interpreter right away"—there is an interpreter on the daily Serbian papers—"and let them know not to do that"; and he did that, he informed the daily Serbian papers, and I saw in an editorial he wrote the next day, or a few days later, I found out that the Bohemian papers had sent letters right away throughout the country to the other Bohemian papers that they should not sign this appeal.

So that this was not enough for me, that I have telephoned to Mr. Rankovich, and I telephoned right away to Mr. Hammerling too, and I said that "as a member of our association I am protesting that you should send to the members to sign something like that." Then he said to me, "Well, Mr. Popovich, you can do what you want to, but I advise you that if you do not sign this appeal you will be sorry for that." These are the words he said to me. Now, I know why I can be sorry. The only thing is, I can lose money I am getting for advertising of tobacco and cigars and all kinds of things that he is sending to me; and really it did not last long. In the next two or

three months, gradually—of course he did not stop all advertisement at once, but in a very short time, I do not remember exactly how many days, but in three or four months or four or five months—he drops from $70 or $80 a month to $4 a month, and taking his 10 per cent for his services, I got about $3.60 advertising from him. Since about two months, I have not a cent, and I am not sorry for that, because as a Serbian, and as a good American citizen, I could not sign that; never.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know as to whether or not the other Serbian papers and the Bohemian papers you referred to were treated in the same way that you were.

Mr. POPOVICH. I found out through the Serbian Vallie; he wrote an editorial about that, praising me, that I was such a good American and such a good Serbian patriot too, that I didn't sign that, and that I informed him that he should not sign, too, because maybe he was in a hurry and he might do something like that; and then he mentioned—he informed the Bohemian papers, and I don't remember exactly, about twenty, or how many papers they informed throughout the country, the daily papers and the Bohemian daily papers, so that they did not sign that appeal.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know whether or not the advertising was withdrawn from those other papers just as it was withdrawn from you?

Mr. POPOVICH. No; it was withdrawn just from me; just from me, because I dared to call him up on the phone and tell him in high words that I am protesting against that.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. POPOVICH. So that I think that he wanted to show me how strong he is and how nothing I am.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any understanding or agreement with Mr. Hammerling with relation to the translation of the personal-liberty articles appearing in the Leader?

Mr. POPOVICH. I do not know exactly the time when he started to place these personal-liberty articles in his Leader, but at that time he sent again Mr. Gabriel, who is just now here. He came again and brought me in my office translations, English articles, and said, "Mr. Popovich, you translate that and you will get $10 a month for the translations, and send us 10 proofs"; and as I was reading I would not translate anything that is not loyal to the American Government, but really I did not find in those articles I translated, myself, nothing else; just that on account of a few drunkards, why they should stop a sane man who is drinking just a little, maybe, one glass a day of beer—why they should stop him, why they should take his drink away; that if he wants to drink a glass of beer, not to drink it.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. In other words, the translation you did was of the personal-liberty articles that were printed in the Leader under the name of Hammerling?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes; the same thing.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period of time did you continue that translating?

Mr. POPOVICH. I am sorry that I do not remember; but I know that it went on more than a year—I think about two years.

Maj. HUMES. For about two years you did that?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes, sir; I think so.

Maj. HUMES. And you got $10 a month for that?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes; $10 a month. And I hear yesterday he got $200 a month for that from the Serbian administration and that he was paid separately for those 10 proofs, mailing them; so that I see he did me wrong. He is a rich man and I am struggling very hard since 20 years. I have a little printing office, where I spent about $20,000 for three linotype machines, and so on, old machinery, and I don't know whether it is worth now $5,000; and after spending my whole life on it—and he takes from me these few dollars; and I see now——

Maj. HUMES. Did you at any period during your acquaintance with Hammerling learn as to what his nationality was and what his sentiments were?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. What was that?

Mr. POPOVICH. The first time I was in his office to inquire more about details of these shares and how it will be bought, I went in the World Building, where he had an office, and then he was asking me what I am. I said, "I am a Serbian"; and I was, naively, asking him, too, what he is. He said, "I am an Austrian, and I am proud of it that I am an Austrian."

Senator NELSON. An Austrian?

Mr. POPOVICH. Yes; and he is proud of it that he is an Austrian; so that, of course, I didn't say anything, but Serbians do not like much, Austrians; but he brought the advertisements for the whole of America; and there is so many people in America, Hungarians, Jews, and everything, so that I can not open my feelings what I have in myself what I feel as to those people. I had to leave it to them.

Maj. HUMES. From your experience as a newspaper man and publisher and a member of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, will you state what control Mr. Hammerling exercised over them and how he exercised it?

Mr. POPOVICH. I do not know anything about his dealings, because I was not his favorite. I was not in his confidence; but he would tell me what he was doing. I know only so much that he sent me contracts for advertisements and he sent me the bill for it; but I don't know. I could see through that he is the whole association, because, after those words, I wrote him two letters asking him, "Mr. Hammerling, how does it happen that, as a shareholder—I have two shares—I was never called on for meetings; to see what you are doing and what others are doing there, in the association; and I think, as a shareholder, I am entitled to know what they are doing. If they are doing wrong, or something, I would not be a member." So that he answered me, "I am not preventing you that you should not come in our meetings. We are announcing our yearly meetings in the newspapers." Now, I saw that it is useless that I should write him more letters, because there are thousands and thousands of newspapers, maybe, in the United States, and 365 days in the year, and I should look now all over to find out where he is announcing the yearly meetings; and I saw that I can not do anything with him, because in that Leader I saw prominent members—American high officers—who are writing in his paper. I saw in the papers that he gave a dinner, too, in the Knickerbocker Hotel; and there was Mr.

Cortelyou, his friend—he said so—and many others; so that I said, "What can I do against him? He is a power." I had to shut my mouth and be satisfied with those advertisements what he is giving me. Anyhow, I would never get those advertisements what he is giving me of the American Tobacco Co., and some sirup, and all kinds. I would never come to those people and I would never be able to get those, because many Americans they do not know even that the Serbians are living in the United States. It is very hard to get advertisements.

Maj. HUMES. That is all, Mr. Popovich, unless some member of the committee wants to ask you questions.

Senator OVERMAN. Stand aside. Call the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ARTHUR GABRIEL.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Where do you live?

Mr. GABRIEL. No. 117 Avenue B, New York.

Maj. HUMES. You are acquainted with Mr. Hammerling?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Were you ever connected with Mr. Hammerling of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

Mr. GABRIEL. I was acquainted with Mr. Hammerling from February 7, 1909, until November 7, 1917.

Maj. HUMES. In what capacity were you connected with him during that time?

Mr. GABRIEL. During that period I went through practically every position in the association, from office boy up to assistant treasurer. I was office boy, secretary, assistant treasurer, and vice president.

Maj. HUMES. During what period of time were you vice president?

Mr. GABRIEL. I was vice president about a period of three years; the last three years—that is about from 1914 to 1917, or two and a half years. I do not remember the exact time.

Maj. HUMES. Will you tell us what the nature of the corporation, the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, was—what it was composed of and what its purposes and activities were?

Mr. GABRIEL. Well, as far as I know, during my connection their purpose was simply to solicit advertising from the various large corporations in the country, and to take action on any matters pertaining to foreigners, such as any legislative matter that may come up before the Senate or Congress of the United States; to cooperate in every which way with the advertiser in regard to his products, like, for instance, some States were voting against the cigarette bill, or to stop the sale of cigarettes or snuff; to go down to those States and help these cigarette and tobacco companies to have that bill defeated; practically, to help the advertiser in every which way. For instance, if a strike should occur with some concern like the Standard Oil Co.

Maj. HUMES. Was that handled through the foreign-language newspapers in the locality where the legislation was pending?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Or where the labor difficulty existed?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes; going to that locality.

Maj. HUMES. And the foreign-language newspapers were used as the vehicle for propaganda work and for opposing legislation that was detrimental to the advertising?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Besides the ordinary solicitors for advertising, was there a field force connected with the association?

Mr. GABRIEL. What do you mean by a field force?

Maj. HUMES. I mean did the employees of the association go out in the field to take an active part among the publishers of foreign-language newspapers, to influence or dominate their political activities among foreigners?

Mr. GABRIEL. The only man we had going out in the field was Mr. E. H. Jaudon. He was the only man that would go out, on any question that might arise, among the foreign publications to try and influence the publishers on any matter, whatever it might be, which would be arranged according to the instructions Mr. Hammerling would give. That was about the only man we had going out among the publishers.

Senator OVERMAN. Did Mr. Hammerling himself go?

Mr. GABRIEL. Mr. Hammerling would quite often go to see the publishers. Three or four times each year he would travel, mostly not far west of St. Louis. That was about as far as he went. Sometimes he went to San Francisco.

Maj. HUMES. Was any effort made to promote the interests of advertisers through the influence of charitable or beneficial organizations?

Mr. GABRIEL. Not that I remember.

Maj. HUMES. There have been some bills from the association offered in evidence here showing dinners that were given and banquets that were given to priests and others at various times.

Mr. GABRIEL. The only banquet I remember given to a priest was at the Plaza Hotel. That was in 1916, I believe in November, to the Monsignor Jelatsky. He was just then given the monsignorship by Cardinal Farley. At that dinner Cardinal Farley was present, and of course some of the priests, and Dr. Rumely and Mr. Hammerling and myself. That was the only dinner I ever attended where priests were present.

Maj. HUMES. You know nothing about these dinners that were paid for by Andreae, then?

Mr. GABRIEL. No, sir; nothing at all.

Maj. HUMES. There was presented to the committee this morning by Mr. Hammerling an editorial that appeared in the edition of the American Leader of August 13, 1914. Were you a vice president of the company at that time?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Will you tell us the circumstances under which that editorial was published and the occurrences following the publication?

Mr. GABRIEL. I remember that editorial distinctly, because it dealt with the Slav question. Of course I am of Polish extraction, although born here, so that Mr. Caldwell, who was vice president of the company at that time, said "Gabriel, come on over; I want to show you something I am trying to put in the Leader"; so that he

read to me what he had been writing; so that he asked me for some information on the Slav question. I said, "Caldwell, that is kind of strong." He said, "I don't care; I am going to jam it through"; so that he put the article in the Leader. After that article was published Mr. Momand came to me—at that time Mr. Hammerling had been in Europe and Mr. Momand came to me—and he said, "Gabriel, don't you think that that article was kind of strong, and wouldn't agree with Mr. Hammerling's ideas?" I said, "I do not think so. This entire article seems to be proally." He said, "It might affect some of our publishers"; and so he called in Caldwell, and we had a conference, the three of us, and at that conference it was decided that the three of us should go to all the publications in the city of New York which we thought were pro-Austrian, and apologize; Mr. Caldwell would take all the blame and we would apologize to the publishers, that this article has been put in the American Leader without Hammerling's knowledge and that Caldwell was held responsible for the entire article.

Maj. HUMES. How long after that article was it that Hammerling returned to this country?

Mr. GABRIEL. Mr. Hammerling returned some time the end of August. It was that month because I myself met him at the pier with Miss Leffler.

Maj. HUMES. Was there any discussion of this editorial after Mr. Hammerling returned?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes; we immediately went in and I explained the case to him and told him what we had done, that we had gone around to the Hungarian publications, in fact, Mr. Berko and Mr. Horwarth, and explained the situation to them, and he called in Caldwell and gave him a reprimand, and after that all the proofs of articles that were put in the Leader—that is, the galley proofs, that is before they were sent for final printing—were O. K.'d by three people in the office. At that time it was Mr. Momand, Miss Leffler, and Caldwell himself. That was so as not to allow anything to slip in the Leader that would not be passed by these three people.

Senator NELSON. You said there that Hammerling criticized what had been done. You said he criticized what had been done when he came back.

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes; he reprimanded Mr. Caldwell.

Senator NELSON. For what?

Mr. GABRIEL. For putting the article in, stating that it was too long and that it would hurt some of our editors like the Hungarian editors; and that is why he made the rule that the three people should sign the galley proofs.

Senator NELSON. He did not claim, then, that they had been published at his instance and request?

Mr. GABRIEL. Not to me.

Senator NELSON. Or indicate any approval?

Mr. GABRIEL. Not while I was present; no, Senator.

Maj. HUMES. Now, will you state if at any time you saw Ambassador von Bernstorff come to Mr. Hammerling's office?

Mr. GABRIEL. I saw von Bernstorff at Hammerling's office sometime in March, I believe, of 1915.

Senator NELSON. What was your answer?

Mr. GABRIEL. I saw Ambassador von Bernstorff at Mr. Hammerling's office some time, I believe, in March or February, 1915.

Senator NELSON. Was Mr. Hammerling in the office then?

Mr. GABRIEL. There was a long private hall, and there were three private offices the doors from which led onto this hall, and down at the right of this hall was Mr. Hammerling's office. My office was the center office, and I happened to come out into that private hall and I remember seeing von Bernstorff. I recognized him instantly, because he had this long coat with a Persian-lamb collar, I think it is, and he had his hat off and had just stepped into Mr. Hammerling's office.

Senator NELSON. Mr. Hammerling's private office?

Mr. GABRIEL. His private office. After that I did not see him any more.

Senator NELSON. How long was he there, so far as you know?

Mr. GABRIEL. That I do not know, Senator, because from Mr. Hammerling's private office there was an exit to the hall.

Maj. HUMES. State how long after that it was that the activities with regard to this appeal commenced.

Mr. GABRIEL. The activities started some time in March, toward the end of March. It was perhaps two weeks before the appeal appeared.

Maj. HUMES. Tell us what you know about that appeal and any conversation that you may have had with Mr. Hammerling relative to that.

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a moment, Major. I may have been woolgathering myself, but I did not understand from this witness how near, in point of time, Ambassador von Bernstorff's visit was.

Maj. HUMES. He said von Bernstorff was there in February or March, and that the activities commenced about two weeks before the appeal was published, which would be about the middle of March.

Senator WOLCOTT. I did not catch that.

(The pending question was read by the stenographer.)

Mr. GABRIEL. Before the advertising appeal came out I was called into Mr. Hammerling's private office; I believe it was on a Friday evening. He called me in alone, and Miss Leffler was present there, and he said: "Arthur, I want you to take your wife and take her to Bethlehem, give her a good time, and spare no expense; take a private car if necessary. Go there and find out the percentage of foreigners working in the munition plants up there. Go to saloons, go to headquarters, and go to the priests and rabbis if necessary, and bring me back the data there whether they are satisfied with the working conditions, the average earning, what they are earning per week, and bring that data back." I did not leave the next day. I was supposed to leave the next day, but the next day was Saturday; but I left on Sunday morning, and instead of taking my wife I went to a college friend of mine, Dr. Davidson, and I said: "Ralph, I am going to South Bethlehem, and I have got the money and will pay all expenses, and you come along with me." The two of us went to South Bethlehem, and we stayed at the Eagle Hotel up there and got the information. He went to the Italian priests and spoke with them and got the data on the percentage of Italians there. We finally brought the data back as to how many people there were and

whether they were satisfied with conditions; but we were instructed not to go near the munition plant. So that I believe that I got back Wednesday of that week; and all of us boys that were sent on this trip——

Senator NELSON. Were there others sent at the same time?

Mr. GABRIEL. Oh, yes; there was a Mr. Dattner who was sent to Bridgeport; Mr. G. H. Berg was sent through the New England States; Mr. Momand was sent to Brooklyn; Mr. Leon Wazeter was sent somewhere in Philadelphia, I believe; and Henry Gabriel was sent to Utica.

So that when we came back we all met. Mr. Hammerling happened to be away for a few days, and we all met in the Woolworth in the rathskeller and compared our expense accounts, so that one man who had a shorter trip would not charge more than one who had a longer trip, and then we submitted a bill. In fact, when I presented the bill to Mr. Hammerling he said to me, "Is that all you spent?" So that then after that we each had a written report as to the percentage, and signed our names.

Then after that the copy was being prepared in the private office of Mr. Hammerling.

Senator NELSON. What copy?

Mr. GABRIEL. Of his appeal to the Americans. That was prepared in Mr. Hammerling's office by Mr. Momand and himself, and no one knew in the office what was going on in there.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you know whether Mr. Rumely had any part in the preparation of it?

Mr. GABRIEL. Dr. Rumely was quite frequently there, but at the time while this was going on in the private office it was mostly Mr. Hammerling, Mr. Momand, and Mr. Rankin, of the Rankin Agency to-day; and I happened to go after that to the Empire City Electrical Co. and happened to see a copy of the appeal, which the Empire Co. was making, so that naturally I read the appeal, and when I got to my office G. H. Berkel happened to come in there—in fact, he had his desk in my office also—and my brother was there, packing electrotypes, and he came in my office and said he heard on the street that Hammerling was being paid by the Austro-German Government. With this information he goes in to Hammerling. Hammerling then calls me on the wire—an extension wire—and asks me do I know a man named Drewiecksi. I told him yes, because he was the publisher of the Polish pictorial weekly, the Krij, which means in English "country". He told me that it was charged that he was receiving German money. I told him across the wire, "Why, Mr. Hammerling, it is an open secret among the Poles in New York that you are supplied by the Austro-German Government."

Then about 10 minutes later Mr. Hammerling came to my office with his hat and coat on, and beckoned for me to come into his private office, which I did, and there were Miss Leffler, Mr. Hammerling, and myself alone. Then he spoke of this and said what do I know about it. I said, "That is all I know. That is all I hear among the Polish people here in New York, that you are being paid by the Austrian-German Government." With that he turns to Miss Leffler and asks did she say anything to her sister Margaret.

Maj. HUMES. Margaret was also an employee there?

Mr. GABRIEL. She was also an employee there. She was a sister of Bertha. She says "No." With that Hammerling turns to me and says, "Arthur, whatever you know, keep your mouth shut. Whatever people do not know will not hurt them." Then I sat for a while with Bertha Leffler talking, and I says, "Isn't it true?" She would not admit or deny it. So that at the end of that week—I don't know whether it was that week, but I know the next pay day it was—I received in my envelope, I can't say whether it was $500 or $1,000, as a bonus. In fact, everybody in the office, from the office boy up, received some sort of a gift at that time. That is all I remember about the appeal.

Senator NELSON. You got $500 extra?

Mr. GABRIEL. I really do not know, Senator, whether it was $500 or $1,000, because I was getting money every month, or every second month, I didn't know what for. At Christmas time I got as high as $2,000; and when my girl was born Hammerling paid the bills without my asking him; so that I do not know what I got the money for, that time.

Senator NELSON. Did you suppose you were getting the advertisers' money?

Mr. GABRIEL. No; I supposed I got the money to keep my mouth shut.

Senator WOLCOTT. You are not connected with Hammerling?

Mr. GABRIEL. No, sir; I left him February 7, 1917.

Maj. HUMES. You might state, in that connection, the circumstances under which you left his employ.

Mr. GABRIEL. About six months previous to that Mr. Dattner and myself—he was also at that time a vice president; we had about three vice presidents there—he and I were discussing the matter of how the foreign papers were beginning to understand the real workings of the association; that we had heard from some of the publishers that they intended to break away; and I said: "Dattner, I would like to get off the ship before it sinks." I said: "I am a young fellow in the advertising field, and I would like to make good." Around February 7—it was on a Saturday afternoon—there was a meeting held of some of the foreign-language publishers of New York. There was probably one from each nationality—one Italian, one Greek, one Polish, and then the daily publications.

I was invited, with Mr. Dattner, to this meeting, and at this meeting was discussed the advisability of opening the foreign-language press association, and the object was to disclose for the American public and for the American advertiser that Mr. Hammerling is nothing more than a recognized advertising agency; that it is not an association of the foreign-language press; that he has no authority to represent them and only has the authority to represent them as an agent.

Meanwhile one of the solicitors from one of the competitors of Hammerling had submitted to the P. Lorillard Co., which was one of our biggest advertisers, an estimate on all the foreign-language newspapers in the United States, and that Monday Mr. Hammerling was called to the P. Lorillard Co. with reference to this estimate, because the estimate was, as far as I heard, 35 to 40 per cent cheaper than what Hammerling had been getting from the P. Lorillard Co. So that afternoon Mr. Hammerling came back—I was not in

the office—and instructed Mr. Momand as soon as I came in to ask me to give him a letter addressed to Mr. Belt, of the P. Lorillard Co.—Mr. Belt and Mr. Mahoney—over my name that the association worked strictly on a 10 per cent basis; but I know in my experience with the association that it has always been honest in its dealings. In other words, he wanted me to give him a letter showing that the association has only been doing business on a strictly 10 per cent basis. I considered the thing after Mr. Momand told me, and after this meeting that the publishers had held I thought to myself, "Now is the time for me to get out." I said: "Once I give this letter to Hammerling over my signature, I am absolutely killed in the foreign-language advertising field. Even if I did open business and compete with him, he has that letter to show, and whatever I do in the advertising business in competition with him, whether one agency submits a better advertising campaign or cheaper rates or not, I think that letter would condemn me in the future." And I refused to sign it.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why would it condemn you: because it would not be true?

Mr. GABRIEL. No; it would not be true.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was not true?

Mr. GABRIEL. It was not true, because I knew that we were making on the average, on some papers, just which we could, which we knew were loyal to the association, we could make 35 to 50 per cent, on some papers as high as 100 per cent; so that I refused to sign the letter, because I had intentions to go in the business myself, which I did later on.

Maj. HUMES. Will you state just how Mr. Hammerling or this association conducted its business with the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. GABRIEL. Well, for instance, there would be an advertisement; I would be, for instance, sent to see the P. Lorillard Co., and they wanted to advertise the Zyra cigarettes, and I would come back, and Mr. Hammerling and myself, as a rule, would choose the papers, what papers would receive the advertising, and how much they were to receive. Sometimes the papers were given, according to rate cards, namely, those papers which we had to pay according to rate cards, like the Scandinavian—the Scandinavian we had to strictly abide by the rates—but some of the Polock papers, for instance, you could pay them anything. Say you paid them 20 per cent, they would take it. We would give them an amount and then submit this amount to the client, and then we would get an O. K. on the copy and on the list, because the average American advertiser, it is my experience with the foreign press, did not know practically anything about the foreign press, that is to say, the value of each individual publication. I could go up to the Standard Oil Co. people and tell them that this paper in Bridgeport was a better paper than any in New York and they would take my word for it; but they did not know the value of the publication or what its reputation was; so that whatever our pay was would be O. K., and it would be shipped to the newspapers and they would pay the bill accordingly.

Senator OVERMAN. You would make 30 or 40 cents an inch and put in for 20 cents?

Mr. GABRIEL. We used to get as high as $1.50 an inch and give a quarter. It all depends on what the people would take.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, instead of doing business on a given basis, you charged the advertiser as much as you could and paid the newspapers as little as you could?

Mr. GABRIEL. It all depended on the advertiser. If the advertiser was easy, we would figure the estimate accordingly. If the advertiser sometimes would pass his advertising through an American agency and then they would begin to ask us to give them sworn statements as to circulation and go into the details of the publication, then perhaps he would come down even to 10 per cent, and many a time we took the business at a loss just to get the business. It all depended on who the advertiser was.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever find out from Mr. Hammerling, in the regular conduct of the business, about the advertising of this appeal and the amount received for that advertisement and the amount paid to the several newspapers?

Mr. GABRIEL. I never did. That was kept secret right in that room, as I said before. I did not know anything about it.

Senator NELSON. That room that von Bernstorff went in?

Mr. GABRIEL. That is Mr. Hammerling's private office.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you ever see Dr. Albert in there?

Mr. GABRIEL. No, sir; I never did.

Senator NELSON. Did you see von Bernstorff there more than once?

Mr. GABRIEL. Only once. I remember Bernstorff very distinctly, because when the steamship *Vaterland* landed first in this country there was a luncheon given on the ship, and Mr. Bernstorff sat about 20 feet away from me, and, in fact, he made a speech there.

Senator NELSON. Was that at a luncheon given by Hammerling?

Mr. GABRIEL. No, sir; that was on board of the steamship *Vaterland.*

Senator NELSON. And Hammerling was there?

Mr. GABRIEL. No; he was not. I took his place.

Senator NELSON. That is how you knew von Bernstorff?

Mr. GABRIEL. That is the first time I saw Bernstorff, at that luncheon. He took a seat at the table close to me, and he made a speech there. He was introduced by Mr. Prendergast of New York.

Maj. HUMES. Are there other advertising agencies that have foreign advertising?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Is this association, then, essential to foreign-language advertising?

Mr. GABRIEL. Not essential, because it is the same as any other advertising agency.

Maj. HUMES. It is a purely commercial proposition, owned by Hammerling?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes; so far as I know.

Maj. HUMES. And it is only an association in name?

Mr. GABRIEL. That is all.

Senator NELSON. He is really the owner of it?

Mr. GABRIEL. He is the owner.

Senator NELSON. He owns all the stock?

Mr. GABRIEL. All the stock.

Senator NELSON. All of the common stock and most of the preferred stock, that is?

Mr. GABRIEL. The majority of the common stock he owns, because he also gave me some common stock. He did not give it to me personally. He held it.

Senator NELSON. And it is only the common stock that has a vote, as I understand it. The preferred stock does not have a vote; is not that it?

Mr. GABRIEL. The common stock, there was only——

Senator NELSON. You do not understand me. When you come to a stockholders' meeting, it is only the common stock that has voting power; not the preferred stock?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Is not that true?

Mr. GABRIEL. That is true.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. GABRIEL. But I do not know how it was arranged so, because when I was secretary of the association I was called in and told just to "sign here" in the minute book. I was not allowed to read the minutes or anything. He did not sell the common stock; he kept that, except he gave some of it occasionally to a friend.

Senator NELSON. It was only the preferred stock——

Mr. GABRIEL. That he sold.

Senator NELSON. That paid 6 per cent dividends, that he sold?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes.

Senator NELSON. And that stock had no voting power?

Mr. GABRIEL. No.

Senator NELSON. And he often paid as high as 10 or 15 or 20 per cent dividends on the common stock, did he not?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. But the preferred stock never but 6 per cent?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes; it just got the 6 per cent.

Senator NELSON. So that, being the sole owner of the common stock, he got those immense dividends?

Mr. GABRIEL. He could declare any dividend he wants.

Senator NELSON. Yes; he could declare any dividend he wanted.

Mr. GABRIEL. That is right.

Maj. HUMES. Now, did you ever know of the stockholders meeting?

Mr. GABRIEL. I never knew of a stockholders' meeting as long as I was there.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever know of any regular meeting of the board of directors?

Mr. GABRIEL. There was not any board of directors except the real board of directors was himself and some of the clerks in the office; they were the real board of directors; three of them, I believe. And all they would do would be to sign something and afterwards give it to Miss Leffler, and she would typewrite the minutes or whatever it was.

Senator NELSON. Who is Miss Leffler?

Mr. GABRIEL. Mr. Hammerling's private, confidential secretary.

Senator NELSON. There was a time when you had three vice presidents, was there not?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes; four, in fact.

Senator NELSON. What were the functions of the officers as distinguished from those of ordinary clerks?

Mr. GABRIEL. The main thing why Mr. Hammerling gave us the titles, as he explained to us, was simply to raise our standing, so that if we went to see Mr. Lorillard, of the P. Lorillard Co., he would know that he was talking to a vice president.

Maj. HUMES. To give the concern a big standing as one that had four vice presidents; is that the idea?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know of Mr. Hammerling at any time telephoning to Boy-Ed or von Papen?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, Major.

Maj. HUMES. State what you know about that.

Mr. GABRIEL. I was coming in the room when he gave instructions to Miss Leffler to get Capt. Boy-Ed on the wire, and then I was asked to leave the room and Miss Leffler went out and took the place of the regular switch operator.

Senator NELSON. Who is Boy-Ed?

Mr. GABRIEL. Capt. Boy-Ed.

Senator NELSON. Yes; but who was he?

Mr. GABRIEL. I never saw him——

Capt. LESTER. He was connected with the ambassador here. He was a naval attaché.

Senator NELSON. I know he was, but I wanted it made a part of the record. He was a naval attaché, was he not?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. What do you know about his telephoning to von Papen?

Mr. GABRIEL. The same thing—the same way.

Senator NELSON. Who is von Papen?

Mr. GABRIEL. Von Papen, as far as I understood at the time, was connected with the Austrians.

Senator NELSON. You are wrong there. He was part of von Bernstorff's force.

Mr. GABRIEL. As far as I know, at the time; I was not interested. All I remember is those names; seeing some of the letterheads and the backs of the envelopes. On the back of the envelope, the flap, the back of an envelope, I happened to see lying on Hammerling's desk, was "Captain Boy-Ed"; and I heard him call von Papen.

Maj. HUMES. You say you saw that on a letterhead or envelope on Hammerling's desk?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, on the envelope, where you paste it, you know.

Senator WOLCOTT. It was printed?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, printed.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever have anything to do with the destruction of any of the records of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Tell what you know about that.

Mr. GABRIEL. I believe it was 1913, we were still in the Woolworth Building, and previous to that Mr. Jaudon had been the treasurer of the company, and Mr. Jaudon at that time had a conference with Mr. Hammerling and he left, and then Mr. [illegible] in Mr. Dattner and myself and said, "Destroy all the records and the files of correspondence," and I took the records and carried it up to my apartment in the Mansf[illegible]

with the janitor and the firemen there"; and he said, "Take those books into the cellar there and burn them." He said, "Stay there until the last book is burned, because," he said, "I do not trust that crook Jaudon, and we had better get rid of these books." So that Mr. Dattner and I hired one of those two-horse trucks and loaded it and it was at least three-fourths full, and Mr. Dattner and myself had to lie on the top of those books; and we drove to Hammerling's apartment in the Mansfield and threw them down in the cellar, and then the engineer and the assistant engineer burned the books. It took about three hours before all the files and books were burned.

Senator NELSON. You stayed around to see them burned?

Mr. GABRIEL. We were right in the engine room while they were being burned.

Senator NELSON. Was it a practice of Mr. Hammerling's to annually destroy the records?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. That was his common practice?

Mr. GABRIEL. That was his common practice.

Senator WOLCOTT. These books that you just spoke of as being destroyed, were they books that he would ordinarily destroy every year, or were they not books that he would ordinarily preserve? In the regular course of things, would they have been destroyed in the course of that year?

Mr. GABRIEL. No; that was the first time that the books had been destroyed, in 1913. That was all the books since the beginning of the association. After that first time we destroyed the books, then the practice was to destroy the books every year.

Senator NELSON. Dead men tell no tales. I suppose that was the theory you acted on?

Mr. GABRIEL. I had to do it. I was ordered to.

Senator NELSON. Was Dumba around your quarters?

Mr. GABRIEL. No, sir; I never saw Dumba.

Senator NELSON. Or any representative of Dumba?

Mr. GABRIEL. No, sir.

Senator STERLING. What did the books destroyed include? What were they?

Mr. GABRIEL. All the doings of the associations; all the records of the amounts of money received and the amounts of money paid out; everything that the general bookkeeper would have.

Senator STERLING. Any minutes of stockholders' meetings?

Mr. GABRIEL. That I do not know, Senator, because with such a mess I did not go through the files. We just threw them out in the basement.

Senator STERLING. Was there any reason assigned at the time for the destruction?

Mr. GABRIEL. Yes; Mr. Hammerling said he did not trust Jaudon, who had just left his employ, who had been auditor previous to that.

Maj. HUMES. Jaudon was after that time employed, and as vice president of the association and as traveling director, to look after the interests of the United States Brewers' Association, was he not?

Mr. GABRIEL. As far as I understood, he was not the vice president, but he had the title of traveling director of the association.

Maj. HUMES. Or inspector, was he?

Mr. GABRIEL. Director and inspector; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Oh, director and inspector?

Mr. GABRIEL. That was right after he had left Hammerling's employ, and then we moved to the Woolworth Building, and immediately after that I saw Mr. Jaudon come into the office, and he said, "Arthur, I have got a better job than I had before. Hammerling has fixed me up and sent me all through the country to see the papers."

Maj. HUMES. He was paid four hundred dollars a month in that connection, was he not?

Mr. GABRIEL. I do not know what he was paid, but he told me that he was getting a pretty good salary.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. I think that is all, Mr. Gabriel.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HARRY JAMES PRUDEN.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Where do you live, Mr. Pruden?

Mr. PRUDEN. Mount Vernon, N. Y.; No. 7 Ida Avenue.

Maj. HUMES. Have you been engaged in the advertising business?

Mr. PRUDEN. For 11 years.

Maj. HUMES. Were you ever connected with the Von Patten agency?

Mr. PRUDEN. For a little over one year, ending in February, 1918; from about December 1, 1917, to February 1, 1918.

Maj. HUMES. Were you acquainted with Hammerling during that period of time?

Mr. PRUDEN. I have known Hammerling for about 10 years.

Maj. HUMES. Will you state whether or not Mr. Hammerling, while you were connected with the Von Patten agency, made any propositions to your concern with reference to an advertising campaign to be conducted at the close of the war?

Mr. PRUDEN. Do you mean the close of the war between the United States and the central powers or the allies and the central powers?

Maj. HUMES. At the close of the European war.

Mr. PRUDEN. Of the European war; yes.

Maj. HUMES. When was that suggestion made—before or after the United States entered the war?

Mr. PRUDEN. Before the United States entered the war.

Maj. HUMES. Tell us just when it was.

Mr. PRUDEN. It was either in December, 1916, or early in 1917, I have forgotten which, Hammerling phoned for me one day and said that he was going to get me in touch with a big advertising account. I was in the advertising agency and my business was to get accounts for my agents. He asked me if I would come up to his house that evening. I remember it was in the wintertime, because it was snowing very hard. I went up, and he told me there was this big account, and they were going to advertise in the newspapers and magazines and foreign papers throughout the United States, Mexico, South America, and Canada. He said it would be a very large campaign. He did not disclose to me at that meeting who the advertiser was.

Maj. HUMES. Did he tell you the amount of the account?

Mr. PRUDEN. I do not remember whether he told me on that evening or whether it was at a subsequent meeting that we had. I think he did not at that meeting. He asked me if I would give them an idea of how much it would cost to use the principal papers—daily

papers—throughout this country and Canada, and these other places, and the farm papers and magazines, basing it on a unit like the agate line, which we in the advertising business use as a unit. I roughly estimated the campaign.

Sometime later, I think it was only a few days later, he came down to the office, and he talked to Mr. Von Patten and myself, and I believe it was at that time that he told us it was to be the Hamburg-American advertising. There was at that time considerable talk about the end of the war. I believe that President Wilson had offered his good offices. There was a good deal of talk about the war ending, and he told me that the Hamburg-American Line were going to run this advertising campaign to rehabilitate their business in the Western Hemisphere.

Maj. HUMES. Did he at that time tell you the amount of the account?

Mr. PRUDEN. He said they would spend about a million and a half dollars a year for five years. I was familiar with the account, as it was prior to the war handled by the Frank Presbrey Co., with whom I was connected, and I knew that they had at that time spent in the neighborhood of $200,000 a year.

Maj. HUMES. That is, the Hamburg-American Line had spent that?

Mr. PRUDEN. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any subsequent interviews with Mr. Hammerling?

Mr. PRUDEN. Yes. I do not remember how many, but for a number of weeks he talked to me on the phone several times, and I believe he was in our office a good many times. One more thing I might say about it: He told me that the advertising agent's compensation would be on the commission basis, 10 per cent, which is our stipend, and that the copy would be prepared by the advertiser, so that it would be very profitable to us.

Maj. HUMES. What was the nature of the advertisment?

Mr. PRUDEN. I do not know, because the copy was not shown to me, nor was any copy discussed, except that he said they were going to spend this money to rehabilitate their business in the Western Hemisphere.

Senator WOLCOTT. This was for the business, the American shipping business, of the Hamburg-American Line?

Mr. PRUDEN. Yes; the Hamburg-American Line.

Senator WOLCOTT. And they had been, before the European war, large advertisers in the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. PRUDEN. For many years. They were known as one of the profitable advertising accounts in the country.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you ever do any work for von Papen yourself, Mr. Pruden?

Mr. PRUDEN. This is Von Patten, an advertising agency in this city. It is not von Papen.

Maj. HUMES. Did you at any time during your discussion with Hammerling discuss the appeal and the purpose and merits of it?

Mr. PRUDEN. Do you mean the appeal to the American people?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; the appeal to the American people.

Mr. PRUDEN. About the time that appeal was published in the papers, Hammerling was in my office one day—that was when I was

with the Frank Presbrey Co.—a little before lunch time, and we went out to lunch together at the Vanderbilt, and this thing, which was common talk at the time among advertising people, the general public, came up, and I remember that we got into a discussion about it. I contended that the Germans had been furnishing munitions to both sides for wars that had been carried on, for some time, the Boer War, the Japanese-Russian War, etc., and that if the Germans could get our munitions they would be getting them, and they would be welcome. There was no reason why we should not furnish the allies munitions. One particular thing that I remember was the Vera Cruz affair, in which I stated that the United States had to enter the port of Vera Cruz to keep the Germans from landing a shipload of munitions; and he told me that the appeal was made in the interests of humanity.

Senator NELSON. Of humanity?

Mr. PRUDEN. To stop the destruction of life. That is all I remember of the conversation. It was a general conversation.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Hammerling told us yesterday, and he was very positive in his statement, that he was under the impression all the time that these munitions that the appeal sought to interrupt the shipment of were being shipped to Germany; that these were American munitions being shipped to Germany. Now, in your conversations you had with him, you had discussed that whole thing with him on the theory that the shipments were of munitions as to our allies, is that correct?

Mr. PRUDEN. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Is that the theory on which you discussed it with him?

Mr. PRUDEN. There is no question about that. There was a general discussion, nothing personal; nothing about our personal feelings, except that he, having placed this advertising, I was naturally interested, and we were just talking the thing over.

Maj. HUMES. From that conversation did you get the impression that he thought that the munitions being shipped from this country were being shipped to Germany?

Mr. PRUDEN. No, no; he did not think so.

Maj. HUMES. He did not think so?

Mr. PRUDEN. No.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why, of course he did not.

Maj. HUMES. His purpose was to keep the allies from getting the munitions?

Mr. PRUDEN. His purpose was to starve the allies of munitions, so that the war would have to stop.

Maj. HUMES. Did he so state to you?

Mr. PRUDEN. I do not remember that he stated that in that manner, but that was the impression that I got from the conversation.

Maj. HUMES. He understood the situation as to the shipments?

Mr. PRUDEN. Oh, thoroughly.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know from Hammerling, or from any other source, whether he was personally acquainted with Ambassador Bernstorff?

Mr. PRUDEN. Only from the fact that he told me he was.

Maj. HUMES. He told you that he was personally acquainted with him?

Mr. PRUDEN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did he say anything with reference to his acquaintance with the Emperor of Austria?

Mr. PRUDEN. Yes; Mr. Hammerling told me that Emperor Karl, prior to his accession to the throne, had, I think it was, a hunting lodge, or some other place, near his estate in Galicia, and that he knew him very well; that he was a democratic sort of a fellow, very likable, and he thought that he would make a good Emperor for Austria.

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Hammerling tell you how he acquired this estate in Austria?

Mr. PRUDEN. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What did he say?

Mr. PRUDEN. Well, Hammerling, about 1911, met me one day, and we had a talk—I believe we were at lunch together—and he told me that his uncle had died in Austria. He had often talked to me about his uncle before being a very rich man, and he said he was going to Austria to look after his interests, and that he had inherited a very large estate near Cracow. In fact, he invited me to visit him there.

Maj. HUMES. Did he tell you as to the position occupied in military or social affairs by his uncle?

Mr. PRUDEN. He told me that his uncle was at one time a commander of Przemysl; that he was at one time commander of the forces there.

Maj. HUMES. Did he make any statement to you as to the standing of his father and the position that his father had held in military or civil affairs in Austria?

Mr. PRUDEN. His father, he told me, was a military man, very severe, and that on account of that he never had any home life as a child; he was in the hands of servants all his life.

Maj. HUMES. Did he say anything as to the rank of his father in military circles?

Mr. PRUDEN. I am not absolutely positive, but he was either a colonel or a general.

Maj. HUMES. I think that is all, Mr. Pruden.

Senator OVERMAN. Who is the next witness?

TESTIMONY OF MR. FRANK ZOTTI.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. State your name and residence.

Mr. ZOTTI. Frank Zotti; 314 West One hundredth Street, New York City.

Maj. HUMES. Are you the publisher of a foreign-language newspaper?

Mr. ZOTTI. I am.

Maj. HUMES. For how long a period of time have you published that newspaper?

Mr. ZOTTI. Twenty-one years.

Senator NELSON. What is the nationality?

Mr. ZOTTI. Croatian.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Louis N. Hammerling?

Mr. ZOTTI. I am, from the day he landed in New York in 1908.

Maj. HUMES. Are you familiar with the organization of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

Mr. ZOTTI. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. How was that association organized and for what purpose?

Mr. ZOTTI. Shall I tell the story?

Maj. HUMES. Just answer the question.

Mr. ZOTTI. It was organized for the purpose of getting political advertising mostly, and through the influence of this political advertisement to secure patronage of large corporations, and through that patronage to subdue or at least to control these smaller newspapers that were barely making an existence; and eventually to put Mr. Hammerling in the position of a dictator to the foreign-language press.

Maj. HUMES. Were you present at any meeting at the time of the organization of the association?

Mr. ZOTTI. No; I was not.

Maj. HUMES. Were you present at any meeting shortly after the organization, or within a reasonable time after the organization of the association?

Mr. ZOTTI. There were not any meetings. It was simply a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York for $100,000 stock, and the corporation started business by——

Maj. HUMES. Just a minute, Mr. Zotti. I did not mean necessarily a corporation meeting. I mean, at any gathering of any kind.

Mr. ZOTTI. The first gathering was at the Republican club, when the first banquet was given.

Maj. HUMES. When was that?

Mr. ZOTTI. In 1909.

Maj. HUMES. How many were present?

Mr. ZOTTI. Quite a number of publishers. It was not what I would call a success compared with the other subsequent gatherings, but it was a sort of an initial introduction.

Maj. HUMES. How many publishers were present, approximately?

Mr. ZOTTI. Oh, about 150 or so, I guess.

Maj. HUMES. Who paid the expense of this banquet?

Mr. ZOTTI. Hammerling.

Maj. HUMES. Were there any men of prominence in attendance?

Mr. ZOTTI. Mr. George B. Cortelyou was the man at that banquet, and there were a few members of the cabinet at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Who presided?

Mr. ZOTTI. Mr. Hammerling.

Maj. HUMES. Was that the first time that Mr. Hammerling made a public appearance as the president of this association?

Mr. ZOTTI. That was the first time. He was introduced by Mr. George B. Cortelyou as the "president of the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers duly elected by this great body of foreign-language publications." Mr. Cortelyou may have been very sincere in the matter. On the other hand, from a political standpoint, it may happen to both parties, where a man of his caliber was a good business proposition, to show to his party that he had a man like Hammerling, president of an organization of 500 or 600 foreign newspapers, and able to deliver the goods at any time—to serve the purpose for his own ends.

Maj. HUMES. Were there any advertising representatives of big corporations present?

Mr. ZOTTI. There were quite a few.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember any of the big concerns that were represented?

Mr. ZOTTI. I believe the Standard Oil Co. was represented, the Telephone Co., the American Tobacco Co., and a few others. The second banquet was really the debut.

Maj. HUMES. When was the second banquet held?

Mr. ZOTTI. The next year, at the Knickerbocker, in 1910. There Mr. Cortelyou was even more pronounced in his eulogy of Louis N. Hammerling. The banquet was a real success. The presents advertised before the banquet, to be distributed to the guests, were to cost $15 or $20. Each man that came to the banquet would get a present of a match box of gold, like this [indicating], and a cigar cutter and knife, and besides that his dinner, and we were told that the entire cabinet of the United States, including the good soul, Mr. Taft, would be there, and that from that time on no publisher of a foreign-language newspaper need go out to borrow any money from the banks to exist, because it would come from all sources.

Senator WOLCOTT. I should rather expect that you had a large and successful banquet, after that. [Laughter.]

Mr. ZOTTI. Very successful. I remember distinctly that Senator Penrose eulogized Mr. Hammerling, and my friends Congressmen Goldfogle and Bennet; and, the fact was, it was understood at that time, or at least I understood it, that all these big corporations would open their coffers, and that Mr. Hammerling's patronage would amount to millions of dollars.

We have to take into consideration one fact, though, which is very important, and that is, that this man was put in a prominent position, no doubt, at the time.

Oh, I forgot to say that Mr. Wickersham was also there.

At that time it was the time when the American Tobacco Co. was in the courts for dissolution, and the Standard Oil Co. was in court for dissolution, and when the United States Steel Corporation was in the court for dissolution. At that time I brought the foreign steamship lines into the courts in New York under the Sherman antitrust law, as I am a former steamship man, and a newspaper man by circumstance and not by choice, and naturally, from the standpoint of the corporations, I suppose, these publicity agents representing all the corporations, it was the easiest matter in the world to present the case; to say, "Here is Hammerling sitting in the middle, with the Cabinet of the United States alongside him, and the Attorney General eulogizing him. The best thing we can do is to open our purses and let some of that long green flow, and with his influence he can turn things around and do things; he represents such a great body of men, these publishers."

And, then, the steamship lines were out always with an eye to business. The Dillingham bill was pending and other legislation pertaining to their status, as they have been in the happiest position of any corporations, because every time they were brought to court they would say, "We are foreigners," and naturally our courts here had no jurisdiction over them; so that naturally Mr. Ham-

merling was placed in a position inviolable, and had he been a man of intelligence, a man of honesty and fair play, he could have made ten times as much money as he did. But a man of the walking-delegate stamp, that sells out his abilities to the highest bidder, endowed with power! I came to the conclusion right there and then that to condone the fact would be to condone a cancer which was growing on the body of Uncle Sam, and I started to fight him, silently and quietly, because I had troubles of my own, big troubles, on account of my former steamship business. I was the owner of an American steamship line in which I met my Waterloo in 1908, and I had a good many things to contend with until 1914, when this man came back from Europe.

Senator NELSON. You mean Hammerling?

Mr. ZOTTI. Yes; Hammerling came back from Europe after this article appeared, practically against Austria, in his paper, and when his man Momand, and Caldwell and Gabriel, came to my office, thinking I was pro-Austrian or pro-German. Anyway, they came in the office and apologized terribly for having written that article. I thought to myself, "There is something here." Then, a little later than that, in cross-examining my managing editor, I found immediately that Mr. Hammerling was not satisfied. He found out this method to bring a paper the publisher of which was antagonistic to him, by making trouble in his home, trying to bribe his managing editor, or in any way coerce him to play and dance according to his music; so that I believe it was the early part of April——

Maj. HUMES. Of what year?

Mr. ZOTTI. Of 1915, that I sent out an S. O. S. call among the publishers and told them that I thought that it was up to their dignity among the publishers in New York of foreign-language papers like the Progreso and the Italian dailies—and they all knew me for a number of years—that it was about time to form a sort of association and put this man where he belonged as an advertiser, because he is using and misusing the name of the foreign-language press, and I can not see anything for it, although we are all getting a lot of business with them; that his movement is a power, and power in an ignorant man's hands and a man of his caliber is a dangerous weapon, and he is becoming so autocratic that he is already dictating the policies of the newspapers, and some day he will be so impregnable that any publisher who will assume to go against him will be ruined.

The European war started. With all due respect, some of the publishers are very good, intelligent men, but some are not, and we could not get them together. He always had a few publishers, as I would call it, on the payroll to do his dirty work—he has got them even to-day—and those publishers would naturally be sent out to sow the seed of discord among the other publishers, so that nothing could be gotten together. Besides, the war started, as I say, and one paper is an Italian paper and another paper is a Croatian paper, and a third paper is Serbian, and so on; they could not get them together. So I waited.

When the "Appeal to the people" advertisement came, Mr. Momand came to my office personally and said, "Now, Mr. Zotti, you better sign this." I said, "I told you I have it from my managing editor, who happens to be very close to Dumba, and the for-

mer ambassador of Austria-Hungary, and von Nuber, the former consul general and director of the Transatlantic Trust Co., of New York;" I said, "I have a tip that Mr. Hammerling got a lot of money from Bernstorff, and I do not intend to sign that appeal." "Well," he says, "If you do not sign the appeal you will be sorry." I am a little bit excitable at times, and I threw Momand out of the door, as my clerks can testify. Since that time the boy didn't have much use for me. However, the appeal was published.

Senator NELSON. Was it published in your paper?

Mr. ZOTTI. No, sir; I did not publish it. I saw Mr. Sites, of the World, and spoke to him about it after it was published, and took cognizance of it, and they resented it because the World, from that time on, started to open up on him whenever they had a chance.

I made the acquaintance of Gabriel and Dattner in a business way. The boys were more amenable to reason later on, and I had a little chat with both of them at times in my office, telling them where this thing would lead, and I really confessed to them that I am going to fight this man to the bitter end; that I knew exactly what I was up against, but that I was not afraid. In fact, I told them that on the day when might should be right I want to die.

I went on and fought this man as best I could. I called up a publisher's meeting again, of which Mr. Gabriel spoke before, in my office, and really I forgot that Gabriel and Dattner were there. It happened to be a large meeting.

The publishers came in while they were in my office, and I let them stay. They made a clean breast of the inner workings of the association.

I then turned around to the publishers and told them, "Now, you hear with your own ears from two men who are close to Hammerling."

Senator STERLING. Who were those two men you referred to; Gabriel and Dattner?

Mr. ZOTTI. Yes; Gabriel and Dattner. He narrated the story before, but he did not say that it was done in my office.

I then knew, and was very careful to invite one or two of these tools, or at least one of those men that are getting most advertisement from Mr. Hammerling and that are humble servants of him. They got a little bit sick before the meeting was through, and they went out. I knew where they went. They went to tell Hammerling what happened there. Then when the meeting was dissolved, I warned Gabriel and Dattner. I said, "Now, when you get back to your boss he will ask you to sign some papers. He will know you spoke in front of 10 men, and if you tell an untruth I will act against you, too. I advise you to stand by what you said. You are both young. This country is big enough. That man is a crook; and, worse than that, he is a coward." "Now," I said, "do not sign any papers." They went back the same night, and sure enough he had the papers ready for them to sign.

Senator NELSON. To sign?

Mr. ZOTTI. They did not sign. After that an article appeared in the World, inspired by me.

Maj. HUMES. Now hold on, Mr. Zotti, I suggest we do not get all of those clippings in.

Mr. ZOTTI. All right.

Maj. HUMES. And get the newspaper controversy going. It is the fact of the newspaper association and its operations that the committee is concerned with, I assume.

Mr. ZOTTI. All right.

Maj. HUMES. What do you know, if anything, as to the manipulation of the compensations for different papers?

Mr. ZOTTI. In what way?

Maj. HUMES. In other words, was the business conducted as a straight commission business or was it conducted without regard to legitimate commissions?

Mr. ZOTTI. Absolutely not. It was not conducted as a legitimate business. It was, make as much as you can from the advertisers and pay as little as you can to the publisher, except to a few publishers who would stand by the rates, where he could not butt in. For instance, to-day I am receiving advertisements from the Standard Oil Co. and from the Edison Co. through Hammerling. He is bound to give it to me. He attempted to take it away but they said, "We want that paper because the paper has a circulation." Also, the Consolidated Gas Co. But he still handles the advertisements. He is compelled to give it to me by the corporations themselves, upon the merits of the paper.

Maj. HUMES. Now, tell me what you know about any attempt on the part of Mr. Hammerling to control the editorial policies of the foreign-language newspapers.

Mr. ZOTTI. As I have explained, papers that were not on a stable basis and that needed his help, as I would say, and were afraid to fight him personally, were naturally controlled through him, by always this same threat, "We will withdraw all the patronage"; like, for instance, in the personal-liberty matter. I never spoke to him about it, and never wanted it, although I knew he was getting paid so much per line. I know I saved other publishers, who did not publish that. But then there were others, because the easiest way was the best way, and they did not want to get into trouble with this man who was giving them $10,000, $20,000, and $30,000 a year's advertising; and they took the advertisements and published them.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know what the attitude of the publishers of the foreign-language newspapers is with reference to Mr. Hammerling? Are they afraid of him, and is the domination a domination of fear, or is it because of the remuneration received from him, exclusively?

Mr. ZOTTI. What we would call those papers which are absolutely independent—and there are some in New York, with good circulations, and in Chicago and other great centers—they are different. They do not care. You take the Progreso, and the Italo-Americano, and the big Italian dailies, they do not care. Mr. Barsotti told me himself that Hammerling was trying to buy his paper for German purposes and had offered him a million dollars.

Senator OVERMAN. How much?

Mr. ZOTTI. A million dollars.

Senator NELSON. For German purposes?

Mr. ZOTTI. Yes, sir.

Senator OVERMAN. What time was this?

Mr. ZOTTI. When the United States went to war.

They are indifferent. It was myself who called the attention of a French paper to the fact that they were carrying on their label "Member of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers," and make them take it off.

Other papers whose publishers, as I said, would rather travel the easiest way and get the money, took the money and kept quiet. The little papers in the little towns, naturally he has been manipulating them any old way he wanted to. For instance, this fellow Jaudon, who was auditor of the Hammerling institution, explained to me—he is now in the Marine Corps, United States Navy—that the Standard Oil Co. advertisement would go to several of these foreign papers outside, little papers that had 1,000 circulation throughout the State, and as soon as they would get the 30-inch advertisement for the second insertion they would receive a letter from Hammerling stating that their paper has no circulation and that the company wants to withdraw that, but that he will use his influence so that the company would keep that advertisement, but that he can not pay them a rate. He would pay him a little less rate, if he gets the advertisement again, but he would advise the publisher to keep the "ad" for the time being and show his good will. In this way a good many of those poor fellows kept the "ad" for 52 weeks and got paid for 2 weeks. Mr. Hammerling collected the balance of 50 weeks from the Standard Oil Co. and pocketed it.

There were other instances of trimming of newspapers for which Jaudon was paid; they skinned them out of so many insertions a week. He was getting extra presents to do that. In fact, he opened my eyes when I gave the testimony in New York, when Henry Green, another advertising man and a so-called aspirant for Hammerling's shoes, brought Hammerling before the United States Court in New York under the Sherman trust law and I gave the testimony before Assistant United States Attorney Glasier for two hours. Then that thing was crushed and nothing heard about it, until the time came where I had to openly attack this man in my paper, and I started by showing him up. Mr. Foster, ex-chief of the Foreign Language Division of the Committee on Public Information, lost his job, he claims, through some reasons here, and he came to New York and gave me the statement that Mr. Hammerling was trying to get on the Hoover board, and how as soon as he got an inkling he would be there, he tried to blackmail the World Tip-Top Bread people in New York. I took his story, made him sign the affidavit, and I published it. Just to see the effect, I waited a little while to see what action Hammerling would take, and he has not taken any action; so that I came back, and I found a man by the name of Clarence E. Foote who liquidated the Savoy Trust Co., a bank in New York composed mostly of Italians, and who told me how Hammerling made the Savoy Trust Co.—Hammerling became a director in the Savoy Trust Co. through the machinations of Mr. Cummins, who was sentenced to seven years in the State's prison at Sing Sing, and Mr. Reichman, who was also sentenced, and at that time the attorney of Mr. Hammerling, Mr. Liston Lewis, was a director of the Carnegie Trust Co., and he told me how he got in there in the Savoy Trust Co. as a director. He made the Savoy loan $50,000 to the Carnegie Trust Co. and he gets Mr. Hyde, the chamberlain of New York City, into trouble.

He then promised to the directors of the Savoy Trust Co., when they made a loan of $50,000, that he would make good in case they lost it. When the Broadway Trust took the assets of the Savoy Trust Co. they asked him for the $50,000. As he had not put it in writing, they settled the matter for $5,000 through a firm of attorneys in New York, which is a matter of record. I published that.

Going on, Mr. Gabriel and Mr. Dattner at this time were out, and little by little I got this Bernstorff stuff, how Bernstorff was there, and this, that, and the other thing. I put up 27 questions, also in English, in my paper for Mr. Hammerling to answer. After these 27 questions were set up I remember, on the 29th day of March, 1918, Mr. Carl Byoir, assistant chairman of the committee on public information, came to New York, at the Vanderbilt Hotel, and begged me to come up and see him. I came up to see Mr. Byoir, who was not informed, I suppose, as to who he was going to see, because he went into a rage at once and threatened me that I must stop these attacks against Hammerling because he represented the Government of the United States. I asked him which government, because I thought that the Congress——

Maj. HUMES. You mean, now, that you represented the Government, or Byoir?

Mr. ZOTTI. That Byoir represented the Government of the United States, and he was speaking in the name of the Government, and that he had two affidavits against me whereby I was going to blackmail Hammerling for $10,000. I gave him the names of the two men that made the affidavits, and I did not care about that, but I wanted to know his reasons for threatening me.

Senator NELSON. Did Byoir threaten you?

Mr. ZOTTI. Yes. I asked him if George Creel knew about it, because I said I knew Creel very well. He said, "Well, Mr. Zotti, I summoned you for just grounds. You leave this man alone, because you are going to get into trouble. He is doing great service for the United States." I said, "I am well acquainted with what he is doing. For that matter, you can get a convict from Atlanta, Ga., and put the stamp of Uncle Sam on his back, and he can do some service." I said, "I am not going to stop, and I am not going to take your advice, and I tell you to mind your own business. You have plenty to do if you mind your own business."

The next day I was in a friend's office when I got a telephone call. My office told me the brother of Mr. Byoir, he called up and told me that I better reconsider the matter. I told him I had reconsidered the matter, and I told him I would write a letter to Hammerling, and if he ever can digest that letter that I am going to write him he is a good one. So that on April 3, under my own signature, I wrote a letter to Mr. Hammerling, in which I told him that he was a perjurer, a thief, a crook, and several other things, which I have a copy of here if the committee wants it.

Maj. HUMES. Now, the question of the personal altercation between you and Hammerling does not interest the committee.

Mr. ZOTTI. I am coming to the question of the grand jury now, if you will permit me.

Maj. HUMES. All I care for is the facts.

Mr. ZOTTI. I am getting to the facts. He went before the grand jury to have me indicted.

Maj. HUMES. Then they did not indict you?

Mr. ZOTTI. Yes, sir; and then they started, and stopped.

Senator OVERMAN. What was this Government officer doing there?

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Byoir was an assistant to Mr. Creel, was he not?

Senator OVERMAN. An assistant where?

Maj. HUMES. An assistant to Creel.

Senator OVERMAN. And he came over and——

Mr. ZOTTI. Intimidated me.

Senator OVERMAN (continuing). He tried to cause you to stop your attacks on Hammerling?

Mr. ZOTTI. He threatened me.

Maj. HUMES. What did he threaten you with?

Mr. ZOTTI. He threatened me with serious consequences, some of which I got a taste of on the 15th of August, in the Mr. de Woody escapade, as I call it, and I came pretty near being put out of business.

Maj. HUMES. You mean the chief of the Bureau of Investigations of the Department of Justice?

Mr. ZOTTI. The chief of the Bureau of Investigations of the Department of Justice.

Senator NELSON. Did he call on you?

Mr. ZOTTI. The papers reported that he raided my office.

Senator NELSON. Raided your office?

Mr. ZOTTI. Searching for papers incriminating me.

Senator OVERMAN. Did he take any papers?

Mr. ZOTTI. Just my telephone book with the names of the people I used to telephone. That is all he took, so far as I know.

Senator OVERMAN. What was Creel's interest in silencing you?

Mr. ZOTTI. Mr. Creel was not against me, so far as I know. I think it is personal matter between Byoir and Hammerling.

Senator OVERMAN. Are Mr. Byoir and Hammerling good friends?

Mr. ZOTTI. Very good friends.

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Byoir have anything to do with this last contract that was awarded to Mr. Hammerling, so far as you know, from the Committee on Public Information?

Mr. ZOTTI. I do not know. I know that the contract was given first to an Italian advertising agent whose brother is a big Italian writer in New York and who has been attacking Hammerling for a good many years. Mr. Augustino d'Brase and his brother Mario d'Brase have an advertising agency. They received the advertising from the Committee on Public Information in New York for about $2,021 to put the advertisements about Fairfax in the Italian papers in New York. No sooner had he started to place the advertisement than he received a call to come to the office and was told that another advertising agent had given much lower rates, and that the contract was taken away from him and given to this other one. He asked who the other one was, and he was told it was Mr. Hammerling, and he should go to Mr. Hammerling for his check. Now, as soon as Mr. Hammerling received this advertising from the Committee on Public Information, which he calls "the Government," he immediately sends a letter to all the publishers of the United States asking them to sign a certain paper to be sent to President Wilson for Thanksgiving, and therefore here I am; I am against the Government. And, actually, this thing went into the papers and on the 29th, I suppose, an

able attorney, Mr. Becker, in New York, who had cross-examined this man, he gives his story of it, about these securities—of his examination. But previous to Mr. Becker it was Mr. Norman White, attached to the War Department, 302 Broadway, who put Mr. Hammerling on the stand and got the information from him. But previous to Mr. White, I want the honorable body of the Senate to know, I was instrumental in informing the Department of Justice of all these occurrences and that a man by the name of Perkins, sent from the department, came to my office and examined Mr. Gabriel and examined Mr. Dattner and got all these data, and then, I suppose, pigeon-holed them.

Maj. HUMES. I think that is all, Mr. Zotti, unless there is something else the committee wants.

Senator OVERMAN. That is all.

Mr. ZOTTI. Thank you.

Senator OVERMAN. Mr. Konta, we will hear you now.

Mr. SAXE. I understand that Mr. Konta is to be permitted to make his statement to the commitee.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes. Mr. Konta wrote several letters to me saying he desired to make his statement to the committee. Since that time he has been subpœnaed as a witness. Now I propose that he go on and make his statement voluntarily.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ALEXANDER KONTA.

(The witness was sworn by the Chairman.)

Mr. KONTA. In the first place, I desire to express to this Committee my appreciation of your courtesy in granting to me permission to appear before you and testify in my own behalf, and also for your courtesy, when I was confined to my house by influenza, in adjourning the date of the hearing until I should be well enough to attend.

The reason for my pressing request to appear personally before you is the publication, on September 19, 1918, by the Alien Property Custodian, in connection with certain data in respect to the purchase of "The Washington Times," with funds raised by certain brewers, of a letter written by me to Bernard Dernburg, dated March 31, 1915, two years before the United States entered the war.

These two events had no connection with each other, and the publication of the two together, followed by various news articles, has done me great injustice and injury. Whatever the motives of the Alien Property Custodian, my loyalty to the United States has been baselessly impugned.

I was born on May 11, 1862, at Budapest, Hungary. I came to the United States in 1889. I became an American citizen on July 14, 1894.

Since I became an American citizen, I have been a loyal American, first, last and all the time. I have always continued an active interest in Hungary and Hungarian affairs; but I have never permitted my interest in Hungary to interfere in the slightest degree with my loyalty to the United States.

During the early days of the war, when the United States was not involved, my sympathies were with Hungary. If they were against any one, they were against Russia, Hungary's historic oppressor. I

never was a German or Austrian sympathizer and I never participated in any German or Austrian propaganda.

For many years, I have been in close sympathy with the Hungarian Independent party headed by Count Michael Karolyi. He was my guest in New York in 1914, immediately before the outbreak of the war, and his mission in this country was in the interest of Hungary's freedom from Austrian and German domination.

Subsequent to the outbreak of the war I wrote a number of articles and letters and they were published in such newspapers as The Tribune, The Sun, The World, The Post and The Brooklyn Eagle. I made occasional speeches. I challenge anyone to find in my published writings or speeches anything disloyal to the United States or anything which can be honestly construed as German or Austrian propaganda.

The national government has repeatedly recognized my interest in Hungarian affairs. For instance, I presided on January 30, 1916, at a mass meeting of the Hungarians of New York City at the Madison Square Garden Theatre. We passed the following resolution addressed to the President and to the Members of Congress:

> We, the American citizenry of Hungarian origin pledge unwavering loyalty and protest against the constant systematic and increasing campaign of vilification, and are resolved that proper steps be taken to guard the rights of American citizens of Hungarian birth, and to devise means of dissipating the present groundless and unjust attitude of suspicion and antagonism, and to prevent its recurrence.

Following this meeting, a delegation of Hungarian-Americans, of which I was Chairman, proceeded to Washington to present this resolution to the President. In reply, the President said:

> You have thanked me for receiving you. I do not deserve any thanks. * * * I never myself have doubted for a moment the feeling that gentlemen such as yourselves have towards America. I recognize you just as much Americans as anybody.

I found time also to write frequently on the topic of emigration, in which, for many years, I have been interested. I then feared, and still fear, that when the war had ended, foreign governments would do their utmost to encourage the repatriation of naturalized Americans. In several letters to the press I pleaded for some new regulations to overcome a danger to the industrial America of the future. I also pleaded for a better education of the immigrant so that he might become a better American. And, in several public speeches, I impressed upon American-Hungarians the honorable duty of standing by their oaths of allegiance to this country.

On December 7, 1917, the United States declared war upon Austria-Hungary. Shortly prior to this date, I prepared a memorandum to be delivered to the President, wherein I set forth what I conceived to be urgent reasons why the United States should declare war on Austria-Hungary. The arguments in favor of the declaration seemed to me to far outweigh the arguments against such declaration. As an American citizen who knew Austro-Hungarian conditions, I felt it my duty to place my reasons for the declaration before influential quarters. Even previously to this, I had told the President that, when the Hungarians of this country (and by this I referred particularly to the unnaturalized Hungarians engaged in industrial pursuits) were wanted by the United

States in support of American aims in the war, he would know where to find them. I meant by this that he would find many Hungarians eager to do their bit for the United States. In stating this so confidently to the President, I spoke as one who had always realized how important it was that the Hungarian communities of the United States should understand the American situation and how equally important it was that, in any moment of emergency, the United States should understand the position of the Hungarians.

Our declaration of war against Austria-Hungary came about; and for reasons which, among others, I had previously outlined in my memorandum.

At or about this time, it became evident that the government was desirous of allaying any possibility of misunderstanding amongst the Hungarians in this country as to its friendly attitude towards Hungarians. The President's desire to make this clear was shown in his pronouncement to the effect that the Austrians and Hungarians in America were to be treated in a friendly manner, so long as they did not engage in any activities against the government. I was desirous of strengthening this good feeling. I, therefore, suggested to Washington that it would be advisable to establish a League of Hungarians, whether naturalized or not, to afford all of Hungarian origin the opportunity of expressing their feelings of gratitude to the President for his action toward them and also to proclaim their loyal feelings towards the United States.

My proposal reached Washington at a time when Washington itself was desirous of seeing some such organization created. Washington accepted the suggestion, directed the establishment of the American-Hungarian Loyalty League under the auspices of the Committee on Public Information, gave the organization its name, and placed me at its head, as Chairman, to begin the work.

The formation of the League was discussed in the latter days of December, 1917. The preliminary work of organization began early in January, 1918. It was decided to give the League its start in the West. And at Cleveland, Ohio, on January 27, 1918, a mass meeting in connection with the convention of the Hungarian-American Federation was held, at which I was present. In a speech delivered on that occasion I outlined the object of the League. I told the audience that the President had asked for a line-up, and that we Hungarians had met in response to his demand. I also told them that there was only one course for Hungarians to pursue,—that of complete, unswerving loyalty to the United States. "It is our one and only duty," I said, "We must get behind Uncle Sam. We must help him to win the war. There are thousands of Hungarians here in the West who have not yet awakened to the truth, who cannot see what America is fighting for. Let us tell them. If they have been misled, let us lead them right. The power and effectiveness of the loyalty which we, as Hungarian citizens, proclaim to this nation, depends on our numbers and our unanimity. We must add to our numbers those who are not yet convinced of the truth. We must carry that truth into every Hungarian center of the country. That's what the line-up means. That's the kind of patriotism which will prove a potent force in the winning of this war."

Such in brief was the appeal to all American-Hungarians. It was an appeal which, in the same or similar language has since been

made by myself before many other audiences in many parts of the East and West.

At that meeting, we passed a resolution. I ask leave to file this resolution with the Committee.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you want to read or just insert it in the record?

Mr. KONTA. I ask leave to insert it.

Senator OVERMAN. Very well.

Mr. KONTA. I ask leave to insert it here.

Senator OVERMAN. Very well.

Mr. KONTA (reading):

MAGYAR RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED JANUARY 27, 1918, BY THE CONVENTION OF THE HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION ASSEMBLED IN CLEVELAND, OHIO.

We, delegated to the National Convention of the Hungarian-American Federation, assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, this twenty-seventh day of January, 1918, and representing Americans of Hungarian Blood throughout the United States, having been called for the purpose of expressing our heart-felt appreciation of the proclamation of the President of the United States regarding the status of the Hungarians in American, do hereby

Resolve:

First: That we express our sincere and deepest gratitude to the President for his recognition of the most honorable purposes of Hungarian Residents in the United States by not regarding them as "Alien Enemies." We assure the President that his confidence was not misplaced and that the Hungarians in America will continue to give evidence of their genuine attachment and devotion to this country.

Second: That we reaffirm and reiterate our unflinching loyalty to our country, the United States of America, pointing with pride to the fact that Americans of Hungarian blood have at all times fulfilled their duties and obligations as American citizens evidenced by the heroic part which they have taken in our civil war. We appreciate the freedom and equality that the Constitution of this great Republic accords us, and are ever ready to uphold the great ideals of our President, aiming to make the world safe for democracy; and

Third: That we recognize the importance of Americanizing the people coming to the shores of the United States. Efforts in this direction have been pursued by and were part of the aims of all the organizations and institutions of Hungarians in this country at all times, and we hereby pledge ourselves to continue these efforts with undiminishing vigor; and

Fourth: That we have always stood for a free, independent, and democratic Hungary, on the principles proclaimed by Louis Kossuth. We reaffirm this stand when, just prior to the war, we offered and started to give our assistance to the great movement for the reconstruction of New Hungary on the principles of true democracy; and we rejoice at the fact that the aims of America, as expressed by the President, make the realization of this endeavor an absolute certainty; and

Fifth: That we are pleased to be apprised of the formation of the American Hungarian Loyalty League for the duration of the war; we indorse its aims and purposes; and we not only pledge our own co-operation but also urge upon all Hungarians, citizens and no citizens, to join it, and

Sixth: That we further resolve that copies of this resolution be properly presented to the President and members of his Cabinet; and to both Houses of Congress.

Our next meeting was held at Lorain, Ohio. I attended it. I also attended large meetings on March 10, at Bridgeport, Conn.; on March 17, at Chicago; on March 24, at Trenton; on April 7, at Brooklyn; on April 28, at New Brunswick, N. J.; on May 5, at Youngstown, Ohio; on May 12, at Bridgeport; on June 23, at Johnstown, Pa.; on June 30, at Detroit; on July 14, at Perth Amboy; and on August 24, at McKeesport; and I also attended a

number of small meetings. At each meeting a similar resolution was passed and wired to the President, who acknowledged it in most instances. For example, I beg leave to read the resolutions of the Verhovay Aid Association, which are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE VERHOVAY AID ASSOCIATION AT HAZLETON, PA., ON APRIL 15, 1918.

The Verhovay Aid Association, representing 27,000 Hungarian-born citizens and residents of the United States, assembled at Hazleton, Pa., this day, desire to express their loyalty; their united appreciation of the attitude of the Government towards them since war was declared upon Austria-Hungary; their unreserved condemnation of, and antagonism to, the German Emperor, German militarists, and all those German peoples who support the German Autocracy in its objects in the present war; their perfect confidence, not only in the righteousness of America's cause in the war, but also in the ultimate victory of American principle over the moral turpitude of its enemies and the triumph of America in the great cause of Freedom and Democracy; and their solemn promise, throughout the war, unswervingly to support the United States of America in its forward fight to that splendid victory.

The Verhovay Aid Society, realizing that the triumph of the United States in this war will more quickly secure that Independence of Hungary of which all Hungarians for centuries have dreamed, desire also to record their contempt for the Hapsburg rulers of Austria-Hungary who, in the past, have failed to keep their sworn oaths to the Hungarian people, and who, at the present time, are giving proof to the world of their traditional mendacity and their hereditary lack of the sense of honor. The members of the Verhovay Society, while expressing their full feeling of loyalty to the United States, would implore the President to aid the Magyar people to break away from the unhappy rule of the Hapsburgs, and to bring about the realization of an independent Hungary which will place the Hungarian peoples among the progressive leaders of the world's democracies.

The members of the Verhovay Association, in transmitting this sentiment to the President, desire to express their approval of the American Hungarian Loyalty League which, in its present loyal labors amongst the Hungarians of the United States, recognizes that whatever is done to bring about an American victory in this war will also bring about the full independence of the Hungarian peoples.

So, then, the League started on its work of education. It was beset, from the beginning, with obstacles of an internal nature and by external opposition. Regarding the internal difficulties which had to be faced, these were the result of suspicions of the objects of the League amongst the Hungarians themselves. There is no race which has been misled so often by self-serving leaders as the Hungarian race, and any new plan proposed for their adherence, invites suspicious questioning. As for the external obstacles, these were mostly traceable to the activities of men who were not loyal to the country and who wished nothing to be done that would wean the American-Hungarian from his devotion to his mother-land. As may be seen from reports which, as Chairman, I made to the Committee on Public Information, these oppositions are more specifically dealt with. All that I can say here is that from the very beginning the League had to fight its way. It was not enough that the United States should have shown to the Hungarians such a friendly feeling. That alone was not sufficient inducement to the Hungarians to make them join the League. They had to be persuaded that the joining of the League was a duty to the United States which they were called upon to perform as recipients of the friendly hospitality and the protection of this country.

I do not need to detail the history of the League during its development under my direction. It is enough to say that a membership, which grew very slowly during the first few months of unremitting efforts in propaganda, which was ably supported by the better class Hungarian newspapers, finally, in September, 1918, reached the number of 25,000. During the summer months, the membership grew rapidly. This was owing to the fact that the suspicions already mentioned as to the objects of the League had been allayed, and the work of its not disinterested opponents had, to a large extent, failed, or that the nature of the antagonism had been discovered. Never before in the history of the Hungarian communities of the United States has a result such as this been attained. It has astonished nearly every Hungarian of standing or of experience in organization work in this country. But I take no particular credit to myself for having achieved this result. The result was always to be expected when the fundamental object of the League had become known to the people and the force of the arguments in its favor had been realized. The League would certainly have failed if the object had not been such a great one and the work of American propaganda had not been so loyally and ceaselessly carried on.

It was deemed by those who took part in the formation of the League that membership should be obtainable on payment of $1 for permanent membership. It was understood that the funds acquired from these membership fees should be devoted so far as possible to publishing American propaganda in the Hungarian press. As the membership increased this fund increased, and in accordance with instructions carefully carried out the fund was disbursed as arranged. In order that no question should ever arise regarding the disposition of these monies, I insisted that no payment should be made except by check drawn upon a special account and signed by both the Chairman and the Treasurer of the League. Monthly reports of incoming amounts and expenditures have been submitted, in the form of sworn affidavits, to Washington. There is still a balance of these monies on deposit. Not a single penny of these funds has been drawn upon by Washington for any expenses connected with the League. The Committee on Public Information has paid all salaries, all traveling expenses and all petty cash expenditures, except that from time to time they have given me for petty cash expenditures small sums to the amount of $2040.37. All items of expenditure by myself from these advances have been accounted for, in a special statement by my business manager.

I have interpolated this statement regarding the cash used by me in order to make a positive denial of the statement published in The New York Tribune and elsewhere that we have squandered between $200,000 and $300,000 of the Government's money and have spent $80,000 in publicity for the League.

The Chairman of the Committee on Public Information has certified that the total cost of the American-Hungarian League to the Government is $14,000. Of this money I personally handled only $2,040.27. In addition to that, we have paid our own publicity expenses out of the $25,000 of membership subscriptions; and I have also paid many incidental expenses out of my own pocket.

I think, myself, that the exaggerated stories about the League's funds and our large expenditures constitute one of the reasons for the misinformation which has been circulated about me personally.

The Hungarians throughout the country, of course, did not know the truth, and had no means of getting at the truth. It has frequently been stated in these circles that I have been making huge sums out of my Chairmanship of the League. The sums have varied anywhere from a few thousand dollars to thirty thousand dollars. The fact of the matter is that I was getting $1 per year from the government for my work, and that in the work of organization I have spent my own money in various ways towards its support. In this connection, I say nothing of the endless hours,—worth to me a great deal of money,—which I have devoted to building up the organization.

I want to make a special point here of the fact that the total expenditures of the organization of the League have been amazingly small. This statement will probably be borne out by all who have had experience with other organizations connected with the government. One reason for this small expenditure is that the Hungarians themselves have footed many of the bills for the public meetings which have been held in various parts of the country. Another reason is that many prominent Hungarian-Americans have willingly proffered their services on a dollar per annum basis.

I have recently seen it stated that the American-Hungarian Loyalty League has partaken of a pro-German character. I beg to state, in the most vigorous terms, that this suggestion is wholly unfounded. The American-Hungarian Loyalty League was established in the interest of the United States government. Its sole aim was to keep the Hungarians of this country in line with America's course in the war. It has pursued an American policy of education in the interests of the United States. It has brought together, into a powerful and vocal consolidation, all Hungarian sentiment in the cause of truth and justice.

In this connection, I also want to say that, if the League has amplified, in any respect, the principles on which it was founded, it has been to suggest to the Hungarians of this country that they might eventually partake in the victory of American arms over America's enemies. I need not point out that the dream of all Hungarians for a century has been the establishment of an independent Hungary. The League, having this in mind, has pointed out that the great opportunity to Hungarians of realizing their dream was for them to place themselves determinedly behind the United States; for it would only be through the leadership of the United States that an independent Hungary could be rendered possible. (See page 18.)

I have also seen it stated that, in the course of an address which I made in December, 1915, I defended the Lusitania outrage upon the ground that the Lusitania was carrying munitions. This statement is false. Among the New York newspapers which gave credence to it was The Tribune. Yet, I find among my clippings, a clipping from The Tribune of December 8, 1915, which reported this very speech. This Tribune article is entitled "Hungarian Editor Denounces Plots. Conspiracies to Wreck Munitions Plants in United States Called Treason." In the course of this article, The Tribune quoted me as follows:

Deploring the recent attempts to destroy munitions plants by Teutonic agents and sympathizers. Alexander Konta, the Hungarian editor, pointed out the rights and duties of naturalized Hungarians in a speech in the Yorkville branch of the Public Library last night. * * *

The sinking of the Lusitania was characterized by Mr. Konta as worse than atrocity, it was a blunder committed with total lack of understanding of the American spirit, and lost the cause of the Central Powers, irretrievably, in this country.

Before reviewing, as rapidly as possible, a series of incidents in 1918 affecting me personally, I want to say to the Committee that I have carefully preserved all my letters and papers, and that I have freely offered them for inspection to various departments of government.

As early as February, 1915, an individual made an attack on me in the New York press and, while my lawyers advised me that the matter was of no consequence, I wrote at once to Senator Stone and Representative Flood offering to place all my records at their disposal.

In the early part of 1918, I learned that the Department of Justice, acting in connection with the Office of Military Intelligence in New York City, was conducting an investigation regarding my activities.

In response to a request from Lieut. W. L. Campbell of the Office of Military Intelligence, I went to that office in company with Mr. A. S. Brown, who has been my confidential manager for many years. At the interview which followed I stated to Lieut. Campbell that all my records, files, bank books, and business books, were at the disposal of his office and I invited him or his representative to come to my office or residence, without any previous notice, at any time, to inspect any documents they wished. In so doing I told them that I waived all my rights as a citizen.

Lieut. Campbell interrogated me fully in respect to Hans Tauscher and certain other individuals, and as to my personal and business relations with them. I sent him my scrap books covering the period from December, 1911, to date, and a considerable amount of correspondence, which he retained for some time for examination. Eventually, on March 14, 1918, Lieut. Campbell sent me a letter reading as follows:

MY DEAR MR. KONTA: I am returning, with thanks, your three scrap books, and letters, which you were kind enough to let us have.

Although we are not at liberty to give out any of our reports to Washington, I can assure you personally that my investigation showed a clean slate.

From time to time, points arise upon which I would be very glad if you could get us some data; also, if anything of interest similar to the matter of Hungarian churches, comes to your attention, would be obliged if you would pass it along to us.

Again thanking you for your co-operation and your kindness in assisting us in our investigation as much as possible, I remain

Very truly yours,

(signed) W. L. CAMPBELL,
1st Lieut. Sig. R. C., A. S.

From that time on my relations with the Office of Military Intelligence were very friendly and co-operative. I aided them in every way.

At another period, I was requested to appear before Deputy Attorney General Becker. I did so. I made a similar offer of all my records and gave him all the information which he requested.

On June 26, 1918, I received a letter from Major Nicholas Biddle of the Office of Military Intelligence, per Lieut. Campbell, saying

that it had come to the attention of their office that in the latter part of March, 1915, I had prepared a confidential memorandum for Dr. Dernburg on the newspaper situation in New York, and saying that Major Biddle would be very much obliged if I would let him have a copy of the memorandum if I still had it. The letter assured me that it would be treated in the usual confidential manner of that office.

I called up Major Biddle immediately on the telephone and told him that I had a copy of such a letter and would bring it up myself.

I proceeded immediately to Major Biddle's office and was received by him in the presence of Captain Tiffany. I handed him my copy of the letter and explained to him the circumstances under which it was written.

In the latter part of March, 1915, I attended, by invitation, a dinner at the German Club in New York City. I was not a member of that Club and never have been a member. I was seated next to Dr. Dernburg. During the dinner he complained bitterly about his inability to place before the American public the German side of matters connected with the war. He stated that he thought a newspaper ought to be purchased for such purpose, and he said that unfortunately there were no funds at the disposal of the German officials for that purpose. He asked me whether, if funds could be obtained, I would act as broker in the matter, and with that end in view whether I would procure for him some data as to the financial standing of the various New York papers. A day or two later, I wrote him the report or letter which Mr. Palmer has made public. I had two motives in doing this, one to earn a commission, the other was to take advantage of an opportunity of obtaining a medium to combat prohibition sentiments. Dr. Dernburg did not acknowledge this letter, and I have never seen or heard from him since. I explained this to Major Biddle.

A month or so later, on July 10, 1918, I was requested over the 'phone to call upon Assistant United States District Attorney Harper.

I went at once to Mr. Harper's office and I was asked by him if I knew anything about the "Evening Mail" deal. I told him I did not.

He asked me if I knew Mr. Rumely. I told him I did not—that I had never met him. Also that I had never met Mr. Stoddard, and had never been inside the "Mail" office. Also that I had never had any connection direct or indirect with the paper.

Mr. Harper then asked me about the Dernburg letter. "Did I write the letter?" I replied in the affirmative.

He then asked me if I knew Dr. Albert. I answered that I did. I met him first in 1904 at the World's Fair at St. Louis. He then asked if I had had any correspondence with Dr. Albert. I answered that I had such correspondence. He asked me what it was. I told him to go to the 'phone and ask Mr. Brown, my confidential manager, to bring all files connected with Dr. Albert. Mr. Brown appeared with these files. I immediately handed them to Mr. Harper, without looking them over. I said, "Here are my Albert files, which you can keep."

Among this correspondence Mr. Harper found two letters which he asked me about.

One of these letters concerned a proposed prize-offer of $1,000 in connection with a statement that the German general staff never told a lie. The facts relating thereto are as follows: At a social gathering at Mr. Tauscher's house, Tauscher and Albert stated that the reports of the German general staff were always true and dependable, whereas the reports of the allies were not. I took issue with them and said "If you are so sure about this, why don't you offer a prize of $1,000 to anyone who can prove the contrary?" It was clear, as I pointed out to them, that if their statement was correct, the prize money would never have to be paid. Nothing ever came of my suggestion, and, when the facts are considered in connection with my letter to Dr. Albert, the full sense of the letter becomes clear.

Regarding the second letter, I did not know at the time what it referred to until I was able to go back to my files at the office to refresh my memory. I then found that it referred to a letter which my brother, Arnold Konta, of Budapest, had written me on January 12, 1915, asking if it would be possible to export wheat to Hungary. My brother also sent a memorandum of a statistical nature, which I have with me, of quantities of wheat then in Hungary. I then recalled that I had looked into this proposition, which was perfectly legitimate, to see if it could be carried out and began to inquire if steamers could be found. I discovered that everybody who was willing to go into a deal of this sort expected an enormous profit. Tauscher, with whom I spoke about it, thought Dr. Albert was the only man who could supply the financial support, and Tauscher promised to take the memorandum up with Albert. I quickly discovered that this proposition was not feasible and dropped the transaction.

I reasserted my desire to Mr. Harper to place all records at his disposal.

In respect to all my letters, it is perhaps but fair to me that I should say that I have been advised by my counsel and friends that the real source of the imputations made against me is my use of conventional continental phraseology. In other words, I ordinarily employ in my letters the somewhat exaggerated polite expressions which continentals expect, rather than the crisp business expressions to which we are accustomed in the United States.

Later, on August 12, 1918, I was telephoned to come up to the office of the Military Intelligence Department. It was about noon. I replied that I was very busy. They insisted I should come up immediately. "All right," said I. "If it must be, I will go up at once."

When I reached the office a gentleman who said he hailed from Boston, but whose name I do not recall, asked me if I could spare the whole afternoon. "Yes, if it must be," I replied.

We then went to luncheon, after which we drove up to the office of Mr. Garvan, Assistant to the Alien Property Custodian.

I was kept waiting in Mr. Garvan's office for an hour and a half. When I met Mr. Garvan, he asked me if I knew the Busch's. I told him what I knew about them.

He then produced the Dernburg letter. I told him all I knew about that letter.

Then the Boston gentleman asked me if I knew the maiden name of my mother-in-law.

Then Mr. Garvan insisted that I must tell him something about my private family affairs.

This I told him; I felt the question had nothing to do with the matter under consideration, yet I freely gave him the information he asked.

Mr. Garven ended the interview by saying:

Mr. Konta, we thought you knew something about certain matters, but we find you know nothing about them.

I heard nothing further about this matter until on September 19, 1918, over a month later, the Alien Property Custodian saw fit, in connection with his charges against the brewers and Mr. Arthur Brisbane, to publish the so-called Dernburg letter, as a discovery of his own.

What I have had to say up to this point concerns me personally, my American citizenship and my activity for our government in Hungarian affairs.

The question before your honorable Committee, as I understand it, is whether or not I had anything to do with the purchase of The Washington Times with moneys furnished by the brewers.

Upon that issue, I beg to state, in the first place, that I had nothing to do with it;—that I knew nothing about it.

My letter to Dernburg was written in March, 1915, two years before the United States entered the war, and the purchase of The Washington Times occurred in June, 1917, several months after the United States entered the war. There was no connection between the two.

I have never met Mr. Hearst in my life.

I have not seen, spoken to or communicated with Arthur Brisbane for over eight years.

I have read, in the press, the names of those who are said to have contributed to the fund with which The Washington Times was purchased.

George Ehret, $50,000. I have never met him.

C. Feigenspan, $25,000. I have never met him.

Julius Liebmann, $25,000. I have never met him.

J. C. G. Hupfel, $7,500. I think I met him once on the street, years ago.

Jacob Ruppert, $50,000. I do not know him. I think I met him once many years ago.

Joseph E. Uihlein, $50,000. I know him; but I met him last ten years ago.

Edward Lansberg, $15,000. I have never met him.

Reuter & Co., $15,000. I have never met Mr. Reuter.

A. J. Houghton, $10,000; William Hamm, $10,000. I have never met either of these gentlemen.

G. Pabst, $50,000. I know Mr. Pabst. I am connected with him by marriage. During the past eight years, I have met him only on rare occasions and mostly by accident.

Fred Miller Brewing Company, $15,000. I know Mr. Miller. The last time I met him, however, was about twelve years ago.

G. Schmidt & Sons, $5,000; F. A. Poth & Sons, $10,000; United States Brewers' Association, $30,000; Bergner & Engel, $10,000. I don't know any of these concerns.

I have never discussed with these persons or with any other persons the purchase of The Washington Times, or of any other newspaper.

You have requested me to produce letters or copies of letters from or to Dernberg, Albert, Fuehr, Brisbane and von Nuber. I never had any correspondence with Mr. Brisbane. I produce the only Dernberg letter. I produce my complete files of correspondence with Albert, Fuehr and von Nuber.

I have already explained the Albert letters. The Fuehr and von Nuber letters were social in character. So far as Mr. Fuehr is concerned, I met him a number of times socially at Mr. Taus.her's house. He was introduced to me as a historian of note who had just come from China, and I to him as the founder of the Modern Historic Records Association. I found him to be a man of considerable charm and one of the best read men that I have ever met. I took great pleasure in discussing matters of historical interest with him, particularly in their bearing upon the world war. Our correspondence was understood by me to relate solely to his historical research. If it has subsequently appeared that he had any other purpose, I knew nothing of it at that time and I know nothing of it now.

You have also requested me to produce my records showing any financial transactions with any of the foregoing persons, or with the Transatlantic Trust Co., or in connection with sales of German or Austrian bonds. I have never had any financial transactions with any of these persons, or with the Transatlantic Trust Company, nor have I purchased or sold any German or Austrian bonds in twenty years.

You have also asked me for any correspondence with brewers, relating to the purchase, control or subsidizing of newspapers, magazines or periodicals. I have never had any such correpsondence.

You have also asked me for the records of the American-Hungarian Loyalty League. I produce these herewith.

Such, gentlemen, is my sworn statement. I am prepared to answer any questions. All my records are at your disposal.

I am a loyal American citizen, and I want to leave no stone unturned to establish that fact beyond a reasonable doubt.

Senator OVERMAN. Now, Major, you may ask any questions you desire.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, in the statement that you have made you deny any acquaintance with the individual brewers referred to in the Washington Times matter, and you also deny having any correspondence with brewers. I call your attention to a paragraph in your letter to Dr. Dernburg, as follows:

The interests to which I refer—

And you are referring to the brewers—

have repeatedly consulted me on this very subject of a newspaper not hostile to their industry, and I know that they would be more than ready to give their support to the plans now in hand.

To what did you refer in that statement?

Mr. KONTA. For the better understanding of this honorable committee, I wish to state that my wife is a daughter of a St. Louis brewer, William J. Lemp. My sister is the wife of a Milwaukee brewer, Gustav Pabst.

I wish to state to you that about fifteen years ago, in connection with prominent financiers, I was actively engaged in the attempt to consolidate certain breweries. I obtained options on the Schlitz brewery. I had options on the Pabst brewery. I had options on a great many New Orleans breweries, and at that particular time I am speaking of, 15 years ago and until about 10 years ago—because the proposed deal dragged along—my relations, of course, with these brewers were very close.

About nine years ago I was responsible for the partial financing of the Pabst-Schlitz Brewing Co., of Milwaukee, in New York City.

This passage in Dernburg's letter has reference only to my relation and my connection with brewing at that particular period; but at no time during the past eight years have I had any connection or discussion; and to be very frank with this committee, and to shed light to you, Major, so that you will see it yourself—I obtained permission from the lady to make this statement here, because it will immediately clear up the situation—the fact of the matter is that I had a misunderstanding with my wife about eight years ago. It did not result in any divorce suit nor in any legal separation, but we separated, we never met; and naturally all these relations did not continue. But I have brought with me all the correspondence with relation to Pabst and Lemp, and I respectfully submit it for your inspection; and you will find that at no time in the last eight years did I ever have anything to do with them, or any discussions with them nor with any other brewer in this country, of the purchase of a magazine, a daily newspaper, or anything at all. The letter to Dernburg was written because, as I stated in my statement, I thought there was a chance for a commission. It was in December, 1915. Everybody tried to do something to make some profit or get into some business in connection with this war. There were so many openings, and I thought there was an opening there.

Maj. HUMES. Then in your vocabulary the expression "repeatedly consulted" means transactions more than five or eight years prior?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Maj. HUMES. Then you used the expression "repeatedly consulted" with the view of conveying to Dr. Dernburg an erroneous impression of your business relations and your intimacy with the brewing interests that you proposed to interest in a newspaper if one was purchased?

Mr. KONTA. This might be your interpretation of that sentence, Major, but that was not in my mind. I was very eager to get such a commission, and perhaps the verbiage of the letter——

Senator NELSON. Did you have any idea that Dernburg wanted to talk over your option on those breweries?

Mr. KONTA. Most emphatically not, because there was nothing of this kind that had been discussed with Dr. Dernburg, or any options on breweries.

Senator NELSON. I thought that was what you started in to say in explanation of the word "plan", that it related to an option. You began to state that it related to an option that you got some 10 or 15 years ago to buy and consolidate these breweries, and you kept the thing moving along; and then you jumped from that and you stated that you had trouble with your wife, and you were living apart, etc. Now, what other plan do you refer to there than those two things?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Senator, it seems to me that perhaps—I do not know—perhaps I did not——

Senator NELSON. Did you suppose Dernburg had any interest in your options?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all.

Senator NELSON. Or did he have any interest in the trouble with your wife?

Mr. KONTA. I could not suppose that.

Senator NELSON. But what else did you suppose Dernburg had any interest in?

Mr. KONTA. Dernburg had the interest to find some newspaper in which he could place before the American people the cause of Germany, as he so plainly stated. In other words, he wanted to have a media in which he thought he could place before the American public——

Senator NELSON. And you were ready to help him in it?

Mr. KONTA. If he——

Senator NELSON. You were ready to help him in it, were you not?

Mr. KONTA. If he would have given me a commission to buy a newspaper.

Senator NELSON. That is, you would do anything for a commission, anything to help Dr. Dernburg; is that it?

Mr. KONTA. In December, 1915—yes; that is it.

Senator NELSON. You would have helped Dr. Dernburg, then, if you had only gotten enough of a commission?

Mr. KONTA. Oh, no, Senator; it was not the question of a commission only.

Senator NELSON. Read that quotation again, please, Maj. Humes.

Maj. HUMES. From the Dernburg letter?

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. It reads as follows:

> The interests to which I refer have repeatedly consulted me on this very subject of a newspaper not hostile to their industries, and I know that they would be more than ready to give their support to the plan now in hand.

Senator NELSON. What was that "plan now in hand" that you refer to there? What plan in hand had you about newspapers? Explain that. That has nothing to do with this option that you spoke of?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all.

Senator NELSON. It had nothing to do with the trouble with your wife?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all.

Senator NELSON. Now, what was the plan you had in view?

Mr. KONTA. The plan in view was to buy a newspaper in which Dr. Dernburg and his friends, whoever they were, should have a chance to place before the American people——

Senator NELSON. The German propaganda?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know.

Senator NELSON. What did you suppose? Did you suppose Dernburg wanted to lay before the people the liquor propaganda?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all.

Senator NELSON. What did you suppose he wanted to lay before the American people?

Mr. KONTA. He wanted to lay before them the German cause.

Senator NELSON. The German cause?

Mr. KONTA. Exactly.

Senator NELSON. German propaganda.

Mr. KONTA. You may call it that way.

Senator NELSON. And that was the plan you referred to, then? That was the plan you had in view?

Mr. KONTA. The letter speaks for itself.

Senator NELSON. It was not the plan, then, about the option on these breweries, nor the trouble with your wife, was it?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all.

Senator NELSON. It was the plan simply to get an organ for Dr. Dernburg to ventilate his views before the American people and elaborate the German propaganda, was it not?

Mr. KONTA. It was the plan to get a newspaper for Dr. Dernburg and for the German Government, in which the German Government could place before the American people its side——

Senator NELSON. Why did you not tell us that in the first place? Why go to work and tell us about that option you had and about the trouble with your wife? What did they have to do with it?

Mr. KONTA. This letter here is very clear. This letter states that to Dernburg. That was the object. It states it very clearly, sir.

Senator NELSON. And you were quite ready and willing to help Dr. Dernburg to get an organ here in the United States?

Mr. KONTA. I can not deny that.

Senator OVERMAN. You knew he was an agent of the German Government, did not you?

Mr. KONTA. No; I did not know that he was an agent. I knew that he was—this was in 1915—that he was a man of considerable prominence, known all over the world; and he came over here and was received everywhere. The newspapers gave him hundreds and hundreds of columns. He was in all the American clubs. He was in Washington. He had the entrée everywhere; and at that time nobody had even the slightest suspicion that this country was going to get into any war at all. We were neutral, and, from what I know about continental newspapers and customs, I know that every country always has a media in which it expresses its own interests.

Senator OVERMAN. He wanted this newspaper not for himself but for the German Government?

Mr. KONTA. That is what he wanted.

Senator OVERMAN. Then he was an agent of the German Government?

Mr. KONTA. He must have been; yes.

Maj. HUMES. And you knew that fact, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. I knew that.

Senator NELSON. All those things you said about the entrée he had into society and all that, that would apply also as to Dr. Dumba at

been here for years. Perhaps it would be very fair to me to permit me to explain to you how I got acquainted with him.

Senator OVERMAN. With whom?

Senator NELSON. With Tauscher.

Mr. KONTA. With Tauscher. Will you permit me to do so?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; go on.

Mr. KONTA. Now, perhaps you will understand why I made this remark about my family affairs. In 1912 I moved from my club where I lived, that is, the Manhattan Club, New York, to the St. Regis Hotel, and took an apartment by the year.

Senator NELSON. I give you warning that this committee here are not club people.

Senator OVERMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Konta.

Senator NELSON. And we are not interested in club matters.

Senator WOLCOTT. This is a matter that Mr. Konta feels he would like to put in.

Senator NELSON. All right, but I thought it was fair to him to let him know that we are not club people.

Senator WOLCOTT. Go ahead. You want to explain how you got acquainted.

Mr. KONTA. I moved to the St. Regis Hotel in 1912, took a little apartment there by the year, and a few months afterward I got acquainted with Mr. Tauscher, with his wife, who was then a very prominent member of the Metropolitan Opera, and his daughter.

Senator OVERMAN. What was her name?

Mr. KONTA. Johanna Gadski.

Senator OVERMAN. The celebrated Gadski?

Mr. KONTA. The celebrated Gadski.

Senator NELSON. She is the wife of Tauscher?

Mr. KONTA. She is the wife of Hans Tauscher.

Senator OVERMAN. They are very pro-German.

Mr. KONTA. Undoubtedly, 100 per cent, Simon pure pro-German; very.

Senator OVERMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. KONTA. A few months afterwards I got acquainted with Tauscher; never knew him before; never knew his wife before, but they lived there at the hotel and I lived there at the hotel, and they took their meals there regularly, and so did I, and we became very well acquainted. That is the way I got acquainted with Hans Tauscher.

Senator OVERMAN. What is he doing here?

Mr. KONTA. He represented some of the largest firms in Germany in the ammunition line.

Senator OVERMAN. Krupps?

Mr. KONTA. Krupps, and so on; and he also sold rifles.

Senator OVERMAN. Was he here for the purpose of selling guns and rifles to this country?

Mr. KONTA. I think he was. I am quite sure that he was.

Senator NELSON. Were the Krupps trying to sell cannon here in 1915?

Mr. KONTA. I am speaking of 1912.

Senator NELSON. Oh!

Maj. HUMES. In 1915 he was supplying the dynamite to blow up the Welland Canal, was he not?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything at all about that.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that is a fact?

Mr. KONTA. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. You know he was arrested for that?

Mr. KONTA. I know he was arrested, and also tried, and I believe he was acquitted.

Maj. HUMES. You were his bondsman at that time, were you not? You furnished the bail?

Mr. KONTA. I should like to explain that to you, if you will permit me.

Senator OVERMAN. State whether you were or not.

Mr. KONTA. I was, for 24 hours.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Konta, you say that at a conference between yourself and Tauscher and Albert there was a discussion of the truth or falsity of official German reports? Do I gather from your statement that your purpose in writing the letter that you say you wrote was to force them to go on record in a material way in order to establish the v rity of those reports?

Mr. KONTA. No.

Maj. HUMES. What was your motive in writing that letter?

Mr. KONTA. To Albert?

Maj. HUMES. To the New York Times.

Mr. KONTA. Just be ause these men at the dinner stated that whatever the German general staff gives out is absolutely true, and I doubted it most emphatically.

Maj. HUMES. And your purpose was to put them to the test?

Mr. KONTA. That is just exactly what it was.

Maj. HUMES. Have you that letter?

Mr. KONTA. No; I have not—which letter?

Maj. HUMES. The letter that you wrote to Dr. Albert.

Mr. KONTA. These are all three here, I think.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit 1145. Is that the letter you wrote to Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. Yes: I did.

Maj. HUMES. I submit this letter for the record. (Reading:)

EXHIBIT No. 1145.

JANUARY TWENTY-NINTH, 1915.

H. F. VON ALBERT, Esq.,
45 Broadway, New York.

Strictly confidential.

DEAR MR. VON ALBERT: I enclose a copy of a letter which I propose should been sent to the newspapers of New York, bearing my signature.

Of course, I have made conditions of the most liberal nature, as you can easily see this will be necessary. I am fully convinced that the publication of this letter will be of great sensational advantage to the cause of German sympathy. The accusations have been so persistent, that I believe such a challenge would make a splendid impression, the more because of its fairness.

Now, I take you into my confidence in this matter to secure the benefit of your opinion, but also, I do not feel in a position to undertake the payment of this money myself. I offer to pay my share, but believe that patriotic Germans and other sympathizers should also be willing to pay their share. You realize that it is very probable that the money will never have to be paid, but we will have to send the check.

Will you not please give me your opinion promptly on both questions as to whether you deem this idea a good one and as to whether you think the rest of the money can be found?

With sincere regards.

Very truly,

Mr. KONTA. Hungary was a part of the dual monarchy.

Senator NELSON. Yes; let us not quibble about terms, now. Do you not know that if Austria-Hungary, the dual monarchy, together with Germany, had been successful, the last thing in the world you could have hoped for would have been Hungarian independence?

Mr. KONTA. That I have said hundreds of times on the platform, everywhere, all over the country, and to a great many men of prominence; that the victory of Germany meant the absolute loss of Hungarian independence.

Senator NELSON. Then how came you to sympathize with Germany in 1915, and to be so ready to meet these German representatives?

Mr. KONTA. In 1915, at that particular period, I stated here before, Senator, that——

Senator NELSON. Yes; you had not yet undergone the psychological change you spoke of?

Mr. KONTA. Not at that time; because it is clear—and this is historically true and easily establishable—that only with the help of the German troops did they clear the Russians out of Hungary.

Senator NELSON. When did your mind undergo the psychological change from being a sympathizer with Germany to being a sympathizer with our country and the allies?

Mr. KONTA. After the *Lusitania* happened, and I can easily prove that. After the *Lusitania.*

Senator WOLCOTT. Just a moment there. You stated to us awhile ago that in December, 1915, your mind was in sympathy with Germany. The *Lusitania*, as I recall it, was sunk in May, 1915.

Capt. LESTER. May 7, 1915.

Senator WOLCOTT. So, Mr. Konta, your sympathies were not switched by the *Lusitania* incident. In fact, they clung to you still—your German inclinations—from May, at least, until December, 1915.

Mr. KONTA. In May——

Senator WOLCOTT. You have got your chronology a little twisted, there.

Mr. KONTA. No; because after the *Lusitania* incident I not only became estranged from most of these people, which I will easily prove here before long, but I came out publicly and kept away from them as much as I possibly could, even with these friends of mine whom I knew——

Senator WOLCOTT. Now, Mr. Konta, in December, 1915, you were ready and willing to negotiate with Dr. Dernburg, to help him procure a medium through which German sentiment might be disseminated throughout this country, and through which a German appeal might be made for the sympathy of this country?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. In December, 1915. And awhile ago you said that the psychology of your mind at that time was one of sympathy with Germany because of the gratitude which you felt that all Hungarians owed her for saving Hungary from a Russian conquest. Yet, you have just said to us that you lost whatever affection you might have had for Germany, that you lost all feeling of gratitude that you might have entertained toward Germany, the moment she sunk the *Lusitania.* Now, the chronology of it is that the *Lusitania* was sunk back in May, 1915, and still in December you were manifesting this very pronounced sympathy with Germany.

Senator NELSON. I may say to my colleague that that is a case of what the lawyers call nunc pro tunc.

Mr. KONTA. I am not a lawyer, but I understand the term.

Senator NELSON. You realize the force of it?

Mr. KONTA. I realize it forcibly. This is all quite true. The *Lusitania* was sunk at that time, and my feelings changed as soon as the *Lusitania* horror happened, and I will prove that. You will find that out. Upon investigation you will see that clearly; but after the *Lusitania* happened this clearing-out of the Russians out of Hungary; that is what I have said all along. About that time, when it occurred, the Russians invaded Transylvania, and it was certain they were going to march up to Budapest. I think it was about that time when it happened.

Maj. HUMES. Let me refresh your recollection.

Mr. KONTA. I shall be very glad if you will.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember the fact that there was a birthday dinner given to Emperor Franz Joseph in New York on his eighty-fifth birthday anniversary?

Mr. KONTA. I do.

Maj. HUMES. You attended that dinner, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. I did.

Maj. HUMES. And that was in August, 1915, was it not—the 28th of August, 1915—some three months after the sinking of the *Lusitania*?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. That is true?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Who was present at that dinner?

Mr. KONTA. Oh, I could not recollect all the people who were present.

Maj. HUMES. They were selected guests, were they not?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know anything at all about, whether they were selected or not.

Maj. HUMES. You were there by invitation?

Mr. KONTA. I was. That was an Austrian dinner, was it not? That is what you have reference to?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. For the Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. Yes; I was there.

Maj. HUMES. Was Mr. Berko there? Do you know Mr. Berko?

Mr. KONTA. I know Mr. Berko.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Orbach?

Mr. KONTA. I know Mr. Orbach.

Maj. HUMES. He was there, was he?

Mr. KONTA. I should not wonder if he was there. I am not sure whether he was.

Maj. HUMES. Do you remember whether Mr. Hammerling was there or not?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not remember.

Maj. HUMES. You do not remember that?

Mr. KONTA. No; I do not.

Maj. HUMES. At that dinner did not Mr. Berko propose a toast to the German Emperor?

Mr. KONTA. I left before any toasts were proposed. If he had proposed, I would frankly tell you so, because that was in August, 1915.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean to say you were not present at the time Mr. Berko proposed this toast to the German Emperor?

Mr. KONTA. I emphatically mean to say so, because had I been present and had I heard it I would frankly tell you so. I did not propose it.

Maj. HUMES. You remember that Boy-Ed and von Papen were there?

Mr. KONTA. They were.

Maj. HUMES. And Dr. Albert was there?

Mr. KONTA. That I don't know. I suppose so.

Maj. HUMES. Was Dr. Dernburg there?

Mr. KONTA. That I don't know.

Maj. HUMES. Dr. Fuehr, was he there?

Mr. KONTA. No; I do not think so. The first time I saw Dr. Fuehr was in the latter part of 1916.

Maj. HUMES. You were present when Dumba made his speech, were you?

Mr. KONTA. I do not think so. I had to return to my office, and I did return to my office before any speech-making began. I heard no speeches, but I was there.

Maj. HUMES. Who invited you to attend that affair?

Mr. KONTA. I believe I was invited by the consulate.

Senator NELSON. By whom?

Mr. KONTA. By the Austro-Hungarian consulate.

Maj. HUMES. That is, von Nuber?

Mr. KONTA. Alexander von Nuber.

Maj. HUMES. The Austrian consul general?

Mr. KONTA. The Austrian consul general.

Maj. HUMES. This was all subsequent to the sinking of the *Lusitania?*

Mr. KONTA. Undoubtedly. The Austrians had nothing to do with the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

Maj. HUMES. Was it not a joint function of the Germans and Austrians both?

Mr. KONTA. I hardly think so. The invitations were sent out by the Austro-Hungarian consul general, and that was an occurrence that happened every year. The old Emperor was about 85 years old, and every year they gave identically the same dinner, but in 30 years that was the second time I ever attended it. I was at that dinner.

Maj. HUMES. You do not remember of the toast by Berko?

Mr. KONTA. I do not, Major. I would have no reason not to tell you if I was there.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit 1146 and ask you if that is the article prepared as the offer of a reward?

Senator WOLCOTT. Major, what was the date of this reward?

Capt. LESTER. About the 28th of January, 1915.

Mr. KONTA. My recollection is that that is the letter. I can not understand why I have no copy of it. I should love to know how you got it. I have not got it. That is my recollection, that I wrote this letter.

Maj. HUMES. It reads this way:

EXHIBIT No. 1146.

[Copy.]

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

SIR: The question of the veracity of the Germany military and naval general staffs has been so much to the fore of late in the English, French and Russian dispatches, that I wish to make an offer open to all. Be it understood that I am not of German descent, but a Hungarian by birth and an American citizen.

I am not referring to German news derived from unofficial sources, to rumors or reports that have their origin in German papers, either abroad or here. I am speaking of the official reports of the German military and naval general staffs, and this is my offer:

I will give $1000—to be turned over to the Belgian Relief Fund—to whoever will furnish absolute proof of the mendacity of any report sent out from Berlin by the responsible heads of the two German military establishments concerning battles on land, or either frontier, or at sea, and concerning their outcome.

Since it is impossible to all American military and naval officers to act as judges in the matter, I suggest three prominent men in civil life: The Hon. Joseph H. Choate, Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler, and Mr. Andrew Carnegie. If these three gentlemen decline to act, I am willing to accept three native Americans selected by the press of New York,

My offer will be open for the next thirty days. It is the invariable trustworthiness of the military and naval official reports of the German government that leads me to make this offer. It is time that a challenge were made to the unceasing stream of misrepresentations and deliberate falsehoods of the Allies' dispatches.

(Signed) ALEXANDER KONTA.

That is the reward you have just identified?

Mr. KONTA. You know it has never appeared.

Senator OVERMAN. That was in January, 1915?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Senator NELSON. You were asking them to furnish you with what we call negative proof. I will call your attention to this phrase of your article:

I will give $1000—to be turned over to the Belgian Relief Fund—to whoever will furnish absolute proof of the mendacity of any report sent out from Berlin by the responsible heads of the two German military establishments concerning battles on land, or either frontier, or at sea, and concerning their outcome.

In other words, you made an offer if anyone would furnish you proof that these reports were a falsehood. That was your offer?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Senator NELSON. You wanted them to prove a negative. You wanted them to furnish you with proof that those reports were not true?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Senator NELSON. You wanted them to prove a negative?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so. That was the result of that discussion.

Senator NELSON. Did not that mean that you wanted that proof to convince your mind that the German staff was not a truthful concern? Did it not mean that you wanted that proof because you were satisfied that the German staff was always right?

Mr. KONTA. No; this letter bears out what I wrote in my letter to Albert; that they were talking, you know, in that Prussian style of theirs, that the German general staff never lies.

Senator NELSON. Did you ask Albert and Dernburg to furnish you proof that the reports of the German general staff were false?

Mr. KONTA. This was not a discussion with Dernburg at all. This was a discussion with Tauscher and Albert.

Senator NELSON. No. Answer my question.

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Senator NELSON. You did not ask them?

Mr. KONTA. I did not. I suggested to them that they should send this out because this would be a statement of fact.

Senator OVERMAN. What was Albert's reply? Have you got his reply?

Mr. KONTA. Albert thought it was a mighty good idea, but I have not heard anything from him. You have all the Albert correspondence. Nothing came of it.

Maj. HUMES. You say that you suggested to them the propriety of this plan? Did you not in your letter suggest to them that you proposed, yourself, to do this?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all.

Maj. HUMES. And you simply asked them for financial support and cooperation before you inserted the advertisement in the papers?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all.

Maj. HUMES. Is your correspondence susceptible of any other interpretation than that all you sought was their financial assistance and cooperation?

Mr. KONTA. No; my correspondence, I think, and this letter bears it out—it was a discussion at that time. They did not agree with me, and I did not like their not agreeing with me, and I just simply drew that up and said, "Now, look here, if you are so sure of it, let us make up a pot of a thousand dollars, and I will make the proposition myself, and offer a thousand dollars to whosoever could disprove the statements of the German military staff."

Senator NELSON. Had you begun to have doubts about the veracity of the German general staff at this time?

Mr. KONTA. Do you mean now, at this time, or at that time?

Senator NELSON. At the time referred to.

Mr. KONTA. Certainly. That is the reason I proposed this.

Senator NELSON. You had begun to have doubts about the truthfulness of the German general staff?

Mr. KONTA. I was convinced of it.

Senator NELSON. What convinced you?

Mr. KONTA. Because they made certain statements which were so incredible to me that I did not believe them, that is all.

Senator NELSON. And so you hit upon this plan, in your conference with Dernburg and Albert, that it was very essential to prove that the German general staff was a lying staff?

Mr. KONTA. May I most respectfully again call the Senator's attention to the fact that Dr. Dernburg was not present at this conference. That was a family affair.

Senator NELSON. Albert was present?

Mr. KONTA. He was.

Senator NELSON. Did Albert manifest much anxiety on the subject of ascertaining whether the German general staff was a truthful staff?

Mr. KONTA. He did during the discussion, but the next day when he got my letter, when it was a question of making good, of making up the thousand dollars, it seemed he did not, because nothing came of it, nothing was done. This letter never was published.

Senator WOLCOTT. Mr. Konta, what was the decisive engagement that turned the Russians back from Hungary?

Mr. KONTA. That turned them back?

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; that saved Hungary from Russian conquest?

Mr. KONTA. After Przemysl was taken by the Russians under the Grand Duke Nicholas, then the Cossacks made a most wonderful entry into Transylvania.

Senator WOLCOTT. My acquaintance with the geography there is not very well defined, but was that when they came down through the passes of the Carpathians?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Down into Transylvania.

Mr. KONTA. Into Transylvania.

Senator WOLCOTT. And the decisive engagement that turned them back was at this place, which I never could pronounce, which you have just mentioned.

Mr. KONTA. Przemysl.

Senator WOLCOTT. Are you sure that that turning back of the Russian tide occurred between May, 1915, and De ember, 1915?

Mr. KONTA. I am quite sure of it; yes, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. I am going to take that up between now and to-morrow, because that particular event seems to me to be of great significanse in determining your attitude of mind; for you can readily see that if this transpired some time later than December, 1915, then your explanation of why the feelings aroused by the *Lusitania* incident had disappeared and the pro-German sentiment had developed is not at all harmonized.

Mr. KONTA. I will look it up.

Senator NELSON. My recollection is that the Russian infantry and artillery never got through the Carpathians. It was only the advance guard of cavalry that got across.

Mr. KONTA. Senator, I do not know; your recollection may be right, but I tell you that the headlines——

Senator NELSON. Do you not think this is true, that as a matter of fact, barring a few scattering bands of Cossacks, the Russian Army never did invade Hungary?

Mr. KONTA. They did, I think.

Senator NELSON. They were somewhere in Transylvania, if you call that a part of Hungary; they were in Transylvania and Galicia.

Mr. KONTA. I do not know as I have a right to call it a part of Hungary, although it belonged to Hungary for about a thousand years.

Senator NELSON. What I mean is that they did not cross the Carpathian Mountains.

Mr. KONTA. The reports here in the metropolitan press, in the Associated Press and in the U. P. reports, reported the Russians on their way to Budapest, in the headlines, and I believe that can be easily proved.

Senator NELSON. But my recollection is that it was only true of the cavalry; a scouting party that got through the passes.

Mr. KONTA. That I could not remember.

Senator OVERMAN. It is 6 o'clock, and I think we had better adjourn until to-morrow at half-past 10.

(Thereupon, at 6 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, December 5, 1918, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

BREWING AND LIQUOR INTERESTS AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1918.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10.30 o'clock a. m., in room 226 Senate Office Building, Senator Lee S. Overman presiding.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), Wolcott, King, Sterling, and Nelson.

Senator OVERMAN. Proceed with the examination of Mr. Konta, Maj. Humes.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER KONTA—Resumed.

Mr. KONTA. May I ask your permission to correct a few errors which, entirely due to confusion on my part, got into the record? To wit, on page 1498 of the typewritten copy, when Senator Nelson said, "That is, you would do anything for a commission, anything to help Dr. Dernburg; is that it?" I answered, "In December, 1915—yes; that is it."

Of course, when I said in December, 1915, I meant in March—March 31 or March 29—because the Dernburg letter was written on March 31, and not in December, 1915. You will find that this man Dernburg was not any more in this country in December, 1915, and on December 8 I made a speech in a public hall in New York City, where I condemned the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and you will find the verbiage of the speech in the statement I presented to you yesterday. So I beg your permission to make this statement in correction of what I stated yesterday.

Senator OVERMAN. You have our permission to make any correction you want in your testimony, if you want to correct it.

Mr. KONTA. Thank you very much.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Konta, I call your attention to a paragraph from your formal statement to the committee, as follows:

Regarding the second letter, I did not know at the time what it referred to until I was able to go back to my files at the office to refresh my memory. I then found that it referred to a letter which my brother, Arnold Konta, of Budapest, had written me on January 12, 1915, asking if it would be possible to export wheat to Hungary. My brother also sent a memorandum of a statistical nature, which I have with me, of quantities of wheat then in Hungary. I then recalled that I had looked into this proposition, which was perfectly legitimate, to see if it could be carried out and began to inquire if steamers could be found. I discovered that everybody who was willing to go into a deal of this sort expected an enormous profit. Tauscher, with whom I spoke

about it, thought Dr. Albert was the only man who could supply the financial support, and Tauscher promised to take the memorandum up with Albert. I quickly discovered that this proposition was not feasible and dropped the transaction.

Will you explain in detail the nature of that transaction and the correspondence relating thereto?

Mr. KONTA. These are the letters from my brother [indicating papers]. Of course, they are not translated.

Maj. HUMES. Have you translations of them?

Mr. KONTA. I have not, but I will file them with you. I will explain the whole transaction.

Senator OVERMAN. Are these in German?

Mr. KONTA. No; in Hungarian. After they are translated it will become very clear that my brother, Arnold Konta, thought that it was possible in 1915 to export from this country wheat to Hungary. Of course, I did not know much about that; but I thought there was a chance, perhaps, if it was possible, feasible, and permissible, for a transaction. I immediately proceeded to find out whether it could be financed, and I discovered that it would be a very hard task to finance, so I placed the entire matter in the hands, first, of my attorney—the attorney in this instance was Mr. Philip J. Britt, of New York City—and then I sent for a few steamship agents. One was a Mr. Gans, who was recommended to me by Mr. S. Robert, of New York, 906 Park Avenue; but he has a down-town office, too. May I ask my secretary the number of the down-town office?

Mr. BROWN. 21 West Twenty-third Street.

Mr. KONTA. And I also began to inquire with a Mr. Wittenberg, I think. He had a steamer for sale. Then I began to figure up how much it would cost to send wheat to Hungary, and the dangers. I told Tauscher, "I have not the funds to finance such a transaction." He said, "Well, the only man who could do that is this man Albert;" and he spoke to Albert, evidently, and Albert took a good deal of interest in the transaction; but he sent word to me that he would go into this deal only if Hungary were to agree that half of that quantum of wheat, if it ever reached there, would be shipped to Germany. In other words, there was an embargo in Hungary at that time. Crops were not good, and so on and so forth. Well, we began; but I did not negotiate with Albert at all, did not see him at all in connection with this thing, but he sent his attorney to Mr. Philip J. Britt, and when these two attorneys came together Mr. Britt told me, "Now this is no transaction at all; you just keep your hands off;" and I did, and that is all I know about it.

Maj. HUMES. Who was Mr. Albert's attorney?

Mr. KONTA. That is more than I can tell you at this moment, because I do not know it.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Britt did not advise you as to who was representing Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. I believe he did. He told me that he received a letter—pardon me, I should like to be accurate in my statement—that an attorney by the name of Kaufmann will call on him; but Kaufmann did not call on him, but it seemed one of Mr. Kaufmann's partners called on him. Now, the name of this partner I do not know, but a long-distance phone to Mr. Britt will bring corroboration of this statement. Nothing came of it at all.

Maj. HUMES. Was it Mr. Lindheim?

Mr. KONTA. That is what it was, Mr. Lindheim. I don't know whether it is Lindheim or Linheim; but something like that.

Senator NELSON. What time was this?

Maj. HUMES. This was in January, 1915, as I understand it.

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Maj. HUMES. Your first letter from your brother was dated January 12, 1915.

Mr. KONTA. I beg your pardon—if I may see the letter—the first letter is January 12, 1915, and the second letter is January 13, 1915. Just wait one moment. Pardon me, if you will permit me to refresh my memory; my memory on figures and dates is very bad.

Maj. HUMES. If you are looking for that reference that I cited, it is on page 12, I think, of your statement.

Mr. KONTA. Quite so. Yes; 1915. Of course, it could not have been in January, 1915. It must have been four or six weeks afterwards. I do not know the exact date, but I submit the letters to you. I have named to you all the men who were involved in this thing, and I believe they will corroborate my statement.

Maj. HUMES. Did you take this matter up with Dr. Albert in writing—by letter?

Mr. KONTA. I have no recollection thereof. I have no recollection at all. If so, it must be in the files.

Maj. HUMES. You say that the second letter refers to that transaction, in your statement?

Mr. KONTA. This second letter, of course—the whole deal, but it is the second letter.

Maj. HUMES. Will you pick out from the letters which you have produced the particular letter which refers to that transaction?

Mr. KONTA. February 23, 1915 [indicating paper].

Maj. HUMES. I show you this letter, which has been marked as Exhibit 1147, and ask you if that is the letter which you referred to as the one you wrote to Dr. Albert with regard to this transaction?

Mr. KONTA (after examination). That is quite the letter which I have reference to.

Maj. HUMES. I submit the letter to the committee.

(The letter referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

FEBRUARY 23, 1915.

Hon. H. F. ALBERT
43 Broadway, New York.

DEAR MR. ALBERT: With reference to the proposition which we have discussed in our several conferences, I write to inform you that I do emphatically believe that the proposition can absolutely be carried out, so far as it applies to yourself. But while I feel convinced of this, I also would say that it can only be done under circumstances of complete mutual confidence, and in this connection I must tell you, for your better understanding of my position, that I have always acted primarily from patriotic motives, and it seems that there are associates who will have to be interested, and who will look for profit, and who will not undertake the proposition without substantial gain to themselves.

Permit me again, nevertheless, to point out to you my belief in the feasibility of the plan, which seems especially certain to me for the reason that all the conditions enumerated can be satisfactorily adjusted right in this city.

In conclusion I wish to thank you very much for your consideration of me in the matter, with which I trust you will be able to go forward successfully.

With kindest regards, believe me,

Sincerely, yours.

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Maj. HUMES. That is the letter that you sent to Dr. Albert relative to this transaction?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so; yes.

Senator NELSON. May I ask some questions right there? Who were the men you referred to in that letter who wanted their extra compensation, who had to be seen and fixed?

Mr. KONTA. The ship owners, the insurance people; and some man who wanted to attend to the whole arrangement of the matter was needed to go to Washington to find out whether permission could be gotten in some way or other, whether there was any way at all to export wheat from this country to Hungary; because we were not at war with Austria-Hungary, but still there was a blockade, and it was a risk. That is what we were studying—this problem. My reference to his interest was to the part of the wheat which he claimed for Germany. I was not interested in Germany at all. Hungary was very hard up, had a very bad crop, and the letters will show that they needed wheat very badly, and I thought that I might be able to send them some wheat, not knowing all the difficulties.

Senator OVERMAN. Since this letter has been read and your recollection has been refreshed, I will ask you if you did have conferences with Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. Over the phone only—in this matter only over the phone, and perhaps twice. Then the matter was taken up by the attorneys whom I have named here.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you know what Dr. Albert was doing here?

Mr. KONTA. At that time?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. I did not. I thought that he was attending to the financial affairs of the German Embassy. I thought he was the financial man of the German Embassy.

Maj. HUMES. Did you look upon this as a purely commercial transaction?

Mr. KONTA. I looked up this as a patriotic transaction, as far as I was concerned. I was anxious to get wheat to Hungary.

Maj. HUMES. A patriotic transaction from the Hungarian standpoint?

Mr. KONTA. From the Hungarian standpoint.

Maj. HUMES. And the patriotic motive that you refer to as having inspired you on all occasions was a patriotic adherence to Hungary? Is that correct?

Mr. KONTA. No—that is correct, and also if you will read these letters you will find out that they needed the wheat. They did not have it. All my relatives there, there wanted it very badly, and I tried to see if I could not find some way to ship wheat to Hungary.

Maj. HUMES. When you say your primary motive was patriotic, you mean it was a patriotic Hungarian motive?

Mr. KONTA. Well, I could not deny that that is what I thought. It was charity—charity.

Maj. HUMES. What was the necessity for "complete mutual confidence" between you and Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. Because it was a question of financing a large shipment of wheat, which necessitated first and above all—because you could not charter a ship, you had to buy a ship; and the ramifications were such, you see; and that was the reason that nothing came

of it, because it became very clear to me that it was not feasible, that it could not be done.

Maj. HUMES. Was the agreement made that one-half of this wheat should go to Germany if it ever reached Hungary?

Mr. KONTA. It never came to that at all.

Maj. HUMES. Had you consented to that?

Mr. KONTA. How could I? It was not really my province to consent to that. How could I do that? That could have been done only by the Hungarian Government.

Maj. HUMES. But you were willing to participate in the transaction with such an agreement entered into by competent contracting parties?

Mr. KONTA. If feasible, if permitted by the Washington authorities, I am frank to say that I was. It was subject to permission, and the attorneys who finally discussed all those details—finally my attorney told me, "Now this is not—you just keep your hands off," and nothing happened at all.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know, as a matter of fact, that in February, 1915, no permission on the part of the Washington Government was necessary to make shipments to Hungary?

Mr. KONTA. I did not know that as a matter of fact, at all.

Maj. HUMES. There had been no declaration of war at that time.

Mr. KONTA. No.

Maj. HUMES. There was a friendly relation existing between this country and Hungary?

Mr. KONTA. But I know as a matter of fact that at that particular period no matter what one shipped from these shores, one had to have the papers made out, properly viséed by the English consul general's office. I know that as a matter of fact, because I found it out.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not also realize in the negotiations that it would be necessary to plan on running the blockade?

Mr. KONTA. I did not; absolutely not. Of course, that is out of the question, and I did not.

Senator OVERMAN. Why did your attorney ask you to drop it?

Mr. KONTA. Because the risk was too big, and because he found out it would be very hard to get insurance at Washington.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, as I understand it, the only transactions you had, then, with Dr. Albert were the two transactions that we have been discussing, namely the one with reference to the offer of a thousand dollars reward, and the one with reference to the shipment of this wheat?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Senator STERLING. May I ask a question right there? It was Dr. Albert who insisted that one-half of the cargo of wheat shipped to Hungary should eventually be sent to Germany?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Senator STERLING. And you agreed to that arrangement?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Senator STERLING. You went on with the negotiations, then, after that, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. It was just a project, and it was subject to ascertaining first whether it could be done at all.

Senator STERLING. You did not disapprove of the plan proposed by Dr. Albert, did you? You were willing, so far as anything you said and did was concerned, that one-half the cargo should go to Germany?

Mr. KONTA. So far as it was feasible at that particular period, in February, 1915, I did not see any serious objection to it at all; but nothing came of it. It was just a project which did not materialize.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit 1148, a letter from you to Dr. Albert, dated January 28, 1915, and ask you if you wrote such a letter to Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. This seems to be a letter from me, but I do not—I should like to see the original of this letter.

Maj. HUMES. It is taken from the file you have submitted.

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You have produced that as a copy of a letter.

Mr. KONTA. I never tampered with my files, as you can see. Everything I ever wrote is right there.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that on January 28, 1915, you wrote this letter to Dr. Albert, reading as follows:

EXHIBIT No. 1148.

JANUARY 28, 1915.

Mr. VON ALBERT,
45 Broadway, New York.

MY DEAR VON ALBERT: I am still without the two letters which I have sent to you Tuesday last marked "confidential." My office boy informs me that he delivered this envelope to your man, who told him yesterday that he handed the letters to you.

Will you be kind enough to let me have these letters, as I wish to keep my records in good shape.

Sincerely yours.

Did you not write such a letter to Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. Undoubtedly I must have written it, and I am just trying to think what it was.

Senator OVERMAN. What office was that at 45 Broadway?

Mr. KONTA. 45 Broadway was the Hamburg-American Line office.

Senator OVERMAN. So Albert had his office in the Hamburg-American Line, did he?

Mr. KONTA. I think he did, yes. Now I will be very frank to tell you that I have no recollection unless—may I ask my secretary to step forth?

Maj. HUMES. If you want to consult your secretary, consult him.

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Brown, is not this letter about those cattle?

Mr. BROWN. I think it was that cattle proposition.

Mr. KONTA. Will you permit Mr. Brown perhaps to explain? I did not remember, but I know what it is now. I know exactly what it is.

Maj. HUMES. If you want to consult Mr. Brown and refresh your recollection, you have that privilege.

Mr. KONTA. All right. I can answer now, because I have a recollection. A man named Grumbach, of Galveston, came to see me about that time, and he said to me, "Mr. Konta, the war won't last long, and it would be a very fine proposition if in South America—in Brazil—cattle could be bought and kept until the war is over, because Europe, after the war, will need live stock worse than anything else," and then he gave me two letters. One was a report

from a South American cattle ranch, and the other one—I think we have that here. Have you got that, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. KONTA. January 28, 1915.

Mr. BROWN. I think those letters were returned to him.

Mr. KONTA. I know now what it is. That was the cattle proposition, and he gave me his original proposition, just exactly what he thought could be done, and how he could go over to Brazil and buy cattle and leave them there; and he figured it out, to the cent, what it would cost every month to keep those cattle; and after the war they would be immediately needed, and it would be a good business proposition. Then this man, Grumbach, demanded those letters back, because he wanted to leave the country; and that is all I can remember about this proposition.

Senator OVERMAN. You took the project up with Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. I did send those two letters to Dr. Albert.

Senator OVERMAN. You did have another business transaction with him, then?

Mr. KONTA. It was no transaction.

Senator OVERMAN. Go ahead, then.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, did not the matters referred to in the exhibit just read include newspaper transactions?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir: at no time, under no circumstances.

(Two letters were here marked "Exhibit No. 1149" and "Exhibit No. 1149–A," reespectively.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit No. 1149, it being a letter dated January 27, 1915, addressed to you and signed by Albert, and ask you if that letter was not the reply to the two letters which you refer to in the last exhibit? The translation is attached.

Mr. KONTA. I thank you very much. Now I know what this letter has reference to.

Senator WOLCOTT. Which letter—the previous one?

Mr. KONTA. No: this one here, and the other one, too; because my recollection is very hazy, you know. I never had anything to do with the man, and I kept my files just as they were; never touched them, and everybody can see that my files—if you will only give me a moment's time to think over what it was all about. Now, I should like to state to you that Mr. Harper, assistant district attorney, he returned to my attorney here the papers which he had—the Albert papers. You would have found in there this article to which this has reference—statistics about cotton, etc. Unfortunately, we did not find this article when the letters came back to Mr. John Godfrey Saxe. This article was not in there. Do you want me to read it? I will read it.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; read the letter.

Mr. KONTA. I will read the translation [reading]:

EXHIBIT No. 1149A.

JANUARY 27, 1915.

Mr. ALEXANDER KONTA,
43 Exchange Place, New York.

DEAR MR. KONTA: Both letters have now been found; they were mislaid in the hurry. The reference to the "Evening Post" is comprehensible to the extent that the material is naturally known in expert circles. Therefore, it is very

satisfactory that the article appears on Sunday. As to the statement concerning export of cotton, I shall call you up again on the 'phone. I do not understand the point mentioned in the letter of January 25th that the principal import of cotton into Germany goes from the United States to Russia, and I consider this rank nonsense.

Furthermore, the statement that substitutes were produced even before the war is not correct, as for example, in the case of cotton they had not thought of it.

Very truly yours,

(Exhibit No. 1149, the original, of which Exhibit No. 1149A is a translation, is here set forth in full in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 1149.

H. F. ALBERT,
45 Broadway, New York.

JANUARY 27TH, 1915.

MR. ALEXANDER KONTA,
43 Exchange Place, New York.

SEHR VEREHRTER HERR KONTA: Die beiden Briefe haben sich nun doch gefunden, sie sind in der Elle verlegtworden. Die Bezugnahme der "Evening Post" ist insofern verstandlich, als das Material in Sachverstandigenkreisen naturlich bekannt ist. Daher ist es sehr dankenswert, dass der Artikel schon am Sontag erscheint. Wegen der Bemerkung uber den Export von Baumwolle werde ich mich noch telefonisch mit Ihnen unterhalten. Ich verstehe den in dem Briefe vom 25. Januar cr. erwahnten Punkt, dass die Hauptenfurn Deutschlands an Baumwolle aus den Vereinigten Staaten nach Russland gehe, nicht und ich halte dieses auch fur direckten Unsinn.

Auch die Bemerkung, dass Substitute schon vor dem Kriege hergestellt waren, ist nicht richtig, man hat z. B. be Baumwolle nicht daran gedacht.

Ihr sehr ergebener

ALBERT.

Senator NELSON. Now, can you explain how it comes that you said a moment ago that those two letters referred to cattle?

Mr. KONTA. That is what I thought.

Senator NELSON. Yes; you thought they referred to cattle and South America?

Mr. KONTA. To cattle.

Senator NELSON. Now, from this it appears that they referred to cotton. How do you account for that?

Mr. KONTA. Senator Nelson, if the minutes would be here which were taken in the hearing before the assistant district attorney you will find that I told him that this man called me up repeatedly——

Senator NELSON. Never mind that. I will ask you a simple question that will settle it. Did these two letters refer to cotton or to cattle?

Mr. KONTA. These two letters referred to an article about cotton statistics and not——

Senator NELSON. And not to these cattle in South America?

Mr. KONTA. That is true.

Senator NELSON. That is all.

Maj. HUMES. I would like to ask you as to whether or not this translation is a correct translation of the letter?

Mr. KONTA. I am not a translator.

Maj. HUMES. Well, you can read the original.

Mr. KONTA. I should prefer to have it officially established that it is correct or not.

Maj. HUMES. It is substantially correct, as you have glanced over the letter?

Mr. KONTA. I think so.

Maj. HUMES. You say that there were, in connection with this matter, some cotton statistics. What was the nature of those statistics?

Mr. KONTA. I had nothing to do with those statistics. I again must express great regret that this paper has not been returned. It was in the Albert file. It was a paper brought to me by Tauscher. It was not very interesting. It was just statistics, if I remember correctly. I hardly read it. I just put it into the file and left it there.

Maj. HUMES. Was it a newspaper clipping?

Mr. KONTA. No; not at all. It was a manuscript, which Mr. Harper must have. It was not a newspaper.

Maj. HUMES. And what did you do with that manuscript?

Mr. KONTA. I did not do anything. I put it in the file, and it ought to be in the file. I did not do anything at all with it.

Senator OVERMAN. You say Tauscher brought it to you? Were Tauscher and Albert associated together in the same business?

Mr. KONTA. No.

Senator OVERMAN. What was Tauscher?

Mr. KONTA. Tauscher was representing three or four large firms in Germany.

Senator OVERMAN. Then his relations with Albert were friendly?

Mr. KONTA. They were undoubtedly friendly.

Senator OVERMAN. Why should he take it to you instead of taking it directly to Albert?

Mr. KONTA. Because—my relations to Tauscher were explained to you yesterday, Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. They were very intimate?

Mr. KONTA. We were very good friends.

Maj. HUMES. Was not Mr. Tauscher an official representative of the German Government?

Mr. KONTA. I hardly think so, Major. If he was, I did not know it.

Maj. HUMES. And did he not return to Germany with the embassy and with the embassy staff?

Mr. KONTA. He returned to Germany, I think, with the embassy staff, but not with a passport granted by the embassy—asked by the embassy. He returned to Germany with a passport given to him by the State Department, because he was not a member.

Maj. HUMES. Was anyone permitted to leave with the embassy staff except the official embassy representatives?

Mr. KONTA. It seems very clear to me that Tauscher was permitted to leave, because he received a passport, having been vouched for by some high United States Army officer. At least, he so stated to me.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that Mr. Tauscher was made a member of the embassy staff immediately following his indictment in New York in connection with the blowing up of the Welland Canal?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything at all about that.

Maj. HUMES. You were on intimate terms with Mr. Tauscher?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir. With your kind permission, Major, I have a letter here from Tauscher and a letter of mine to Tauscher, and that will interest you, Major, and also the honorable committee——

Maj. HUMES. We will get to that in time.

Mr. KONTA. No; but this——

Maj. HUMES. We will get to that in time. Let us go on consecutively with this examination now.

Mr. KONTA. This applies to this examination——

Maj. HUMES. We will get to it in time.

Senator OVERMAN. We will get to it in time. Let him go ahead with the examination.

Maj. HUMES. This statistical data that you received from Mr. Tauscher, what was the nature of it, how voluminous was it, and what was the character of its contents?

Mr. KONTA. I hardly read it. I put it into my file and left it there, and when Mr. Harper on this particular day which is set forth here sent for me and wanted the Albert file, this man, Mr. Brown, brought him the Albert file and said, "Here they are, you can keep them," and this particular manuscript was in that file.

Maj. HUMES. It was a typewritten manuscript, was it?

Mr. KONTA. It was a typewritten manuscript.

Maj. HUMES. Did it discuss anything besides cotton?

Mr. KONTA. I have not—I did not read it. I did not read it.

Maj. HUMES. What did you do with that manuscript when you received it?

Mr. KONTA. When I received this manuscript I just glanced over it and sent it to my office to hold in the file, because I was told that they wanted to have some one write an article about these statistics for some paper; but I did not do that. I had nothing to do with it—did not care to have anything to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. And there never was any article written?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Well, did you write any article?

Mr. KONTA. I did not—I don't think so—I did not.

Maj. HUMES. You know, of course, whether you did or not?

Mr. KONTA. I ought to know, certainly.

Maj. HUMES. Did you write any article?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. Did you consult Dr. Albert about those statistics?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Konta, is it not a fact that you prepared and submitted for the approval of Dr. Albert an article to be published in the papers and entitled "America's Economic Interest in the War," as a part of the German propaganda at that time?

Mr. KONTA. That is not a fact, because I did not do it.

Maj. HUMES. I show you a manuscript marked "Exhibit 1150" and ask you if the lead pencil memorandum at the top is not in your handwriting?

Mr. KONTA. The lead pencil at the top is in my handwriting, but I did not write the article. I had nothing to do with it. I remember that, now.

Maj. HUMES. You have seen this article, then, have you?

Mr. KONTA. I see it now; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then this was an article that was written, based upon the so-called cotton statistics that you had?

Mr. KONTA. This was an article written on the cotton statistics, but the writer of this article did not receive the statistics from me, but he received it directly——

Maj. HUMES. How did this get into your custody, then?

Mr. KONTA. In my custody? That I don't know. I just simply——

Maj. HUMES. You don't know how it got in your custody?

Mr. KONTA. The writer must have given it to you——

Maj. HUMES. I state to you as a fact that Exhibit 1150 is a file that comes from the office of Dr. Albert, with a notation in your handwriting on the top, and ask you how it got there.

Mr. KONTA. Well, I tell you that I did not write this article. I know who wrote it, and can prove he wrote it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not say a minute ago that no article was ever written based on these statistics?

Mr. KONTA. I told you that I didn't know whether it was or not. I told you I did not know whether it was or not. Now, I know. I know who wrote it. I know who prepared it. I know who wrote every line of it.

Maj. HUMES. Who wrote it? Who prepared it?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. van Westrum.

Maj. HUMES. Who is Mr. van Westrum?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Van Westrum is a newspaper man.

Maj. HUMES. Spell that name, please.

Mr. KONTA. V-a-n W-e-s-t-r-u-m.

Maj. HUMES. Where does he reside?

Mr. KONTA. That is very hard to tell you. Poor fellow, he is dead. He died about a year ago, but there are ample witnesses for this——

Maj. HUMES. Under what circumstances did he prepare the article, and at whose request?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know, but I think at the request of Capt. Tauscher.

Maj. HUMES. How did that article come into your possession?

Mr. KONTA. Because Mr. Van Westrum was a particular friend of mine. He used to come to see me twice or three times a week, and he must have brought me this article.

Senator NELSON. Read that pencil memorandum.

Maj. HUMES. I was just going to ask him about that. Why did you put that lead pencil memorandum on this before it was delivered to Dr. Albert: "Copy. Original sent to Times. A. Konta." How did you happen to write that memorandum if the matter only came into your hands incidentally?

Mr. KONTA. Because he asked me to do so.

Maj. HUMES. Who asked you?

Mr. KONTA. Van Westrum.

Maj. HUMES. What else did he ask you to do?

Mr. KONTA. Nothing else in connection with this, as far as I remember.

Maj. HUMES. Why did you give this to Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. Because he wrote this article based on those statistical figures which I have mentioned to you, and the original of which must be in the Albert file in the office of Mr. Harper.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not testify a minute ago that this article was not based upon these particular statistics, but came from another source entirely and had no connection with the statistics that you had?

Mr. KONTA. I did not do anything of the kind.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not so testify?

Mr. KONTA. I did not. I testified that this article was written from another manuscript—that is, another copy of the same manuscript. That is what I testified to.

Maj. HUMES. Where did the other copy of the same manuscript come from?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know. This man, Mr. Van Westrum, knew these men. He knew Capt. Tauscher; he knew Albert. He knew them very well, indeed.

Maj. HUMES. What newspaper was he connected with?

Mr. KONTA. He was connected with the New York Tribune.

Senator OVERMAN. If he knew them well, why should he have brought that article to you?

Mr. KONTA. Van Westrum and I have been lifelong friends, and he has done work for me, and I have always paid him for the work he did.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; but he was connected with these two men who represented the German Government.

Mr. KONTA. He only socially knew them, and he met them socially, and this thing came to him, and he wrote every line of this article.

Senator NELSON. Did he prepare this article simply because of his social acquaintance with him?

Mr. KONTA. Not at all. He prepared it because he got paid for it.

Senator NELSON. How?

Mr. KONTA. He was paid for this article.

Senator NELSON. By whom?

Mr. KONTA. That I don't know.

Senator NELSON. How do you know that he was paid, then?

Mr. KONTA. Because he would not write a line without being paid for it. He was a professional writer, a professional newspaper man.

Senator OVERMAN. But he brought it to you as an intermediary before taking it to Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. No; he came to my office twice a week; and undoubtedly he must have—I don't exactly remember how this article came to my office, but I do know that I had nothing to do with it, that I did not do the work. He did it——

Senator KING. What explanation did he offer to you for leaving the original with you, and this copy? And what explanation have you to offer for writing on that copy that the original was sent to the Times?

Mr. KONTA. Because evidently it was in the mind of Mr. Albert to have this statistical data in some newspaper, printed, and inasmuch as Mr. Van Westrum was not able or willing to have it published in the Tribune, he thought that I might be able to place it in the Times.

Senator KING. Did he ask you to send it to the Times for publication?

Mr. KONTA. He might have.

Senator KING. Did he?

Mr. KONTA. I think he did.

Senator KING. Did you?

Mr. KONTA. My recollection is not so sure about that. I may have done so.

Senator KING. Was it signed by you or by him?

Mr. KONTA. That I don't remember.

Senator KING. Have you a copy of the letter, if one was sent to the Times, requesting its publication?

Mr. KONTA. I have not.

Senator OVERMAN. Why did you send it to Albert?

Mr. KONTA. Because the original draft of this proposition came from Albert's office to me; and then inasmuch as I could not do anything at all with it, it seems Tauscher gave a copy, another copy, to Van Westrum. That is the only explanation I can offer. I really do not know what is in the article.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, is not the letter from Dr. Albert of January 27, Exhibit 1149, a reply which you received from Dr. Albert to a letter with which this was inclosed, and is not his criticism a comment on the cotton situation, and the question of substitutes, a criticism of a portion of the contents of this article that was prepared by you and submited to him?

Mr. KONTA. No; I deny that this was prepared by me, and I furthermore deny that I submitted it to him.

Maj. HUMES. How did he get it?

Mr. KONTA. It may be that I sent it to him at the request of Van Westrum. I had nothing to do with this at all. I would not hesitate to say to you that I had, because I gave you this article. I have handed it over myself, and I had ample time to do what all these other fellows did, destroy their records. I never destroyed any records. My records are just as they ever were, and I offered my records to you gentlemen at all times, and this article——

Maj. HUMES. Whom did you have——

Senator KING. In fairness to the witness, let him finish his answer.

Mr. KONTA. The original of this material, in German, was in the Albert files, and I handed it over to Mr. Harper, and it seems to me that my counsel did not get it back, but Mr. Harper has it.

Maj. HUMES. The original of the statistics, you say, were in that file. Was the original of this article in your file?

Mr. KONTA. The original of this article? No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Then you did not furnish the Government or anyone else with a copy of this article, did you?

Mr. KONTA. Which Government?

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Harper or anyone else connected with the Government.

Mr. KONTA. I furnished Mr. Harper with the German copy of this material, I think.

Maj. HUMES. Of the material upon which this article is based?

Mr. KONTA. Which it has been based on or written.

Maj. HUMES. But you did not furnish Mr. Harper or anyone else connected with the Government with a copy of the article?

Mr. KONTA. I gave Mr. Harper the entire Albert files; all that transpired between Albert and myself, I handed to Mr. Harper; or, rather, as I explained to you in my statement yesterday, the moment he asked for the Albert letters I immediately informed my office, and whatever transpired between him and me he received in that file, and nothing else ever happened.

Maj. HUMES. You stated a moment ago that this man, Van Westrum, frequently wrote for you and was frequently employed by you to prepare articles for you.

Mr. KONTA. I stated to you before that Mr. Van Westrum was a very old friend of mine; he and I cooperated on several plays and were good friends. He was a very fine writer, and I regret very much that his name is mentioned at all, but the necessity is such that I had to mention him. I can easily prove that he wrote this article.

Maj. HUMES. Who paid him for writing it?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. You say he never wrote an article unless he was paid for it?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so; undoubtedly he was paid for this article.

Senator WOLCOTT. It seems there are two articles, I think, an article embodying statistics, and then an article written up on those statistics. Is that correct?

Maj. HUMES. The witness states that Mr. Tauscher furnished him with cotton statistics, and that those cotton statistics were used as a basis of this article by Mr. Van Westrum.

Mr. KONTA. It was an essay, and this essay is in the hands of the Government in German, and you gentlemen have it.

Senator OVERMAN. Was Van Westrum a German?

Mr. KONTA. Van Westrum was a Hollander, a Dutchman.

Maj. HUMES. Were there any statistics furnished to you by Tauscher relative to copper or oil?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir; not that I remember.

Maj. HUMES. Or with reference to foodstuffs generally?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Then how did the features of this article referring to copper and oil and foodstuffs, in addition to cotton, come to be a part of the article?

Mr. KONTA. I should like to state to you again that I never read this article. I don't know what is in it. It did not interest me at all.

Maj. HUMES. And yet you sent the original of this article to the New York Times?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And reported to Dr. Albert that you had so sent it to the New York Times, without ever reading it or knowing what its contents were?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so. I did not have to read anything that Van Westrum wrote.

Maj. HUMES. You were willing to assume absolute responsibility for the contents of this article without reading it?

Mr. KONTA. That is not necessarily so.

Maj. HUMES. When a man sends an article to a newspaper for publication he is assuming responsibility for its contents, isn't he?

Mr. KONTA. As a rule, yes.

Maj. HUMES. And yet you sent this without knowing its contents?

Mr. KONTA. I never read it; do not know anything at all about it.

Maj. HUMES. Would the committee like to have this article read?

Senator KING. Did it appear in the Times?

Maj. HUMES. Not to my knowledge.

Senator KING. Do you know whether it was signed?

Maj. HUMES. This copy is not signed. If there was a signature to the original I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. KONTA. I have told you all the facts in connection with this article, Major, rest assured.

Maj. HUMES. Would the committee like to have this article read into the record at this time, so as to be familiar with its contents? The title of it is, "America's Economic Interest in the War. Our Exports and German Substitutes for Copper, Oil, Cotton, and Foodstuffs."

Senator KING. Is that to be the basis for any further examination?

Maj. HUMES. I think not.

Senator KING. Or will any further testimony be so connected with it that it would not be intelligible without it?

Maj. HUMES. Only so far as the committee may like to inquire as to particular paragraphs of the article. The witness has disclaimed knowledge or authorship.

Mr. KONTA. Absolutely. The witness is also ready to furnish evidence that he did not write it.

Maj. HUMES. It is a typical propaganda article, as they were appearing at that time.

Senator OVERMAN. I think it had better go in.

Senator NELSON. Read it.

Maj. HUMES. I will ask Capt. Lester to read it.

Capt. LESTER. It reads as follows:

EXHIBIT No. 1150.

(Note in lead pencil: "*Copy.* Original sent to Times. A. KONTA.")

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC INTEREST IN THE WAR.

Our Exports and German Substitutes for Copper, Oil, Cotton and Foodstuffs.

That the war in Europe has entered upon a new phase is abundantly plain. The German expectation of a whirlwind campaign in France has been frustrated; on the other hand, the French and English counter advance, attempted a couple of weeks ago, was stopped a few days after its start, and has now been deferred, we are to understand, till the Spring, when that English army, which keeps on growing in the London despatches, will be landed in Belgium, in France—none knows where, except the general staffs of the Allies—and of Germany and Austria-Hungary, of course. Clearest of all is the fact that England's reliance upon a Russian capture of Berlin—it was to have happened in December—has had to be abandoned for all and all. The Russians we are now exultantly told, are masters of defensive fighting. Which is not at all the task allotted to them at the beginning of the war.

England's promise that her fleet would "drive the rats out of their hole" has remained unfulfilled. As a matter of fact, it now looks as if the British fleet's strategy had become defensive rather than offensive. What is more, the impression is gaining ground in Russia and France that England will not do any more fighting than she can help, in order to be in a strong position to dictate the terms of peace when the time shall come. It is also becoming plain that Great Britain is looking to the future in other directions as well. Battling, according to her own declaration, for civilization and democracy, she has already been forced by circumstances to take Egypt and Cyprus, with, in addition, an expectation in Palestine. The English Government may even be obliged, in the interest of Belgium, to take charge of the Belgian Congo, just as Japan has previously taken charge of Kiao-Chau. Such things have always happened in the history of England's unselfish devotion to the highest good of humanity. It is destiny. Why struggle against its inscrutable ways? Thus did the atrabilious Treitschkean view of the British history come into its existence.

ECONOMIC WAR ON GERMANY.

So far as England is concerned, then, this is chiefly to be an economic war upon her enemy—and, behold, neutral nations are being made without their consent, and, as a matter of fact, much against it, to pay the bills. The merchants and industrials of the United States, Italy, Holland and the Scandinavian countries are the victims. Thus goes the second stage of this economic war.

The first was direct, and did not affect these neutrals so much. It was begun on the day of the beginning of hostilities. German maritime commerce was swept from the seas. The German cable was cut, interrupting all transoceanic commercial relations. German patents were declared void in the British Empire, and English manufacturers are now using them at will. The payment of commercial and other financial obligations to German subjects was forbidden under heavy penalties. Marine insurance by English companies, of merchandise destined for Germany—American goods included—has been prohibited; the transfer of German vessels to neutral flags has been forbidden in order that Germany may not profit by the moneys from such transactions. All direct contraband of war for Germany is confiscated, of course,—a legitimate war measure; but, in addition, England has arbitrarily extended the list of conditional contraband to include articles and products which are chiefly, and, in fact, almost entirely, needed for industrial purposes only, this, of course, to cripple, and, if possible, to destroy German manufacturers. England, playing fast and loose with the declaration of London, which she signed though she did not ratify it, tries, furthermore, to starve Germany out. This may be civilized modern warfare. To me it smacks of the Middle Ages, of war on women and children, like the half-rations dolled out to Boer women and growing children in the South African concentration camps, because their husbands and fathers and brothers persisted in fighting for their country.

OUR INTEREST IN ECONOMIC WAR.

Will this form of British warfare succeed? It begins to look as if here, too, England has made a miscalculation, as she has in the case of that Russian march to Berlin. What I am going to put down here is based upon information furnished me by a number of economic experts. The concensus of their opinion is that Germany cannot be starved out. German industry has already adapted itself to the checks placed upon it, both at home and in the foreign markets that are still open to it. There is no unemployment in the Empire; there is plenty of it in the neutral countries which England forces to pay most of the cost of this economic warfare. German finances have continued on a sound basis. Industrially, then, and first of all, the war has failed. There have been heavy losses, to be sure, but the wounds are healing.

The part that concerns the United States, however, is the bill which, though a neutral nation, it has already paid, and the still greater bill it may have to pay hereafter unless it brings about a change. In the very first month of hostilities, our exports fell enormously, but our imports still more, with the result that a war tax became necessary to make up for diminishing customs receipts. The increase in our sales of war materials to the Allies, with which we are invited to console ourselves, is hardly worth mentioning, the less so as the reserve stocks of our manufacturers, which swelled these exports, are about exhausted now, and hereafter they can only sell the maximum output of their plants from day to day. We are also advised to recoup ourselves by capturing Germany's South American trade. But the difficulty with this counsel is that South America, being neutral, too, pays for this war with a business depression so great and widespread that it may lead to panics. The Latin American republics are not in the markets for large purchases just now.

WHAT GERMANY BUYS FROM US.

Our chief exports to Germany are copper, oil, cotton and foodstuffs. Out of a total of $410,000,000 the amount of our exports to the Empire in 1913, over $250,000,000 represented the sale of these four commodities. Our bill for copper to Germany and Austria-Hungary for that year was $53,000,000; during the same period Germany alone took $115,000,000 of our cotton, or one-fifth of our total export of that staple; our exports of illuminating, lubricating and paraffin oils amounted to $10,000,000 not counting large amounts of benzine; and, finally

the value of our exports of foodstuffs to Germany during 1913 reached the respectable sum of $96,000,000, of which $41,000,000 was for wheat.

This, then, is the loss confronting our trade in these four articles alone, if this war lasts another twelve months, as seems to be the general expectation. That England's elastic interpretation of the meaning of "conditional contraband" will extend the list enormously can hardly be doubted. To be sure, our Government has succeeded in having cotton removed from the list of contraband, but even so, its export is so hampered that little can be expected from this exemption. There are different ways of obtaining a desired result, and an indirect one is often the most effective.

American cotton, then, is conditional contraband of war no longer, but—all American ships carrying cotton must seek insurance here; England insists that those destined for Germany shall pass into the North Sea, not by the Northern course, but through the channel, where, in reality, the danger from floating mines is far more serious, and where, as a matter of fact, several freight boats have already been blown up. Every ship is held up, and its cargo examined, without respect for American manifests. In fact everything is done to discourage a trade which is no longer prohibited.

Now, all this may be war, but the most serious aspect of the whole matter is that it threatens to create a permanent loss to our export trade to Germany and Austria-Hungary in the four staples. If we lose this trade now, we are in danger of losing it forever, for what one cannot obtain one learns to do without; and when one cannot do without one looks around for a substitute. And it is with substitutes for our forbidden and hampered exports that Germany is at present very busy. In fact, it may be said that the country's scientists and economists have already found them.

PERMANENT LOSSES TO US.

Germany has already found a way to do without American copper; she has solved in large measure the problem of doing without our oil products; her scientists long ago discovered substitutes for cotton; and as for foodstuffs, the question of a war famine has been disposed of by German efficiency. The nation will have to deny itself many luxuries, but, so far as the necessaries of life are concerned, they will be forth coming, till the end of the war, whenever that may be, and not at famine prices either. Some information has already reached this country concerning some of the measures taken—the "war bread," for instance, and the German reliance upon potatoes. Much more is to be said, however, later on, and it will be of interest to the American farmer and produce merchant, copper miner, and the American cotton grower. Before I proceed to enter into the details of the German substitutes for American products which we are willing to sell to them, but which England forbids us to export, or allows us to export under such difficulties, and with so much interference and delay as to amount sooner or later to practical prohibition, it may be well to recapitulate:

Once Germany becomes convinced that our trade with her is at the mercy of the British naval supremacy, and that it may be interrupted at any time when it suits British policy, even when the two countries shall be at peace, once Germany fully realizes all this, she will systematically set to work to make herself independent of our exports, and will never return to her dependence upon them.

The German substitutes for copper and cotton, and largely for oil products, are not discoveries of the last six months. They have long been known, but have never yet been practically introduced, because in the regular course of peaceful business, it has been more convenient to use American copper, oils, cotton and foodstuffs than their German substitutes. This has been more particularly the case in German textile industry, where the spinning of the substitutes requires certain changes in machinery. It may be assumed, then, that if the British embargo forces these changes in the mechanical equipment of German mills, they will be permanent. Even with a return to an unobstructed supply of American cotton, the German manufacturers will certainly, for the sake of economy, continue to use the substitutes, which, in addition, will benefit German agriculture, as they can be grown in the different parts of the Empire.

It is, therefore, not a question for us of a temporary loss of the German market during the duration of the war, but of its permanent loss, or, at least, of a serious reduction of its annual requirements.

GERMAN SUBSTITUTES FOR COPPER.

England has declared all copper, even that for economical and commercial purposes, to be absolute contraband of war. The extent to which Germany, thanks to the various processes, can dispense with this metal has hitherto been unknown, because, as I have already said, with an uninterrupted supply, there was no reason for introducing the substitutes. In the first place, however, it must be pointed out that the Empire is not entirely without its own source of supply. The Mansfeld copper mines, which could not compete with the American product in an undisturbed market, has been reopened, and fully suffice to supply all German military needs. Therefore, the question resolves itself into one of German industries. The recent discovery of a reliable method of making steel and iron rustproof is one answer. Here, then, iron at once takes the place of copper, which is no longer indispensable, but has been continued in use because it offered the advantage of being more malleable, and therefore cheaper to handle. In the shipbuilding industry, for instance, it is now possible to replace bronze with cast iron. The same is true of brass, as in the building of locomotives. Aluminum and iron are the substitutes for copper for electric cables and high current transmitters. Iron wire has been introduced for long distance conductors from central supply stations. The proper way of isolating iron wire has been perfected. The military telephone system of Germany has been equipped for several years with steel wire, because it is more durable.

All those interested in American copper will understand what all this means—a diminishing dependence of German industry upon the metal. If supplied without interruption, it will be able to hold its place; once Germany learns to do without it, she will never return to it. And with the inevitable improvement of the manufacture and the employ of the substitutes, other countries drawing their supply from us will follow Germany's example.

GERMAN SUBSTITUTES FOR COTTON.

The case of American cotton in Germany is fully as critical. Here, indeed, the substitutes have been known for years; they are in no sense in the experimental stage. They are flax, hemp and nettles. All these plants grow in Germany, and, as in the case of copper, their use was not introduced heretofore because the steady supply of American cotton made this unnecessary. But once it becomes plain to the German industrial that he will have to depend hereafter, as he had depended heretofore, upon a source of supply with which England can interfere at will, and, indeed, it has been made abundantly plain to him during the last six months, he will call for the substitutes grown at home. That German agriculture will be eager to supply this new demand need hardly be said, or that it will be able to furnish all the material required within a short lapse of time. I quote a leading authority, Dr. Hugo Schweitzer, one time president of the Chemist Club of this city, and formerly secretary of the New York section of the British Society of Chemical Industry, says Dr. Schweitzer:

"The success of the nettle fibre industry is to-day entirely a matter of organization, and the cultivation of the nettle plant would also increase the use of flax and hemp, as the mixing of their fibres with those of nettle would open up new avenues for the textile industry.

As I have already said, it is here chiefly a question of certain changes in machinery. Is it likely that the German textile manufacturers, having been forced to the expense of these changes by arbitrary interference with their supply of cotton, will scrap their new machinery to return to the American staple when it becomes freely obtainable again? It is the less likely because they will remember the lesson (they are not likely to forget it) that the supply may be cut off again at will during the next war, even though Germany and America shall both remain neutral. The interference with neutral Italy's importation of American cotton during the present war is there to serve as a permanent warning. And, be it repeated, the same lesson is conveyed by England's interference with neutral Holland's imports of American foodstuffs.

As with American copper, so with American cotton it is not a question of interference with our exports during the duration of the present war. It is a question of the whole future of these important American products. Furthermore, other countries beside Germany will make themselves independent of a source of supply that can be shut off at will by a third power.

Senator OVERMAN. Unless the committee desires to hear the full article read, I think we have heard enough of it at this time.

Capt. LESTER. The rest of the article deals with cotton, oil products, and foodstuffs.

Maj. HUMES. And with substitutes for cotton.

Senator OVERMAN. The whole article will be printed in the record.

Capt. LESTER. Its purport is to warn American manufacturers that they are likely to lose all their trade after the war.

(The remainder of the article is here printed in the record, as follows:)

GERMAN SUBSTITUTES FOR OIL PRODUCTS.

In the case of American petroleum and its products, Germany had already begun before the outbreak of this war to establish elaborate central electrical light and power plants, on the American system. This will do away increasingly with the use of petroleum as an illuminant. These central plants are organized with state and municipal assistance, and furnish light and power at cost. It may also be added that in Germany "spiritus" (Grain and potato alcohol) forms an important substitute for petroleum; and in addition there are calcium carbide and acetylene. The most important German substitute for petroleum, as a motor fuel, however, is coal tar benzol, which can be extracted in almost unlimited quantities from coke. The technical difficulty of its practical use has been overcome by a simple change in the carburetor. The substitution of lignite coal for petroleum as a lubricant has thus far been kept back in Germany only by the abundant and cheap supply of the American oil products. But should lignite coal once firmly establish itself through the forcible prohibition, for any length of time, of the importation of American petroleum, the German market would certainly be lost to us.

Once more, it is not a question of a temporary interruption of our exports, but of a crippling dealt to them, whose effects will last.

GERMAN SUBSTITUTES FOR AMERICAN FOODSTUFFS.

So far as American wheat is concerned, Germany has a substitute in the rye which it grows, and which hitherto it has freely exported. But beside rye the Empire possesses a most valuable substitute for wheat in the potato, which proved its importance in times of war as long ago as the days of Frederick the Great. In ordinary times Germany produces annually 55,000,000 tons of potatoes. Of these 25% are used as food, and 40% as fodder. Until quite recently 10% of this harvest, that is, 55,000,000 tons were lost because the potatoes were spoiled by being kept too long. This huge loss, however, has been done away with by two scientific inventions—the evaporation of the potato, and its preservation by a chemical process in which bacteria cultures play the chief part. Already before the war Germany had 600 "driers" for evaporation of potatoes, an economically most important industry, as it made the potato trade independent of seasons. Since the beginning of hostilities 300 more of these driers have been put up by the Government. A reduction of the production of potato alcohol and of starch to the absolutely necessary will complete this translation of waste into foodstuff sufficiently great to supply Germany's present lack of wheat. The use of potato flour, in baking the so-called "war-bread" of the Empire has already been made familiar to readers of the American press. As a matter of fact, however, this form of bread, with its 10% to 15% of potato flour, is nothing new in Germany. It has been used by the German farmers in different parts of the country for many years because the potato flour admixture serves to keep it fresh.

I may here refer also to our exports of fodder for cattle—oilcake, bran, husks, etc., unconsidered by-products whose total amounted in our export account with Germany in 1913 to the tidy little sum of $15,000,000. For these, too, Germany has found a substitute in the potato.

The list of agricultural substitutes which Germany is learning to use instead of our products might be considerably enlarged, but enough has been said to prove the growing danger that threatens the future of the American export trade in its four most important commodities.

It is not a question of inconveniences and losses during the war alone, or even chiefly. It is a permanent loss of most valuable foreign markets that threatens us. It is not Germany that is being starved, it is the American producer and exporter of copper, cotton, oil, and foodstuffs. Think it over.

Maj. HUMES. Since you have had your recollection refreshed from that article, Mr. Konta, I call your attention again to the statement in Mr. Albert's letter to you, of January 27, wherein he says, "The statement that substitutes were produced even before the war is not correct, as for example, in the case of cotton they had not thought of it." With your recollection refreshed, do you not think the letter of January 27, 1915, was a reply to your communication submitting the article?

Mr. KONTA. I am not sure about that. It is probable. The article was handed to me, and I sent it to him. I had nothing to do with the article. It is not my style. I do not know anything at all about this.

Maj. HUMES. The statement also appears in the article, does it not, that "the principal import of cotton into Germany goes from the United States to Russia"? That statement is made in that article, and Dr. Albert, in this letter to you, says that that is rank nonsense, does he not?

Mr. KONTA. You have the letter before you, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Does not that indicate that this letter is a reply to yours submitting that article?

Mr. KONTA. This letter seems to be a criticism on the article.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Then what is meant by this: "The reference to the Evening Post is comprehensible to the extent that the material is naturally known, in expert circles?" What reference had you made to the Evening Post, that called for a reply of that kind?

Mr. KONTA. I do not recollect exactly what it was. If there had been any reference made by letter, it must be in the files. It must be some other article, perhaps, or something. I do not know what it is.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit No. 1151, as the only other letter in your Albert file. Did you have any other correspondence with Dr. Albert than the letters you have produced here?

Mr. KONTA. I do not think so. I am quite sure I did not. All the correspondence I had is in my file.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 1151.

JAN. 25, 1915.

Mr. VON ALBERT,
45 Broadway, New York.

DEAR MR. VON ALBERT: I have engaged the tickets to the banquet of the Explorers' Club on Jan. 29th at the Hotel Astor, and count you, of course, as one of the party.

Trusting to have the great pleasure of seeing you on this interesting occasion, I remain,

Cordially and sincerely yours,

———— ————.

Maj. HUMES. You have produced no letter containing any reference to the Evening Post. How do you account for the absence of that letter?

Mr. KONTA. There is just one explanation possible for it. If there was anything at all pertaining to an article in the Evening Post, if there was a letter written of a few lines, it may have been written in

they had a Christmas tree, and little presents for everybody, and that was the first time that I met him, was in that party.

Senator WOLCOTT. Did you see much of him at that party?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Senator WOLCOTT. You just saw him there as one of the guests?

Mr. KONTA. I just saw him there as one of the guests, yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you recall having any rather intimate conversations with him on that occasion?

Mr. KONTA. I emphatically had none; no conversation.

Senator WOLCOTT. And then on January 27 you invited him to this dinner at which Admiral Peary was to be present?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Senator WOLCOTT. Had he asked you, at the Christmas party at Mr. Tausher's house, or expressed at that party a desire to meet Admiral Peary, do you recall?

Mr. KONTA. No; I do not recall that at all, because he did not, on that occasion.

Senator WOLCOTT. What was the date of this dinner to Admiral Peary; do you recall?

Maj. HUMES. January 29 was the date of the dinner.

Mr. KONTA. January 29.

Senator WOLCOTT. What is the date of the letter of Mr. Konta sending this article to Dr. Albert?

Maj. HUMES. We have not that letter. We have the reply, January 27; that was the date of the reply of Mr. Albert.

Senator WOLCOTT. Here is what is striking me as rather curious, Mr. Konta; it seems, from your statements to me, that your relations with this man Albert were purely formal, and perhaps best described by saying that they were merely casual; and yet, even before you met him so intimately as at the Peary dinner, you had been sending him articles reporting to him on cotton, transmitting to him for criticism an article on the United States industrial interests after the war, and you had also, evidently, written to him about some matter in connection with the Evening Post. How does it come about that you should bother yourself to communicate such things as that to a man whom you only casually knew?

Mr. KONTA. It is quite true, Senator, that I only casually knew this man. I do not believe that I met him, all told, more than about four or five times, to talk to him, face to face. He used to 'phone me. He was a friend of Mr. Tauscher's, and it seemed Mr. Tauscher was with him almost every day—at least I think so—and Mr. Tauscher used to come up to see me, in that particular period, believing that I could help him to place an article of that sort; but I could not. The best proof that I could not is that it has not appeared. That is all.

Senator WOLCOTT. You were sending it to him, then, because of your known interest, on his part, in spreading propaganda that would be of assistance in creating pro-German sentiment? That seems to be the situation? That seems to be the situation to me. Is that correct, or not?

Mr. KONTA. It is not correct, Senator, because there was no such interest on my part, to start German propaganda. If there would have been, I would have gone about it in an entirely different way. I would have personally seen to it that such an article, clearly statistical——

Senator NELSON. Why did you send him this article?

Mr. KONTA. At the request of Mr. Tauscher. This man Van Westrum brought it to me and I sent it to him. I never read it. It is the first time I heard it, this article.

Senator WOLCOTT. Why do you imagine you were used as an intermediary by this man?

Mr. KONTA. As an intermediary? I imagine it was only because it seems Mr. Tauscher, who knew that I very often wrote something occasionally for the papers, thought perhaps I might be used for the publication of such material; but they never did use me. They could not; that is all.

Maj. HUMES. But over your own signature you say you sent that article to the New York Times. They were using you, were they not?

Mr. KONTA. I do not think I ever said that, Major.

Maj. HUMES. The notation you wrote at the head of that article said that the original had been sent to the New York Times, and you signed that memorandum yourself, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. Will you be kind enough to have that read? I never said that.

Senator KING. Did you not state that the original had been sent to the New York Times, of your own knowledge?

Mr. KONTA. Not that I remember, Senator. I did not say that. There seems to be some kind of a mistake here.

Senator KING. Did I ask you whether you sent it?

Mr. KONTA. I do not remember whether you asked me, Senator. I do know that I have no such recollection, of ever having sent this article to the New York Times.

Senator KING. How do you know that it was sent to the Times?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know that it was sent.

Senator KING. Why did you state that, in the memorandum that you annexed to the article?

Mr. KONTA. To be sent to the New York Times—is not that it, on the article? That meant that they should send it, if they wanted to; if they had somebody to send it.

Maj. HUMES. It says the original was sent to the New York Times. That is what the memorandum is.

Mr. KONTA. Then Mr. Von Westen must have sent it to the New York Times. I did not. I had nothing to do with it.

Senator KING. Your language is not in futuro, but relates to something that had been done—the original "sent," which would indicate that it had been sent.

Mr. KONTA. That is easily establishable, if it was sent. If it was sent, it was not sent by me. Had I sent it, I would not hesitate to say so; but it was not sent by me.

Senator KING. Do you positively affirm, now, that you did not send it?

Mr. KONTA. I am absolutely quite certain that I did not send it to the Times. I may have taken charge of this manuscript and sent it on to Mr. Albert, but I never read it. It is the first time that I heard the contents of this article, because it is dry, and never interested me.

Senator KING. Did you see the original?

Mr. KONTA. The original?

Senator KING. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. Senator, I saw one German copy, which was in the Albert file in German; German statistics; and there was written on it "Albert"; and that was handed over to Mr. Harper, district attorney, in the Albert file; but unfortunately it has not been returned. We only received the Albert file back a few days ago. As soon as we knew that we would have to produce the Albert file, my attorney demanded from the district attorney the return of the Albert file.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you say Mr. Van Westrum brought it to you and asked you to send it to the New York Times?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Van Westrum?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. That is very probable—no; Mr. Van Westrum brought it to be sent back to Mr. Albert. That is my recollection of it.

Senator OVERMAN. You said he could not get it in the Tribune, and wanted you to get it to the Times, as I understand?

Mr. KONTA. Not me, at all. He did the translation; that is my recollection. I know I did not.

Maj. HUMES. Do we understand you to say that this is merely a translation of the German statistics that you had?

Mr. KONTA. This article here?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. No. From what I heard here, it is a little bit more than a translation. It is an original article written by some writer who incorporated, undoubtedly, the material which he received from these people.

Senator KING. Did you know that Mr. Van Westrum had been employed by representatives of Germany to write articles prior to the time when this particular article was brought to you by Van Westrum?

Mr. KONTA. I did not know anything at all about that; and I would be very much surprised were I to learn that such is the case.

Senator KING. Then when he brought you this article, you knew that he had been employed by somebody representing Germany to write this particular article?

Mr. KONTA. I knew that he knew Mr. Tauscher very well, and I knew he met Mr. Albert and some of these other men, and I knew that he was in sympathy with them—with their cause—although he was a Dutchman; but he was pro-German at that time, in 1915. April, 1915, he was pro-German.

Senator KING. You knew this, at any rate, that this article was written by him at the request of some representative of Germany?

Mr. KONTA. Of Mr. Tauscher.

Senator KING. Why did you not think it remarkable that he should bring that article to you, rather than transmit it through the person who employed him to produce it?

Mr. KONTA. I did not think that at all extraordinary, because Mr. Van Westrum used to come up to my office twice a week. I stated that before. He and I would go out to luncheon together, and discuss topics.

Senator KING. Why did you not ask him to hand it to the man who employed him?

Mr. KONTA. I did not care to do that because he was in the employ of the New York Tribune, and perhaps that was his reason.

Senator KING. But did he come to you and say: "I have been employed by Germany to write this article, but I am ashamed to deliver it to the man who employed me, and want you to deliver it?"

Mr. KONTA. Nothing of the kind; because he would not have been ashamed. He was undoubtedly a man of honor.

Senator KING. Have you given the only explanation you care to give, or can give, as to why you came into possession of this article?

Mr. KONTA. Why I came into possession of this article?

Senator KING. Have you given the only explanation you care to, or that you can give, as to the reason why you came into possession of this article?

Mr. KONTA. That is the only explanation I can give.

Senator KING. All right.

Mr. KONTA. It is not a question of care. I would like to give you all the explanation I am capable of.

Senator KING. Speaking for myself, I find no explanation in your explanation.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, is it not a fact that you frequently visited Dr. Albert's office in the fall of 1914?

Mr. KONTA. That is absolutely and emphatically false.

Maj. HUMES. Did you occasionally visit his office in the fall of 1914?

Mr. KONTA. Never. I have been there just once, when he invited me to luncheon; just once.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever meet Dr. Fuehr?

Mr. KONTA. Where?

Maj. HUMES. Any place?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Where?

Mr. KONTA. At Mr. Tauscher's house.

Maj. HUMES. When?

Mr. KONTA. About 1916; in the latter part of 1916.

Maj. HUMES. And not until 1916?

Mr. KONTA. That is my recollection.

Senator WOLCOTT. I thought you said the first time you saw Dr. Albert since leaving St. Louis was in December of 1914?

Mr. KONTA. That was at Mr. Tauscher's house, at the Christmas party.

Senator WOLCOTT. But now you have just said that you did see Dr. Albert in the fall of 1914?

Mr. KONTA. No; that is a mistake, Senator.

Capt. LESTER. He said he saw Dr. Fuehr.

Senator WOLCOTT. No; I am going back a question or two.

Maj. HUMES. That is true, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. You said in response to Maj. Humes, just a moment ago, that in the fall of 1914 you saw Dr. Albert upon an occasion when he invited you to luncheon. Am I not correct in that, Major?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; in the fall of 1914.

Senator WOLCOTT. And yet a little while ago you told me, when I was tracing the relationship between you two men, that the first time

you saw Dr. Albert since leaving St. Louis was in December of 1914, at this Christmas party.

Mr. KONTA. Well, Senator, I do not know——

Senator WOLCOTT. If there is a mistake there, clear it up.

Mr. KONTA. There is just this to be said, Senator: I stated that the first time after I had seen this man in St. Louis, in 1904, was only on one occasion, and a disagreeable one for him. I have seen him again once, at this Christmas party in 1915, I think—1914; but this luncheon had not taken place, as you think, and as you thought that I stated, in 1914. The luncheon was the occasion when this man wished to repay to me the invitation which I extended to him to come to the Explorers' Club to meet Admiral Peary. Then he invited me to luncheon; and that was the only instance that I ever have been in his office.

Senator WOLCOTT. Your fixing of the time, then, as the fall of 1914, was erroneous—was a mistake?

Mr. KONTA. I do not remember having fixed the time as 1914; but if so, then it certainly is a mistake; because it is absolutely clear to me, now, that the luncheon was occasioned only by this man wishing to repay my courtesy in inviting him to the Explorers' Club to meet Admiral Peary. Having been my guest at that Explorers' Club dinner, he wanted to give me a little luncheon.

Maj. HUMES. And you never met Dr. Fuehr until 1916?

Mr. KONTA. Such is my recollection, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Is is not a fact that in the fall of 1914 you and Dr. Albert had several conferences looking to the purchase of a large New York daily newspaper?

Mr. KONTA. That is absolutely and most emphatically false; and I want to state that in unequivocal terms, so that there will be no mistake about it, that that is false; I never have been in his office in 1914, and never had any meetings, never discussed newspapers with him, at all.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, at that time, devise a plan for the purchase, and after consultation with Dr. Albert, secure the approval of your plan, and was it not decided that Dr. Albert should ask the imperial chancellor of Germany for a sum of money, up to 2,000,000 marks, for the purchase of a controlling interest in a newspaper?

Mr. KONTA. Most emphatically no.

Senator OVERMAN. Who was this man Fuehr, with whom you were associated? Let us get these things straight in the record. You were associating with Mr. Tauscher, a German agent, and with Dr. Albert, a German agent, and a German sympathizer Van Westrum. Now, who is Dr. Fuehr?

Mr. KONTA. I think it was stated in my statement yesterday that he was a gentleman who came over here—at least I was told that he was a gentleman who came over here—at least I was told that he came over here from China and could not proceed to Germany; he was a very charming man, a man of the highest education, and one of the best read men I have ever met in my life?

Senator OVERMAN. He was a German?

Mr. KONTA. Undoubtedly, a German.

Senator OVERMAN. An agent for the German Government over here?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything about that at all, Senator.

Senator OVERMAN. Where was his office? Was it in the offices of the Hamburg-American Line?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir; I never have been in his office. I do not know whether he had an office, I do not know that he had an office, and I do not know anything at all about it.

Senator NELSON. Had he not been a representative of the German Government in some oriental country before he came here?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know anything at all about, Senator. All I do know is that he came over here from Germany and that I met him at Mr. Tauscher's home; that I do know, and that he was a really interesting man to meet, a historian, and a splendid writer.

Senator NELSON. Oh, I have no doubt he interested you.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Marcus Braun?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. How long have you known him?

Mr. KONTA. Ever since I have been in New York.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that he was in the employ of Ambassador von Bernstorff?

Mr. KONTA. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Did he not participate in some conferences that you had relative to the purchase of a New York newspaper?

Mr. KONTA. Never.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever consult with Mr. Braun on that subject?

Mr. KONTA. I never did. Major, may I produce some evidence now?

Maj. HUMES. I suggest that we go on with the examination, and then you can explain anything you want to afterwards. That will make a more orderly procedure.

Mr. KONTA. All right.

Maj. HUMES. You are familiar with the time that Dr. Dernberg came to this country in the spring of 1915, are you not?

Mr. KONTA. I am not.

Maj. HUMES. You know that he came to this country in the spring of 1915?

Mr. KONTA. Not necessarily so. I met him once.

Maj. HUMES. You wrote him a a letter in 1915, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. I did.

Maj. HUMES. That was shortly after he came to this country?

Mr. KONTA. That was the result of that meeting.

Maj. HUMES. That was very shortly after he came to this country, was it not?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Mr. George Sylvester Viereck?

Mr. KONTA. The last time I met George Sylvester Viereck was about 12 years ago.

Maj. HUMES. That was the last time you have seen him?

Mr. KONTA. Absolutely the last time.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you ever meet Mr. Bernstorff?

Mr. KONTA. Never.

Maj. HUMES. Were you ever at the office at 1123 Broadway?

Mr. KONTA. Never. 1123 Broadway?
Maj. HUMES. Yes.
Mr. KONTA. What kind of an office is it?
Maj. HUMES. Dr. Fuehr's office.
Mr. KONTA. Never in my life. I never put my foot in it.
Maj. HUMES. Or in Mr. Viereck's office?
Mr. KONTA. Never in my life.
Maj. HUMES. Or William Bayard Hale's office?
Mr. KONTA. Never in my life. I do not know him. I never saw him.
Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact, Mr. Konta, that as a result of your conferences on the subject of the purchase of a New York newspaper, after Dr. Dernburg came to this country, you found that he was opposed to a program of that kind, and that his opposition resulted in a number of conferences; and that finally, under pressure of all the other German agents in this country, Dr. Dernburg agreed with them that Marcus Braun ought to go to Germany to consult the Imperial German chancellor with a view of securing the necessary financial support looking to the purchase of a New York newspaper?
Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything at all about what you said to me just now, Maj. Humes. My relations with Marcus Braun, as you will see immediately, are not such that he would come to me with any kind of a proposition.
Maj. HUMES. I did not say that he came to you. I said you used him as the messenger to go to Germany.
Mr. KONTA. I used him?
Maj. HUMES. The conference.
Mr. KONTA. No, Major; that is so false that words fail me to tell you what I think about this, or whoever brings this accusation.
Maj. HUMES. Did you know of the fact that Mr. Marcus Braun did go to Germany?
Mr. KONTA. Now, that is different. I believe in—let me think—1916, I think it was, this man, Mr. Braun, came up to my office and said: "I am going to go to Europe. What can I do for you?" And I said: "You can not do anything at all for me. If you go to Budapest, go and see my brother and tell him I am well and alive. That is all."
Maj. HUMES. That was in 1916?
Mr. KONTA. That was in 1915 or 1916; I am not sure.
Maj. HUMES. Did you not testify a minute ago that you had not seen Marcus Braun for 12 years?
Mr. KONTA. That was Mr. Viereck—Sylvester Viereck, and not Marcus Braun. That is what I testified—Sylvester Viereck; that I have not seen him for 12 years, nor spoken to him during 12 years; but not Marcus Braun.
Maj. HUMES. But you have been on friendly terms with Marcus Braun?
Mr. KONTA. I have not been on friendly terms with Marcus Braun. I will show you presently what my terms with Marcus Braun have been.
Maj. HUMES. Did Marcus Braun tell you what he was going to Germany for?
Mr. KONTA. Certainly not.

Maj. HUMES. About what season of the year did he go to Germany?

Mr. KONTA. I could not remember that so distinctly. I paid no attention to it.

Maj. HUMES. What was Marcus Braun's business at that time?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Marcus Braun's business at that time was that he owned a weekly paper; I think it was called the Fair Play.

Maj. HUMES. Fair Play?

Mr. KONTA. I am quite sure.

Maj. HUMES. Did you know that Ambassador von Bernstorff was the owner of a considerable portion of the stock of that periodical?

Mr. KONTA. I did not know anything about that at all. It did not concern me, and I never asked any such questions, and had nothing to do with it, and did not care what Marcus Braun did.

Maj. HUMES. Are you still on friendly terms with Marcus Braun?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Marcus Braun called on me about two weeks ago, and I was very much astonished that he should call on me; and he then suggested that he would like to go to San Francisco to get certain information regarding some Hungarian who was or is connected with the Alien Property Custodian, but that he had no money, and he wanted to know whether I would not finance him. I said, "No; I am not interested at all." And I did not finance it; of course not.

Maj. HUMES. Had there been an estrangement prior to that time between you and Marcus Braun?

Mr. KONTA. There was no particular estrangement, just as there never was any friendship between Marcus Braun and me. I will presently show you, if you will allow me, the whole Marcus Braun file. I have brought that with me.

Maj. HUMES. What induced you to bring the Marcus Braun file with you when you came down here on this occasion?

Mr. KONTA. Because I have been informed that there is going to be an investigation in connection with the Hungarian Loyalty League, and with Hungarians in particular, and I thought I would bring along all kinds of files so that if anybody asked for anything I might be in a position to supply you with it.

Maj. HUMES. Was Mr. Braun connected with the Hungarian Loyalty League?

Mr. KONTA. Most emphatically not; because he opposed it from the very beginning, and he was fighting it from the very beginning; because he thought that he is a loyal citizen, and does not need to join a loyalty league. He never was a member, and never had anything to do with it.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, did you not assist in the preparation of the memorandum that Mr. Marcus Braun carried to Germany for submission to the German Government with relation to the purchase of this newspaper?

Mr. KONTA. Most emphatically and most positively, no.

Maj. HUMES. How long did Mr. Marcus Braun remain in Germany, or in Austria?

Mr. KONTA. How should I know? How do I know Marcus Braun? I will show you my relation with Marcus Braun that will open your eyes.

Maj. HUMES. Were you not a frequent visitor at Dr. Albert's office up to January, 1917?

Mr. KONTA. I stated to you, Major, in unequivocal terms, and I meant it, that I have been in that office only once. I went there because this man invited me to luncheon; and that was shortly after the dinner at the Explorer's Club. He said: "Come and have luncheon with me." And I went down and had luncheon with him, and never before nor since have I entered his office.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever receive any remuneration of any kind, or any money for any purpose from Alexander von Nuber, the Austrian consul general at New York?

Mr. KONTA. I never did, and I stated it yesterday, I never had any financial transaction of whatsoever nature with Mr. von Nuber, or his predecessors, or anybody in connection with the consulate. I never put my foot into the Austro-Hungarian consulate for the last seven years. I never had any transactions with them. And the file with Mr. von Nuber is here, respectfully submitted.

Maj. HUMES. Was there an estrangement between you and the Austro-Hungarian consulate and Mr. von Nuber?

Mr. KONTA. It was an estrangement caused by the visit of Michael Karolyi in 1914, June or July; and, of course, Mr. Karolyi did not visit the Austro-Hungarian consulate, because he was not in sympathy with the embassy and the consular officials.

I received Mr. Karolyi and the five members of the independent party. They were my guests, and I took them up to Albany, and I took them to meet Mayor Mitchell, and sent them on their road in this country for the purposes proposed, with which you are familiar; and, naturally, the consul general did not like it. First, he felt hurt that this man, Karolyi, who is an important man—he is to-day the governor of independent Hungary, if newspaper reports are true—did not call on him. He felt hurt in his vanity, and he did not like the entire move, which is natural; because it was not a movement that an Austro-Hungarian consul general would like.

Maj. HUMES. From the time of this visit, then, you were not on friendly terms with the consulate or with Mr. Von Nuber?

Mr. KONTA. I was not on very friendly terms with the consul general or any member of the consular staff. I reiterate it to you again, that I never put my foot into the Austro-Hungarian consulate, and do not know where it is to-day.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; in August, 1915, Mr. Von Nuber invited you as his guest and the guest of the consulate to the birthday celebration of Emperor Franz Joseph?

Mr. KONTA. That is quite true. That is an event that has been arranged every year, and this was the eighty-fifth celebration of an old man, at a very rare old age, and some of my other acquaintances insisted that I must go. He could not very well not invite me, because, after all, in the colony, if this word is permissible, I had some little prominence, and he had to invite me.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know George Von Skoll?

Mr. KONTA. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Who was he?

Mr. KONTA. George Von Skoll is a German newspaper man, and also a correspondent for some German newspapers in Germany. If

I am not mistaken—but then I did not know him—he was connected with the Staats Zeitung, perhaps the editor, even; but I did not know him at all until after the war.

I met him once, in connection with the bazaar—the German bazaar, the German Austor-Hungarian bazaar—held at Madison Square Garden.

Maj. HUMES. On what date?

Mr. KONTA. That is something I can not remember.

Maj. HUMES. What year was it?

Mr. KONTA. Oh, they had it twice, I believe.

Capt. LESTER. December, 1915.

Mr. KONTA. Was it December, 1915?

Capt. LESTER. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Were you active in that bazaar?

Mr. KONTA. I was made by the Hungarian colony the honorary president. I never took part in their deliberations, and never was present at their meetings, but they made me honorary president, and I have collected for them a great many donations and sent them in.

Maj. HUMES. You furnished a photograph of yourself that was published in connection with the program for that bazaar, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. I did not; for the simple reason that I have no photographs taken for the past 25 years.

Maj. HUMES. Your photograph was published on the program, was it not?

Mr. KONTA. Then somebody must have taken a flashlight picture.

Maj. HUMES. And you were active in that affair?

Mr. KONTA. I was the honorary president of the Hungarian branch, and I was active because it was, at least I thought it was, charity; and I got them all the meat that they needed for their kitchen, and I got them all the beer which they needed for their purposes; because they had a Hungarian branch in this bazaar, and they had a goulash kitchen, and so they needed meat and they needed beer, and I got them the meat and I got them the beer.

Maj. HUMES. And this was in December, 1915, some seven months after the sinking of the *Lusitania*?

Mr. KONTA. That is the date; yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever hear of the Iron Cross Society?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not know Mr. Von Skoll as a member of that organization?

Mr. KONTA. I did not. What? The Iron Cross?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. No; I did not.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that Von Skoll was a German agent, and was in the employ of Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. I did not know anything at all about his being a German agent; not at all.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that he was in the employ of Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. I did not know that. I did not know that he was in the employ of Dr. Albert. I thought he was in the employ of Mr. Von Papen, and I think you are mistaken about that, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Did he not occupy an office with Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know, because I have only once been in Dr. Albert's office and I did not see Von Skoll there.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Wolff Von Igel?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did he occupy offices near Dr. Albert?

Mr. KONTA. I know nothing at all about it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know where his office was?

Mr. KONTA. I never have been in his office.

Maj. HUMES. You did know Von Papen?

Mr. KONTA. I did.

Maj. HUMES. You thought Von Skoll was an employee of his, rather than of Dr. Albert's?

Mr. KONTA. That is what I thought.

Maj. HUMES. You knew Von Papen was a representative of the German Government, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. I believed that he was the military attaché of the German Government. That is what I believed.

Maj. HUMES. Then you knew that Von Skoll was connected with the German Government as an employee of Von Papen?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Maj. HUMES. When did you get acquainted with Von Skoll?

Mr. KONTA. I will tell you, Major, when the question of financing—I do not know whether you are familiar with this part of it, but inasmuch as you asked me, I have to explain it. The papers are in the hands of the alien property custodian, as you know. They had the Bridgeport Projectile Co. Do you know something about that?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; I know something about that.

Mr. KONTA. Surely. They wanted to finance this Bridgeport Projectile Co. and make a corporation out of it and bring it on the market.

Maj. HUMES. Who are "they"?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Hoadley, who came to see me about it, and Mr. Tauscher, of course, and some man in Bridgeport; I believe his name was McNeill. All of the letters and correspondence are in your possession, or in the possession of the Custodian of Alien Property. Everything was looked into very carefully. We sent a man to Bridgeport to look over this factory, and our intentions were, if we could get it free of any ties and we could make out of it a regular munition factory for the allies, that it might be a very fine financial proposition.

Senator OVERMAN. For the allies?

Mr. KONTA. For me and for the bankers who were connected with it; because there were some bankers connected with it.

But then the trouble came. The Germans said that the basis of this contract for the refinancing of this corporation was an agreement between the German Government and this Bridgeport Projectile Co., which was undoubtedly built by German capital for purposes of their own; but they refused to show that contract. They said they could not show that at all, and of course nothing happened. All the attorneys in connection with this deed, I can name them to you, and the bankers I can name to you.

Now, on this occasion it looked as if they might agree that this Bridgeport Projectile Co., which they had built up out of their own

funds, might be taken charge of by another corporation and worked in the interests of an American company. This man Von Skoll came up and said, "Now, here, we will have to have a newspaper propaganda, and I have been told that I am going to make this propaganda in the German papers, for the sale of the shares in the Bridgeport Projectile Co., to be created—to be reorganized"; and this other man, McNeill, he was the one to look after the American papers.

That was the only occasion that I met Von Skoll, to fix it; but I knew who he was. I knew he was editor of the Staats Zeitung in years gone by, and I knew he was a correspondent of German papers.

Maj. HUMES. In connection with the Bridgeport Projectile Co., you submitted to Mr. Hoadley and to Mr. Tauscher and to Mr. Heynen several propositions as to how the concern could be refinanced, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. What year was that?

Mr. KONTA. Let me see; that could have been 1915 or 1916—was it not? I do not remember. Please help me out, Major. There is no desire on my part to deny anything at all about that.

Maj. HUMES. It was either 1915 or 1916.

Mr. KONTA. Well, when was it?

Maj. HUMES. Did it not cover a considerable period of time? Did it not cover portions of both years?

Mr. KONTA. The papers in connection with this are all in your hands, and all you have to do is to look them up, and I will not deny it. This is a clear case; there were so many Americans connected with this. I do not want to make a statement that I do not know anything about at all.

Maj. HUMES. The question was as to how the stock could be put upon the market?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Maj. HUMES. You knew at that time that that concern was practically owned by the German Government, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that the Bridgeport Projectile Co. was organized for German purposes?

Mr. KONTA. Quite true.

Maj. HUMES. You knew that one of the purposes of the Bridgeport Projectile Co. was to furnish a means of causing industrial disasters that might spread into other munition factories?

Mr. KONTA. Most emphatically and positively not. I did not know anything at all about that.

Maj. HUMES. Did you, in the spring of 1915, hear of any industrial troubles in the Union Metallic Cartridge Co. and the Remington Arms Co.?

Mr. KONTA. I certainly did not.

Maj. HUMES. You knew nothing about that?

Mr. KONTA. Nothing at all.

Maj. HUMES. Did you hear of any labor difficulties at the Bridgeport Projectile Co.?

Mr. KONTA. I did not. I did not know anything at all about it.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever meet Mr. David Lamar?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. You do not know him?

Mr. KONTA. Never. 1123 Broadway?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. What kind of an office is it?

Maj. HUMES. Dr. Fuehr's office.

Mr. KONTA. Never in my life. I never put my foot in it.

Maj. HUMES. Or in Mr. Viereck's office?

Mr. KONTA. Never in my life.

Maj. HUMES. Or William Bayard Hale's office?

Mr. KONTA. Never in my life. I do not know him. I never saw him.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact, Mr. Konta, that as a result of your conferences on the subject of the purchase of a New York newspaper, after Dr. Dernburg came to this country, you found that he was opposed to a program of that kind, and that his opposition resulted in a number of conferences; and that finally, under pressure of all the other German agents in this country, Dr. Dernburg agreed with them that Marcus Braun ought to go to Germany to consult the Imperial German chancellor with a view of securing the necessary financial support looking to the purchase of a New York newspaper?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything at all about what you said to me just now, Maj. Humes. My relations with Marcus Braun, as you will see immediately, are not such that he would come to me with any kind of a proposition.

Maj. HUMES. I did not say that he came to you. I said you used him as the messenger to go to Germany.

Mr. KONTA. I used him?

Maj. HUMES. The conference.

Mr. KONTA. No, Major; that is so false that words fail me to tell you what I think about this, or whoever brings this accusation.

Maj. HUMES. Did you know of the fact that Mr. Marcus Braun did go to Germany?

Mr. KONTA. Now, that is different. I believe in—let me think—1916, I think it was, this man, Mr. Braun, came up to my office and said: "I am going to go to Europe. What can I do for you?" And I said: "You can not do anything at all for me. If you go to Budapest, go and see my brother and tell him I am well and alive. That is all."

Maj. HUMES. That was in 1916?

Mr. KONTA. That was in 1915 or 1916; I am not sure.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not testify a minute ago that you had not seen Marcus Braun for 12 years?

Mr. KONTA. That was Mr. Viereck—Sylvester Viereck, and not Marcus Braun. That is what I testified—Sylvester Viereck; that I have not seen him for 12 years, nor spoken to him during 12 years; but not Marcus Braun.

Maj. HUMES. But you have been on friendly terms with Marcus Braun?

Mr. KONTA. I have not been on friendly terms with Marcus Braun. I will show you presently what my terms with Marcus Braun have been.

Maj. HUMES. Did Marcus Braun tell you what he was going to Germany for?

Mr. KONTA. Certainly not.

good enough to give bail for me." I said, "Tauscher, I do not particularly enjoy this situation, but of course I will gladly do that."

Then they arrested Tauscher and took him up to the Department of Justice building, and I followed, and there I arranged with an insurance company to give bail for him; but the next day I informed the insurance company that I did not care to remain on his bail at all and it was taken up and somebody else went on his bail.

Now, Mr. Chairman, may I ask a few questions?

Senator OVERMAN. Of whom?

Mr. KONTA. I would like to ask a question of you.

Senator OVERMAN. All right.

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Chairman, there have been a great many questions asked me in the last 25 minutes of which I know nothing at all, and I am absolutely sure and certain that some one must have furnished such information against a citizen who for 30 years has lived in this country, and who has never had a single instance of misunderstanding with any branches of the Government. I never was fined in 30 years. Yet I am asked whether I know Von Rintelen, and whether I know this man, and whether I know that man, and whether I had any dealings with Marcus Braun, and so on. Do you not think, gentlemen, that a citizen is entitled to know, at least, who his accusers are? I would like to know. Because, really, this is America, and I would like to know who my accusers are.

My conscience is absolutely clean. I came here to this court with clean hands, and I defy any branch of any Government to show that I have ever been guilty of anything that a self-respecting American citizen would have to blush for.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to know who my accusers were. I know that there have been a lot of the scum of the earth that have been asked questions about me, about my past, about by name, and about my crimes, and all that; and now I am entitled to know, because I am a citizen; I have lived up to my duties to Uncle Sam in every respect and at all times; and this has got to stop; and if it does not stop, gentlemen—I may be a victim, and some more like me, poor victims, but the result is going to be very bad.

Senator OVERMAN. Well, let us have no more of that now.

Maj. HUMES. Have I asked you of an acquaintance with anyone except Von Rintlen that you have not known?

Mr. KONTA. You have asked me whether I am intimate with Marcus Braun, and you have asked me whether I knew Von Rintelen.

Maj. HUMES. Have I asked you about an acquaintance with any man except Von Rintelen that you have denied knowing?

Mr. KONTA. I have emphatically denied to know Von Rintelen.

Senator OVERMAN. That was not the question. He asked you if he had asked you about anybody except Von Rintelen that you did not know. Has he asked you about any man except Von Rintlen that you have not known?

Maj. HUMES. You have known every other man that I have inquired about, have you not?

Mr. KONTA. I have.

Maj. HUMES. That is all. Just a moment. Do you know Mr. Burgomeister?

Mr. KONTA. I do not. What is his name?

Maj. HUMES. Burgomeister?

Mr. KONTA. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. Formerly connected with the Hamburg-American Line?

Mr. KONTA. I do not. I never traveled with the Hamburg-American Line in my life. I always go over every year to Europe, but I do not know who Mr. Burgomeister is.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not know Mr. Burgomeister or meet Mr. Burgomeister when you were in Dr. Albert's office, and did you not know that he was Dr. Albert's assistant?

Mr. KONTA. I did not. I did not know him; and I do not know whom I met there. I do not know him. I never was introduced to him. I would not hesitate to tell you if I did know him.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Karl Heynen?

Mr. KONTA. Yes, sir; I know Karl Heynen.

Maj. HUMES. You met Karl Heynen in connection with the Bridgeport projectile matter, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. And I met him at Tauscher's house several times.

Maj. HUMES. Karl Heynen is now interned, I believe?

Mr. KONTA. That is what I believe.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, in 1915, discuss with Dr. Albert a shipment of flour to Germany?

Mr. KONTA. I never did. I have told you all I know about Dr. Albert.

Maj. HUMES. I should add here that David Lamar is another man that you were asked about that you did not know.

Mr. KONTA. I know him by reputation only. He is known as the "Wolf of Wall Street."

Maj. HUMES. You are acquainted with Mr. Horvath and Mr. Berko?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. They were connected with you in the organization of the American Hungarian Loyalty League, were they not?

Mr. KONTA. Not Mr. Berko; just Mr. Horvath. Which Mr. Horvath do you mean? Horvath is a very common name.

Maj. HUMES. The publisher from Cleveland.

Mr. KONTA. He is just the New York representative of the Cleveland publisher. Yes; he was the treasurer of the Loyalty League.

Maj. HUMES. And you and Mr. Berko and Mr. Horvath and some others were the ones that, after consultation with Mr. Creel, organized the American Loyalty League?

Mr. KONTA. That is not quite so, Major.

Maj. HUMES. In what particular is it in error?

Mr. KONTA. Because Mr. Berko was not asked, was not a party, was not in the Hungarian Loyalty League organization. He was not a member of the executive committee. Mr. Berko is just the publisher of a New York daily.

Maj. HUMES. Was not Mr. Berko in the party that came to Washington to consult and confer with Mr. Creel?

Mr. KONTA. Most emphatically not. More than that, when I went to Cleveland to start the league, Mr. Berko attacked the league, and attacked the meeting at Cleveland; and I sent the secretary of the league to Judge Lamar and informed him so, and Mr. Churchill——

Senator OVERMAN. Who is Judge Lamar? Of the Post Office Department?

Mr. KONTA. Judge Lamar, of the Post Office Department, and Mr. Churchill, who was then——

Senator OVERMAN. An intelligence officer?

Mr. KONTA. No; he was the publicity manager of foreign papers connected with the Bureau of Public Information. Now, this is almost amusing, Major——

Maj. HUMES. We are glad to have anything that is amusing.

Mr. KONTA. When I went to Cleveland, nobody was at Washington but myself, and then it was arranged—that was the wish of the bureau—that this league should be formed out West, and not East. When I started to go out West an editorial appeared in Mr. Berko's paper attacking that whole meeting and the society, and the reading of this article caused my relations with Mr. Berko to be unfriendly; and they became only friendly after the League was formed because I needed him.

Maj. HUMES. You needed him? And after these attacks you took him into the league and gave his paper a very considerable amount of advertising, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. Major, the Hungarian Loyalty League was formed for the purposes as clearly enumerated here last night. There are two daily Hungarian papers in America, one at New York and the other at Cleveland. It would be impossible to start any movement and to carry it out to a successful termination without the cooperation of the daily newspapers. Unfortunately 80 per cent of the Hungarian immigrants in this country are still not citizens; and I regret to say to you gentlemen that they do not learn English as fast as other immigrants; but that is not as much their fault as it is the fault of our immigration laws.

I realized that if I wanted to make a success—and we have made a gigantic success of this league—we would have to have the cooperation of the daily papers.

So, then, after the league was formed and I received my appointment from the Government, which I have here with me——

Senator OVERMAN. Who appointed you?

Mr. KONTA. Mr. Creel.

Senator OVERMAN. Did he pay you a salary?

Mr. KONTA. One dollar a year.

Senator OVERMAN. How much money did they give you to spend?

Mr. KONTA. Two thousand and forty dollars; and every postage stamp is accounted for, and the account is here, and the man who handled the money is here, and it was a special account in a bank, and we are ready to submit to you an accounting for every postage stamp. I paid more than $2,000; it cost me more than $4,000, because I paid all my own expenses. I would not accept anything from the Government, and I have devoted nine months of my time to it. I kept these Hungarians whose hearts were not with us in order, and there was not a single strike; there was not a single disturbance. Time and time again employers of labor sent for us, and I left my home and my business and I went there and settled all the strikes. I have letters from large employers of Hungarian labor and I have letters here from Government officials who were present when I handled the situation out in the country, hundreds of miles from New York; and, of course, this is not a direct reply, but this is just informatory to this honorable committee, but I want to give

you the reasons why I, who had some grievance against this man, realizing that I had to have his newspaper, used his newspaper after both proprietors, both editors, agreed that everything that the United States Government wished them to do—everything that any branch of the United States Government wished them to publish—they would publish free of charge. And they did it. The Department of the Interior, the war-savings stamps, and this other——

Senator WOLCOTT. The Liberty loan?

Mr. KONTA. The Liberty loan; thousands and thousands of inches, free of charge.

Maj. HUMES. Was that secured by you or by Mr. Hamerling? Mr. Hamerling said yesterday that he had accomplished all of that free advertising.

Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything about that. If you wish to class me with Mr. Hamerling, that is all right. I will tell you what I did. What I tell you I can prove. Mr. Hamerling had nothing whatsoever to do with these things which I state to you. I can show you, by the inches, and I can show you the accounts of this league; and although it was not necessary, because we know that seven men may form a league, I insisted that the treasurer of the league had to send a regular monthly statement with bills, amounts paid, a sworn statement, to Washington.

I have the copies here, and you can look at them, and you can keep them here. You can inspect the books, and I guarantee to you that there is not a postage stamp that has not been accounted for, moreover, not a cent that has been spent unnecessarily, or without reason or cause.

Maj. HUMES. In addition to financing your office and your headquarters, the Committee of Public Information also directly financed the branch offices over the country, did they not?

Mr. KONTA. Major, I stated to you yesterday that of all the petty cash which my office received, not a penny have I ever used. It was deposited to a special account at the Equitable Trust Co., and it is right here to show you.

Maj. HUMES. That is not answering the question.

Mr. KONTA. Pardon me.

Maj. HUMES. I was not asking you about your accounts, but if there were other accounts?

Mr. KONTA. The other accounts were paid directly by the Government, Treasury checks.

Senator OVERMAN. We will take an adjournment until 3 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The subcommittee, pursuant to the taking of the recess, reconvened at 3 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ALEXANDER KONTA—Resumed.

Senator OVERMAN. The committee will come to order. Proceed, Major.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, there was some discussion this morning of this German bazaar. Were you a regular attendant at that bazaar?

Mr. KONTA. I was there on three or four different occasions.

Maj. HUMES. And you had a general interest in the financial outcome, and the entertaining features, as well?

Mr. KONTA. I did not; I was just a visitor.

Maj. HUMES. You were just a visitor?

Mr. KONTA. That is all.

Maj. HUMES. You were there on three or four different occasions, you say?

Mr. KONTA. I was there on three or four different occasions.

Maj. HUMES. Is it not a fact that at that bazaar they used French and English soldiers as the targets in the shooting gallery that was one of the sources of income of the bazaar?

Mr. KONTA. If that is a fact, I do not know it; because it was not connected with the Hungarian section of the bazaar. There was nothing like that in the Hungarian section. When I went there I was naturally interested only in the Hungarian department. They had about 20 different booths, and there were no English and French soldiers there, at all.

Maj. HUMES. There was a shooting gallery as a part of the bazar, was there not?

Mr. KONTA. That may be. If there was, I do not know it.

Maj. HUMES. You did not see it?

Mr. KONTA. I did not see it. I had nothing to do with the arrangements of the bazar.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted, or were you acquainted, with Mr. Pernitzer, president of the Transatlantic Trust Co.?

Mr. KONTA. I have seen Mr. Pernitzer to speak to only once. I have seen him years afterwards, once at the War Savings, again when he came to America, I believe it was about 1912—no; I am not sure whether it was 1912 or 1911; I can not say. He called on me and asked me to open an account at his bank, something that I did not do, and I never had an account, and never had any transaction with him whatsoever, or with the Transatlantic Trust Co. My books will show that, and the books of the Transatlantic Trust Co., which are now in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian, must show it. There is not a chance in the world of my name being on his books in any way, directly or indirectly, because I had nothing whatsoever to do with the trust company.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Konta, you say that you met Dr. Fuehr in 1916?

Mr. KONTA. That is my recollection.

Maj. HUMES. Was that the first time you ever met him?

Mr. KONTA. Such is my recollection. I met him long after the big war started, and the story told to me is just as I told you before, that he came from China with his wife.

Maj. HUMES. He was a German agent in China?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything at all about that.

Maj. HUMES. Before the war?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know anything at all about that.

Maj. HUMES. That is, he was a commercial attaché at Tokyo, Japan, was he not?

Mr. KONTA. He was?

Maj. HUMES. Did you not know that fact?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Senator OVERMAN. You knew he was a German sympathizer?

Mr. KONTA. Oh, he was a German-born man, a German, and still German, and I suppose that a German is likely to be a German sympathizer.

Maj. HUMES. You met him at the house of Hans Tauscher?

Mr. KONTA. That is the only place I ever met him.

Maj. HUMES. That is the only place you ever met him?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You were at the home of Hans Tauscher on the 28th of May 1916, when Dr. Fuehr was also there, were you not?

Mr. KONTA. That is possible, but I do not know whether it was on that particular date. Can you explain to me, Major, the occasion? Then I might remember it. The 28th of May, 1916?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. How many times did you meet him there?

Mr. KONTA. I met Dr. Fuehr altogether perhaps five or six times; not more.

Maj. HUMES. Always at Hans Tauscher's house?

Mr. KONTA. Never anywhere else.

Maj. HUMES. How frequently were you a visitor at Hans Tauscher's house at Stamford, Conn.?

Mr. KONTA. In which year, may I ask?

Maj. HUMES. From the time the European war started up until the time Hans Tauscher returned to Germany.

Mr. KONTA. Well, from the time of about the 15th of June, 1915, until his departure, my visits were not as frequent as they used to be before that.

Maj. HUMES. From about the 15th of June?

Mr. KONTA. From about the 15th of June, 1915.

Maj. HUMES. 1915?

Mr. KONTA. Yes. There is a reason for that.

Maj. HUMES. But you did go there after that time?

Mr. KONTA. There is an explanation for that.

Maj. HUMES. Just answer the question, please.

Mr. KONTA. I did.

Maj. HUMES. How frequently did you go there after the 15th of June?

Mr. KONTA. Oh, perhaps once or twice in a fortnight.

Maj. HUMES. Once or twice in a fortnight?

Mr. KONTA. Yes; in two weeks; perhaps once a week.

Maj. HUMES. You averaged once a week at his house, at Stamford, Conn., from the 15th of June, 1915, until his departure for Germany?

Mr. KONTA. He did not live all the time at Stamford, Conn. He lived there only for a few months, for the summer.

Maj. HUMES. How much of the time did he live there?

Mr. KONTA. That is for the summer season. I could not tell you exactly how much.

Maj. HUMES. He lived there during the summer of 1915, and also the summer of 1916, did he not?

Mr. KONTA. Where was it? Stamford, Conn.?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. Is it Stamford, Conn.?

Maj. HUMES. Was not the place?

Mr. KONTA. I do not think so.

Maj. HUMES. Where was it, then?

Mr. KONTA. It was Long View Cottage, Awixa Avenue, Bay Shore, Long Island.

Maj. HUMES. What year was he living there?

Mr. KONTA. I have a letter here dated the 17th of June, 1915.

Maj. HUMES. In the season, the summer season of 1915, he lived on Long Island?

Mr. KONTA. Bay Shore, Long Island.

Maj. HUMES. Where did he live during the summer season of 1916?

Mr. KONTA. He lived in the country; but where was it?

Maj. HUMES. Was it up near Port Chester, N. Y.?

Mr. KONTA. I hardly think so. I am trying to think. I was not there very often.

Capt. LESTER. Mamaroneck?

Mr. KONTA. No, no. He did not live in West Chester County at all. 1916?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. I am just trying to think. I could not tell you. I could not remember it. I was not there very often.

Maj. HUMES. But you were there an average of once a week, you said?

Mr. KONTA. In 1915.

Maj. HUMES. You said you were once a week from June, 1915, up until the time he went to Germany?

Mr. KONTA. Well, I have been there as often as, perhaps, once a week, or once in a fortnight, but not more often; because I had some trouble with him.

Maj. HUMES. Where did you go when you went to see him?

Mr. KONTA. To his house.

Maj. HUMES. Where was his house?

Mr. KONTA. That is what I am trying to think. It was somewhere in the country. It will come to me in a minute. It was somewhere in the country. It was not in Bay Shore, as he only lived there one season.

Maj. HUMES. Was it not over in Connecticut?

Mr. KONTA. It may have been. It might have been.

Capt. LESTER. Near Greenwich, Conn.?

Mr. KONTA. Near Greenwich, Conn.? That may have been.

Capt. LESTER. That would be just back of Port Chester.

Mr. KONTA. Port Chester?

Capt. LESTER. Between Port Chester and Greenwich, Conn.; just over the Connecticut line.

Mr. KONTA. I am unable to tell you.

Maj. HUMES. Under what circumstances did you make these regular trips, these weekly or fortnightly trips, Mr. Konta?

Mr. KONTA. As I explained to you, several years before the war they were my neighbors at the St. Regis. They lived at the same hotel, and we became very well acquainted. And in 1913 I went to Europe, and we motored there, about 5,000 or 6,000 miles, together: so that we became very well acquainted and became good friends.

Maj. HUMES. Were you in the habit of spending week-ends with him?

Mr. KONTA. I was in the habit of spending week-ends until June 14, 1915. I did spend some week-ends with him.

Maj. HUMES. What year was that?

Mr. KONTA. June 14, 1915.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have some trouble with him at that time?

Mr. KONTA. Yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Were you on intimate terms with him after that?

Mr. KONTA. On friendly terms, but not intimate; caused by the answer to my letter, which I have here, in his own handwriting.

Maj. HUMES. You were, however, in the habit of visiting him once a week, or at least once every two weeks, from that time on until he left the country?

Mr. KONTA. I was.

Maj. HUMES. The relation was not very strained at that time, then, was it?

Mr. KONTA. It was not strained, but it was not half as friendly as it was before the war.

I have been away, of course, you understand, Major, always during the summer, somewhere, for a month or two months or ten weeks; and then, naturally, I did not go to see them.

Maj. HUMES. Did you ever spend any of those vacations at his home?

Mr. KONTA. I did not.

Maj. HUMES. This morning we were discussing the American Hungarian Loyalty League.

Mr. KONTA. Just a moment, Major; do you not want to put this letter in the record?

Maj. HUMES. You can put it in the record.

Mr. KONTA. My letter and his answer, in his own handwriting, will explain all this. It will really shed light on this subject.

Maj. HUMES. It depends upon whether it is pertinent to the inquiry or not.

Mr. KONTA. I think it is very pertinent to the inquiry.

Maj. HUMES. If it was simply the result of a personal misunderstanding between you, the committee is not interested in that.

Mr. SAXE. We will offer it at the end of the hearing.

Senator OVERMAN. You may have it put in at any time.

Mr. SAXE. Do not bother about it now. We will offer it at the end of the hearing.

Mr. KONTA. Just as it pleases you.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Konta, there was something said about a visit that you made to Mr. George Creel. Did you not, at one time, visit George Creel with Mr. Horvath and Mr. Berko and Mr. Fay from Chicago, and possibly others?

Mr. KONTA. Never; at no time.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, on that occasion, arrange with Mr. Creel to go with you to the White House to meet the President?

Mr. KONTA. Never; at no time.

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Berko join with any committee for that purpose at any time?

Mr. KONTA. I do not know; I have never been there. They never were with me at Washington since the league was founded. Mr. Berko never had any executive or any other office in the league.

Maj. HUMES. You were being antagonized by Mr. Berko at that time, then, were you?

Mr. KONTA. At what time?

Maj. HUMES. At the time of Mr. Berko's visit to Washington.

Mr. KONTA. I do not know where he was.

Maj. HUMES. Do you not know that Mr. Berko was a member of the committee that called on Mr. Creel, and then went to the White House?

Mr. KONTA. I do not.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to Exhibit No. 1152, it being a letter written by you to Mr. William Churchill, Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.

(The paper referred to is here printed in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 1152.

JANUARY 24, 1918.

WILLIAM CHURCHILL, Esq.,
Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHURCHILL: This letter will be given to you by Mr. Julius Tenner as my representative in connection with the American Hungarian Loyalty League. I have already informed you by wire of Mr. Tenner's coming.

You will recall our conversation a short time ago regarding the "Nepszava" and its attitude towards American interests, also what I told you about Berko, its editor. This paper has been, and is, inimical to our government, although in its columns there is to be found an occasional protestation of loyalty. During recent years this paper has been, to almost general knowledge, in the service of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate. It was Berko, its editor, who, after the Hungarian delegation was received by President Wilson on February 23, 1916, took a taxi from the White House to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy In Washington and told them all that happened. It was this same gentleman who, in an editorial in the "Nepszava" on February 25, 1916, who termed the visit of the delegation an attempt to white-wash Wilson's administration, and the same, who, before his paper received the government license has been publishing articles advising Hungarians to return to Hungary at the close of the war.

In this morning's "Nepszava" appears a leading editorial attacking the Hungarian American Federation of Cleveland, and the meeting which will be held under the auspices of the Federation in Cleveland on Sunday next. Mr. Tenner will show you this article and translate it for you. Or, if you prefer, one of your staff may translate it. You will probably agree with me that, considering the very vital national interests which are involved in the work of the American Hungarian Loyalty League and the Hungarian American Federation, any attack of this kind on the Cleveland meeting should be met at once and in no uncertain manner. As I am leaving for Cleveland tonight, I must leave to Mr. Tenner the task of emphasizing the importance of this hostile attitude of the "Nepszava" and the necessity of checking it immediately. It is on no personal grounds that I ask for it, but solely in the present and future interests of the country.

May I suggest that a message from Judge Lamar or yourself cautioning the "Nepszava" from publishing anything intended to counteract the work of the Hungarian-American Federation or the American Hungarian Loyalty League, and calling attention to a possible suspension of their privileges if these attacks should continue should be sent to Editor Berko at once. This will most quickly bring results and help forward the success of the Cleveland meeting which promises to be of far-reaching importance.

Very truly yours,

Maj. HUMES. Do you not in that letter comment on a visit that Mr. Berko made to the White House and the comment that he afterwards made in his paper?

Mr. KONTA. May I be permitted to read something to you?

Maj. HUMES. Just answer the question and then explain.

Mr. KONTA. This letter explains itself. This visit was on February 23, 1916, and the league was founded in 1918. I was the chairman of this committee in 1916, two years before, as the result of the mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. I explained that to you last night, but that was not in connection with the league, as the league was not even thought of and Mr. Creel did not exist at that time. I never knew anything about Mr. Creel in 1916; at least I did not—this was in 1916. You find it here in the letter:

It was Berko, its editor, who, after the Austro-Hungarian delegation was received by President Wilson on February 23, 1916, took a taxi from the White House to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Washington and told them all that happened.

Maj. HUMES. Who was with Mr. Berko on that occasion?

Mr. KONTA. On that occasion?

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Mr. KONTA. My poor self and a delegation of about 12 people, some 5 or 6 Catholic priests; and one of them is right here in the room, who was a member of that delegation. These delegates were named by the mass meeting held at Madison Square Garden in 1916, as described to you in my paper last night.

Maj. HUMES. Then you were at one time a member of that delegation of which Mr. Berko was a member that called at the White House, were you not?

Mr. KONTA. I was the chairman and spokesman of that delegation, but I had nothing to do with Mr. Creel. It was in 1916.

Maj. HUMES. Are you acquainted with Mr. Fay, of Chicago?

Mr. KONTA. I am.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know of any visits that he made to Mr. Creel?

Mr. KONTA. I do. That was in 1918.

Maj. HUMES. Were you present at that time?

Mr. KONTA. I was not. That was the Chicago Hungarians. They formed what is called a Society of New Freedom, and this Society of New Freedom was encouraged by the State council of defense of Illinois, and Senator Lewis, I think—I am quite sure that Senator Lewis arranged a reception for this Chicago delegation by the President.

They proceeded to the White House and were received by the President, and subsequently they went up to Mr. Creel, and, as I heard, they tried to induce Mr. Creel to permit them to go ahead with this league work independently of the American Hungarian Loyalty League; whereupon Mr. Creel told them, so I was informed, that that would not do; that they had better go up to New York and see me and try to make an arrangement with me. And so it happened. They came to New York and they saw me, and I explained to them the situation, and then they asked me how many jobs I would give them, and I told them that I would not give them any; that I would come to Chicago in a few weeks myself and look over the field and select my own men if I needed any. And it happened as I am telling you. I went to Chicago, and when I got to Chicago I had applications from about 50 or 60 men, and they all wanted

jobs at a hundred dollars a week or more. I engaged nobody, but I reported back to Washington that the Chicago situation was pretty bad and that we had better wait to see what we would do.

Maj. HUMES. You afterwards appointed Mr. Fay as the representative, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. I never did.

Maj. HUMES. Did he not have charge of the Chicago organization?

Mr. KONTA. He did not.

Maj. HUMES. Who did have?

Mr. KONTA. Dr. Barothy, a physician of repute and a very old citizen. It is just as well for you to know, Major, that I appointed no one unless he was a citizen, because such were our instructions, and Mr. Fay is not a citizen; hence, he could not have been appointed.

Maj. HUMES. What is the name of the paper that Mr. Fay publishes?

Mr. KONTA. The Sigyeloo.

Maj. HUMES. A Hungarian paper?

Mr. KONTA. A Hungarian weekly.

Maj. HUMES. Is not the office of the Hungarian League in Chicago in the office of Mr. Fay?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir; not in the office of Mr. Fay. It is next to the office of Mr. Fay.

Maj. HUMES. It is next to his office?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. It is in the same building?

Mr. KONTA. Yes; next to his office.

Maj. HUMES. They are adjoining offices?

Mr. KONTA. Adjoining offices; yes, sir.

Maj. HUMES. And it was placed there so that it would be convenient for Mr. Fay?

Mr. KONTA. That I do not know anything at all about; but I do know that after it was determined that Illinois ought to be looked after and that a small office ought to be taken for the purpose of starting the work in Illinois, we wrote to Dr. Barothy and asked him to see to it that an office should be rented, and an office was rented for $20 a month. I did not see the office. I could not go everywhere. I saw the office the day when Mr. Dernberg's letter was published in the newspapers, because I arrived in the midst of that, and that was my reception there. That was the first time I saw the office. It was $20 a month. And as soon as I returned I immediately requested that the office should be given up, and the stenographer who received——

Maj. HUMES. We do not care about those details.

Mr. KONTA. Very well.

Maj. HUMES. The question of the stenographer's fees or anything like that.

Mr. KONTA. I just wished to tell you that there was no other employee but the stenographer, at $12 a week; I think that is all.

Maj. HUMES. Did the American-Hungarian Loyalty League have a constitution or by-laws, or anything of that sort?

Mr. KONTA. No; it had no constitution and had no by-laws, but it had an executive board of carefully selected men. The names are at your disposal here.

Maj. HUMES. Now, suppose we just confine ourselves to answering question, so that we can get through.

Mr. KONTA. Very well.

Maj. HUMES. What was the purpose of the organization as outlined to the persons whose membership was sought?

Mr. KONTA. The purpose of the organization was, as outlined to the membership, to explain to the Hungarian workers, the Hungarian colonies all over the country, their duty to Uncle Sam during the war, and to bring them all together into one solid organization for this purpose.

Maj. HUMES. What was the evidence of membership that was given to those who joined?

Mr. KONTA. The evidence of membership was a card, which every member received as soon as he sent in his dollar for permanent membership card. This card showed that he had become a member of the American-Hungarian Loyalty League. Later on he also got a button from the Bureau of Public Information.

Maj. HUMES. And was it not represented to those who joined the league that their membership in the league would protect them from the Pan-Slav movement or activities of any kind?

Mr. KONTA. If it was represented, it was not represented by me; because I know that it will not protect them, and I know that I had to protect some of them against unjust accusations in certain parts of the country.

Maj. HUMES. And was not the impression that was given out to the Hungarians in the country who joined this organization, that by joining this organization it would give them the stamp of governmental approval, and protect them from any governmental activities or from any action on the part of the Government?

Mr. KONTA. Certainly not.

Maj. HUMES. That was not the representation that was made to them?

Mr. KONTA. I never made such representation.

Maj. HUMES. And you got about 14,000 members?

Mr. KONTA. More than that; about 25,000.

Maj. HUMES. About 25,000, at $1 apiece?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. In addition to the money that the league paid to you, they opened and financed offices in different parts of the country?

Mr. KONTA. The league did not pay me anything.

Maj. HUMES. I mean the bureau of public information.

Mr. KONTA. The bureau of public information paid me nothing. I never handled a dollar.

Maj. HUMES. I did not ask you that. I asked if the Committee on Public Information did not finance the local offices that were opened up by this league in different parts of the country?

Mr. KONTA. Quite so.

Maj. HUMES. And the amount expended for that purpose was very considerably more than the amount that was turned over to you for your purposes?

Mr. KONTA. I know of a statement made by Mr. George Creel, who is the chairman of the Bureau of Public Information, that the Hungarian Loyalty League did cost the Government $14,000 until such

a date, about four or six weeks ago. Anyway, in this $14,000 were the $2,040 for expenditures for which we have vouchers here. That was included. That is for 10 months' work.

Maj. HUMES. Then you know of about $12,000 that was expended by the Committee of Public Information in addition to the amount that was paid to you or to your headquarters?

Mr. KONTA. I know only by this letter which was published in the newspapers.

Maj. HUMES. And that was expended by the Committee of Public Information as advertising, was it not—charged as advertising?

Mr. KONTA. I hardly think so. That had nothing to do with advertising.

Maj. HUMES. Where are the various offices of this association?

Mr. KONTA. The various offices of this association do not exist. They had only one office in New York, and they had a small office in Chicago, and they had a little office out in Detroit for about three or four months, and they had a little office in Cleveland for about four months, and that is all.

Maj. HUMES. Was this league a success?

Mr. KONTA. It was a tremendous success.

Maj. HUMES. Were there offices in Pittsburgh?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Were there any efforts made to organize in Pittsburgh?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not, in your report of your organization, say that it had opened offices in Pittsburgh?

Mr. KONTA. I appointed a banker there and paid him a dollar a year, and he took an oath of office, just as prescribed by the Bureau of Public Information, and paid all his own expenses, and it was never charged up to the Government nor to the league. This man's name, I think, is Rankey.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have an office in Trenton, N. J.?

Mr. KONTA. No; but we had an agent there, who is the editor of a local paper, and his name is Zambory.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have an office in Youngstown, Ohio?

Mr. KONTA. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have an office in Johnstown, Pa.?

Mr. KONTA. In Johnstown, Pa., we had an agency.

Maj. HUMES. In Bridgeport, Conn.?

Mr. KONTA. We had an agent, and they paid all their own expenses.

Maj. HUMES. And these offices were opened or secretaries were appointed in the localities, in the industrial centers, where the essential industries were located?

Mr. KONTA. That was the main purpose, to have reliable, dependable men right there. That was the main purpose.

Senator NELSON. All this took place in 1916, did it?

Mr. KONTA. No, Senator, in 1918. The league was formed in 1918.

Senator NELSON. I refer to this organization that existed before.

Mr. KONTA. There was no organization, Senator, as far as I know. There was just a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden in 1916, and at this mass meeting resolutions were passed; and I was per

mitted to read them here, last night; and a committee was appointed to take these resolutions to Washington, and it so happened.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not especially select the places where there were munitions plants, for your activities?

Mr. KONTA. Certainly not; but the Hungarians have been employed in munitions plants, and have been employed a great deal, always being employed in mining districts, especially in Pennsylvania and West Virginia; and I am very proud to say that wherever Hungarians were, there was no trouble.

Maj. HUMES. You sent out traveling organizers about the country, did you not?

Mr. KONTA. We did.

Maj. HUMES. Who paid the expense of those traveling organizers?

Mr. KONTA. Of the traveling organizers we had—let me think about it—perhaps three, and these three were paid by Washington, after proper vouchers received.

Maj. HUMES. Was Marcus Braun one of the organizers of this league?

Mr. KONTA. I stated to you this morning that he never at any time was connected with the league.

Maj. HUMES. Just answer the question yes or no, because it is a direct inquiry.

Mr. KONTA. He is not even a member of the league.

Maj. HUMES. Did he go to Bridgeport in behalf of the league?

Mr. KONTA. If he went, he never went in behalf of the league, because the league has never given him any kind of a commission of whatsoever nature.

Maj. HUMES. Now, Mr. Konta, you stated yesterday that you lost all sympathy for the German cause with the sinking of the *Lusitania?*

Mr. KONTA. I did.

Maj. HUMES. Yet subsequent to that time you continued to make weekly or fortnightly visits to Hans Tauscher during the rest of his stay in this country, and you were active in the German bazar?

Mr. KONTA. The Hungarian bazar.

Maj. HUMES. You attended the dinner on the eighty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Franz Josef, and you were in a meeting with Dr. Fuehr at a time subsequent to the sinking of the *Lusitania?*

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Now, how do you reconcile that with your claim that you ceased to be interested in the German cause, or friendly to it, subsequent to May 7, 1915?

Mr. KONTA. Well, I had known these people. I had arrived with them at a clear understanding that in my presence—I have special reference to Mr. Tauscher—there should be no war discussions; and, in fact, I wrote him a letter, which I have here, and I have his answer which I tried several times to produce. My keeping up acquaintance with these people, whom I knew very well, did not mean that I was a German sympathizer—that I sympathized with the German cause. That is only human. You know people, and you do not throw them overboard. That is the only explanation I can give. If we would have done that, we would have had to sever our relations with every neighbor.

Maj. HUMES. Why did you find it necessary to write to Mr. Tauscher to get your letter back from Dr. Dernburg? Why did you want to get that letter back?

Mr. KONTA. Because Dr. Dernburg never answered my letter, and I thought it was so rude that I insisted that I wanted that letter back. That is the reason.

Maj. HUMES. Was it only as punishment to Dernburg for his rudeness to you?

Mr. KONTA. It was not punishment at all. It was simply that I wanted the man to know that I am through with him; and I so expressed it in the Tauscher letter. I expressed my opinion of Dernburg.

Maj. HUMES. Did you not want to make possible the destruction of that written evidence of your connection with the German Government and with German agents?

Mr. KONTA. If that would have been my attitude or my thought. I would not have left the Dernburg letter in my files. I would have destroyed the Dernburg letter, and that would have been the end of it. But I left the Dernberg letter in my files, and as soon as one agency of the Government demanded it I produced it.

Maj. HUMES. How did it become known that you had this connection with Dr. Dernburg?

Mr. KONTA. I had no connection, Major, with Dr. Dernburg.

Maj. HUMES. How did it become known that you had written this letter to Dr. Dernburg?

Mr. KONTA. Does not my letter to Tauscher plainly say that I wanted the letter back, and did not Tauscher——

Maj. HUMES. Just answer the question, please.

Mr. KONTA. That is the explanation.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, was not the fact that you had written the letter to Dernburg public property before you turned your copy of it over to anybody?

Mr. KONTA. If it was, I do not know it.

Senator NELSON. Has that been put in?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; it is in the record of the first hearing, Senator.

Now, Mr. Konta, did you know John Nemeth?

Mr. KONTA. I know John Nemeth.

Maj. HUMES. Was he a member of this league and active in it?

Mr. KONTA. John Nemeth was a member of this league and a member of the executive board, but he has never shown up; he always sends the manager of his bank. He is the head—I do not know but perhaps even the owner—of the John Nemeth State Bank, incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. But he has never shown up. He enjoys a very good reputation, as far as I know. I never had any dealings with him.

Maj. HUMES. Was the organization of the Hungarian Reformed Church used in any way in promoting the interests of this league?

Mr. KONTA. I should have liked to use them, but I was not able.

Maj. HUMES. Why were you not able to use them?

Mr. KONTA. Because they were not in sympathy with the cause—with the purpose and the objects of the league. That is the reason why. I tried mighty hard.

Maj. HUMES. What was the sympathy of the Hungarian Reformed Church?

Mr. KONTA. The Hungarian Reformed Church's sympathy, of course, was with Hungary, which is very natural if you know the reasons, which I will explain.

The reformed ministers for years have been receiving a subsidy from the Hungarian Government for purposes which I have outlined, and to which I have called the attention of the Government and several branches of the Government, and which I though were un-American.

This arrangement was perfected perhaps 10 to 12 years ago, when Count Degenfeld, the brother-in-law of this man Tisza who was assassinated not long ago, visited the United States and made arrangements with these Protestant members of the Reformed Church, and agreed to pay them every year so much in subsidies; and the purpose was to keep the Hungarian spirit and the Hungarian traditions among their flock.

Senator NELSON. Were they Protestants?

Mr. KONTA. They were Protestants.

Maj. HUMES. To what extent did the Hungarian Government subsidize the Hungarian Reformed Church?

Mr. KONTA. The amount is more than I can tell you; but I can ascertain it, right in the room here, if you are interested, if I may. I have a man here who knows it. I do not know the amount.

Maj. HUMES. Yes; ascertain.

Mr. KONTA. Do you know how much the Protestant ministers received in subsidies from Hungary, Dr. Freulich?

Dr. FREULICH. $800 a year.

Maj. HUMES. This $800 a year was a part of the salary of each minister in the church?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know how many ministers of this denomination there were in this country at the time we entered the war?

Mr. KONTA. I could not give you the exact number.

Maj. HUMES. Approximately?

Mr. KONTA. Oh, 20 or 24.

Maj. HUMES. Is that right?

Dr. FREULICH. About 36.

Maj. HUMES. How were they paid?

Mr. KONTA. That is more than I know.

Maj. HUMES. Were they not paid through Alexander von Nuber, the Austrian consul general?

Mr. KONTA. That I am unable to tell you. My relations with the consulate and with the consul general have been so formal that I do not know what they do.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know of the subsidization of any newspapers in this country by the Hungarian Government?

Mr. KONTA. I do not. It has been stoutly denied to me. I know the accusation has very frequently been made, but it has been very positively denied to me. Now, that is all I know about it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you mean that persons connected with the Hungarian Government have denied it, or that the publishers who were charged with receiving the money have denied it?

Mr. KONTA. The publishers have denied it to me.

Maj. HUMES. I show you Exhibit No. 1153, and ask you if that is a report of yours on the activity of the American-Hungarian Loyalty League?

Mr. KONTA. It is.

(The paper referred to is here printed in the record as follows):

EXHIBIT No. 1153.

DEC. 5, 1918.

The rapid growth of the American-Hungarian Loyalty League and the important influence which it is now exerting on the Hungarian communities of the United States render desirable the following brief account of the League, its history, progress and activities, from its inception in December 1917 to date.

ORGANIZATION OF LEAGUE.

The project of establishing a League to co-ordinate and make effective the loyalty of all Hungarian-born citizens of the United States and the sympathy with American ideals in the war of unnaturalized Hungarian residents throughout the country was discussed during the last weeks of December 1917 between the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information in Washington and the present Chairman of the League. It was felt by both that the establishment of such a League would be the most effective and timely way to secure the co-operation of the Hungarian peoples in the work of the Committee on Public Information, to make clearer to the less-educated and informed members of the Hungarian communities the objects for which the United States had entered the world-war, and at the same time, to afford Hungarian citizens and non-citizens an opportunity to express, in practical form, their appreciation of the friendly attitude taken towards them by the Government in not having classified Hungarian non-citizens as alien enemies of the United States.

The actual organization of the League took place in the first week of January 1918. The name of the League was suggested by the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information. Alexander Konta of New York City was appointed Chairman or Director of the League.

FIRST MEETING OF LEAGUE.

It was deemed advisable that the first announcement of the establishment of the League should be made from the West. Accordingly, in connection with a convention of the Hungarian-American Federation arranged for January 27, 1917 in Cleveland, preparations for a mass-meeting in that city were immediately made. On January 26, the objects of the proposed League were outlined, and unanimous support was voted by the Federation. On the following day, at the mass meeting, attended by the representatives of most of the prominent and influential Hungarian societies of the United States, these objects were further outlined, and, in Resolutions passed by the meeting, the formal endorsement of the League was made.

OTHER MEETINGS

Arrangements were now put in hand to hold meetings in support of the League in various large industrial centers. Since February 1, the following meetings, organized mainly by local committees and mostly in direct connection with the head office of the League, have been held:—

Feb. 17, Lorain, Ohio; Mar. 10, Bridgeport, Conn.; Mar. 17, Alpha, N. J., New Brunswick, N. J., Toledo, O., West Pullman, Ill.; March 23, Trenton, N. J.; April 23, New Brunswick, N. J.; May 5, Youngstown, Ohio; May 12, Bridgeport, Conn.; June 27, Johnstown, Pa., Berwick, Pa.; June 30, Detroit, Mich.

The above meetings were the more important ones. Between fifty and sixty meetings have been held altogether. At Lorain, Professor Moran of Purdue University was the principal speaker; at West Pullman, Judge Clarence Goodwin; at Youngstown, Hon. Carl Vrooman; and at Detroit, Arthur E. Bestor.

It may be said here, regarding all these meetings, that, in addition to the enlistment of members for the League, a general effort has been made to explain why America is at war; why we must win the war; why all anti-American propaganda ought to be suppressed; and why the governmental object of bringing native and foreign-born peoples together in common loyalty to America should be supported. It has been gratifying to observe that, at all the meetings

this support has been enthusiastically accorded, and that, in the majority of cases, resolutions of unswerving loyalty to the United States have been passed unanimously. Every meeting, moreover, has been wholly representative of the Hungarian community in which such meeting was held.

EXPENSES OF MEETINGS.

It may also be said here that the cost of holding these fifty or sixty meetings has been borne almost entirely by the local organizations. A few small items only, such as traveling expenses of speakers, etc., have been charged up against the government. In other words, the American-Hungarians have not only come forward in surprisingly large numbers at these meetings to testify their feelings towards the United States, but have voluntarily assumed all the expenses involved in their meetings, processions, hire of hall, bands, and incidentals. This, it need hardly be added, is a record of which they need not be ashamed.

MEMBERSHIP OF LEAGUE.

On March 20th last, a report was made to the Committee on Public Information showing the membership to that date as *1985*. Since that date, the growth has been as follows:—

April 1, 2,925; May 1, 6,729; June 1, 11,593; July 1, 15,816; July 23, 19,579.

GENERAL SCHEME OF ORGANIZATION.

It was early decided that the success of the League and the quick development of a strong membership depended on (a) the holding of public meetings wherever Hungarians were gathered in large numbers and (b) direct individual solicitation of members in districts which, owing to distance from large centers and scattered population, could not be reached successfully except by canvass. In order to carry on both forms of work, offices were opened at 123 East 23rd Street, New York City, and a clerical staff engaged with an organizing secretary, all working under the immediate supervision of the Chairman at 20 Exchange Place, New York City. In addition to this, branch offices, with local organizing secretaries in charge were shortly opened in certain industrial centers as Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburg, and secretaries were appointed in other localities, such as Trenton, N. J., Bridgeport, Conn., Youngstown, O., Johnstown, Pa. The expenses of the larger offices were arranged to be borne by the Government, whereas, in the case of many minor offices, the expense was borne by the secretaries. In certain cases, salaries have been paid by the Government to the secretaries, but in the majority of cases, the organizers have given their services on the dollar per annum basis.

The opening of branch offices helped not only to keep the League in direct touch with the congested centers of population and to make more pronounced the effect of the meetings arranged by the local secretaries, but also to relieve the head office of much detail work. It was understood, moreover, that the branch offices were of a more or less temporary nature, and that, in case the results in membership did not justify expenditure they would be closed. In two cases, this closure has since taken place.

As regards the canvassing of scattered districts, a number of so-called traveling organizers, under salary, were sent out during the spring. These men worked mostly in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and New Jersey, arranging small meetings (which they addressed personally), soliciting members, and generally explaining the objects of the League and the Government. Through their efforts a very large number of men and women were reached—many of them ill-informed regarding America's attitude in the war—who could have been reached in no other way.

MEMBERSHIPS AND QUALIFICATIONS.

Any Hungarian-born citizen or non-citizen of the United States is eligible to membership in the League. At the meeting in Cleveland in January last, the question was discussed whether or not a membership fee should be required, and it was unanimously decided that a fee of one dollar for *permanent* membership should be asked. It was further decided that the fund accruing from these memberships, that is, for the payment of advertisements and reading matter in influential Hungarian-American papers.

Applications for membership were accepted at the Cleveland meeting. Since that time, applications have come in to the League offices, either directly from applicants, or through the branch offices, or through the traveling organizers, or from local members acting voluntarily as solicitors. The figures of membership given on Page 2 show that although the growth of the movement was slow at first—less than three thousand members being secured during the first three months of organization, it began to move quickly when the full organization was at work.

MEMBERSHIP CARDS.

To each applicant for membership a card of membership was issued, dated, signed by the Chairman and Treasurer, and stamped with the official seal of the League. Each card was numbered, and bears the name of the member. The inscription on the cards reads:

"This certifies that _____ of _____ on payment of one dollar has become a permanent member of

THE AMERICAN-HUNGARIAN LOYALTY LEAGUE,

and is entitled to the aid, advice and protection which membership in the League guarantees to the loyal Hungarian residents of the United States of America. In evidence whereof is hereon stamped the official seal of the League."

In connection with his card of membership, it may be said that the members, in due course, made a wide demand for a League button, in order that they might more clearly be identified as members of the League. This button [League Button] has recently been supplied by the Committee on Public Information and on Independence Day last was delivered to each member as a feature of the loyalty celebrations. Reports show that the League Button is a great success. Important mention should be made of the fact that the issuance of the button is closely protected, all buttons being sent out directly from the offices of the Committee on Public Information to addresses supplied by the League. In this way, since no official of the League is permitted to hold any buttons, except his own, in his possession, the League and the proper holders of the buttons are protected against misuse of the button by disloyal persons or swindlers.

PROTECTION AGAINST SWINDLERS.

The League card of membership, on account of the protection it gives, and its prima facie evidence that its holder is a loyal American, has been greatly coveted by disloyalists. But, so far as is known, no successful attempt to secure a card by nefarious means, or by forging it, has been successful. It was expected, also, that swindling collectors might attempt to deceive the League, or that, even in the head offices, all funds received by mail for memberships might not be properly accounted for. To test this latter possibility, it was arranged by the Chairman on five different occasions, from five different parts of the country, applications for membership accompanied by the dollar fee should be sent to the New York offices and it is a pleasure to state that all moneys were received in proper manner. Also that, except in one case, probably due to the rifling of a letter-box on March 20th last at the New York offices, no complaint of loss of money, or second application for a card for which money has been sent, has been received. One case of misappropriation of money was reported, and the money has been refunded.

LEAGUE FUNDS.

The income of the League is exclusively from membership fees, the total income to any date always being shown in dollars by the total membership. In other words a membership of twenty thousand means that the League has received the sum of $20,000 and is responsible for that sum. All moneys received from membership fees are handed to the Treasurer of the League, and are immediately deposited in a special account with the Equitable Trust Company of New York City, and can be drawn upon only by check signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by myself as Chairman.

TREASURER'S REPORTS.

Immediately after the Cleveland meeting in January, Mr. Joseph Horvath, manager of the New York office of the Cleveland "Szabadsag", and a responsible American citizen of Hungarian birth, was appointed Treasurer of the League.

Mr. Horvath renders to Washington monthly a report of income and expenditure of the League. The last report of the Treasurer, rendered on July 1, 1918, showed that the balance on hand on June 20th was $7,128.27.

PUBLICITY.

According to the arrangement arrived at in Cleveland and in return for the money expended with them for advertising and reading matter, the larger Hungarian newspapers have given the fullest publicity to the League, its meetings and general activities. This publicity has aided greatly to build up the membership. It may be added that the moneys disbursed to the press for the above-mentioned purposes are itemized each month in the Treasurer's Report.

In addition to publicity given to the League, these Hungarian papers have greatly aided the government by publishing in translation some of the pamphlets, etc. officially issued in Washington. The text of "German War Practices" for example, was so translated at the request of the League, and published. These papers have also translated and published official material supplied by various governmental departments relating to income tax payments, Liberty Loans, War Savings Stamps, etc. etc., none of which has been paid for. That is to say, the Hungarian press has gratuitously performed these important services for the government in return for the payments for special service made to them by the League.

FIELD WORK

The growth of work in the field, and the need of a perfected organization to handle it, resulted, in May last, in the appointment of Mr. Karl Schenk, Vice President and Cashier of the John Nemeth State Bank of New York as Director of Field Work. Since his appointment, this Director has enlisted the services, as solicitors for the League, of over fifty responsible agents, mostly bankers in various parts of the country, who are daily sending in applications for memberships, from their own clients. All these solicitors are local organizers, at one dollar per year, and new agents are being appointed daily, as the scope of the work broadens. The result of this new organization of field-work is that the services of paid agents and traveling organizers are not so much required as before; that the acquisition of members is being made at a minimum of cost; and that the pay-roll of the League has been considerably cut during the past two months. This policy is in line with economy and efficiency, both of which are expected by Washington from the League.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The growth of the League also made necessary the appointment of an Executive Committee to act as an advisory board, and to relieve the Chairman of certain matters of detail. An invitation to join this Committee was extended to nine gentlemen of high reputation and responsibility in various parts of the country, and eventually the Committee was organized as follows:

Alexander Konta, Chairman, New York City; Dr. Arpad M. Barothy, Chicago; John Dezso, Bridgeport, Conn.; William Feder, Gary, Ind.; Joseph Horvath, New York City; Emil Kiss, New York City; John Nemeth, New York City; George Pipoly, Youngstown, O.; H. E. Varga, Cleveland, O.; Julius Volgyi, New York City.

The first meeting of the above committee was held at 20 Exchange Place, New York City, on June 18, 1918.

OPPOSITION TO LEAGUE.

Since its formation, the League has encountered considerable opposition, most of which has been directly and indirectly traceable to disloyalism. Briefly put, all Hungarians in America who in the past have had close official affiliation with the Austro-Hungarian embassy or consulate; all clergymen, Catholic or Protestant, who have worked, in the interest of the mother-country, to prevent the assimilation of the Hungarian immigrant with American institutions; and all, who for their own reasons, have sympathized with America's enemies in the war, have done their utmost to prevent membership in the League. In this work, certain large banking interests, it is regrettable to say, have also been involved. The result has been that time has been lost in counteracting

malicious falsehoods and slanders particularly circulated regarding the disposition of the funds secured from membership fees—a very natural way of exciting suspicion against the League amongst the people who could not be aware of the exact and defined purpose of the acquired funds.

This form of opposition has been met, wherever possible, with prompt measures. It has been less easy to meet the opposition of those Hungarians who have, since the beginning of the world conflict, secretly sympathized with Germany and her Allies, and who, since the United States entered the conflict, have been difficult to convince that loyalty to the United States was their first and greatest duty. It may be recorded here that, when the work of the League started, the Chairman, to his dismay, quickly discovered that less than five per cent of the Hungarians in the United States could be ranked as loyal or friendly, and a statement to that effect was made, not only to the Committee on Public Information, but also to the office of Military Intelligence in connection with manifestations of disloyalty, or opposition to the League which, even at that time, had begun to be felt.

One other reason for opposition to the League ought specifically to be mentioned. For over eighteen years the Hungarians of the United States have been generally adherents of the so-called Independent Movement started by Louis Kossuth. Shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1914, the present leader of the Hungarian Independent Party, Count Michael Karolyi, visited America and made an appeal for funds for party use. The response was immediate and enthusiastic, and many thousands of dollars were collected. On Count Karolyi's return to Europe, suddenly caused by the outbreak of the war, these funds were deposited with the Equitable Trust Company of New York City, and when it became known that they were withdrawable only on Count Karolyi's signature, the anger of the Austro-Hungarian officials in America was well defined to counteract the effect of what Karolyi had done, and to keep the Hungarians in line with official aims, an extensive propaganda in the Hungarian newspapers was started, one result of which was that the Hungarians of America gradually became sympathetic with the cause of the Central Powers.

When this state of affairs became clear, the present Chairman of the League, as is easily establishable by reference to the records of the time, naturally opposed these activities with all the means at his disposal, bringing upon himself the frequent attack of the Hungarian press. And, it is interesting now to note that, on June 19th last, Count Karolyi delivered a speech in the Hungarian parliament protesting against the attacks upon himself and the Independent Party for their strong anti-German attitude, and declaring in unequivocal terms that the Austrian-Hungarian alliance with Germany was most unfortunate for the future of Hungary.

GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE WORK AND FUTURE OF LEAGUE

In face of all these oppositions, the work performed by the League in seven months may rightly be regarded with the highest satisfaction. The present membership of twenty thousand is an amazing proof of a change of feeling in the Hungarian communities of the United States towards the European war, and of a realization, concretely expressed, of the duty of every individual member of those communities who have become a member of the League to support America in the conflict. More than that, it proves that the idea of loyalty to America, which at first, was practically non-existent, and was, at first, so difficult to instil into the minds of the ill-informed is gradually making its way through all sections of the country where Hungarians are gathered. There is no reason, now that the foundation has been laid, and these Hungarians are beginning to see the light, carried to them by present members of the League, why the membership should not increase to at least one hundred thousand by the end of the present year. Such a success is merely a matter of organization and the strength of the idea itself, on which the League was founded.

(signed) ——— ———,
Chairman the American-Hungarian Loyalty League.

Maj. HUMES. Did the American-Hungarian Loyalty League do any advertising with Mr. Berko, in his paper?

Mr. KONTA. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. To what extent?

Mr. KONTA. I have the statement here, which I would like to submit to you.

Maj. HUMES. Approximately; I do not care for the exact amount.

Mr. KONTA. I believe in 10 months the two daily papers received about $5,000 each; but not from the Government money. It was from the League's money; not the Government's money.

Maj. HUMES. In other words, of the $27,000 that went through your hands, or through the hands of your headquarters, about $10,000 of it went to Mr. Berko and Mr. Horvath?

Mr. KONTA. Not Mr. Horvath. Mr. Horvath is only an agent.

Maj. HUMES. Well, his newspaper?

Mr. KONTA. His newspaper; quite so.

Senator OVERMAN. What is your business, Mr. Konta?

Mr. KONTA. I am a manufacturer. I have two factories. I am running two factories. One is an automobile accessory factory and another one is a woodenware factory, or toys. That is a later factory. I have also been in the financial district for many years.

Senator OVERMAN. A broker?

Mr. KONTA. But I have no private trade; no customers.

Maj. HUMES. A good deal of opposition developed to this league, did it not?

Mr. KONTA. It did.

Maj. HUMES. What was the nature of that opposition?

Mr. KONTA. Well, the first opposition was by all those who were engaged in it for about a month, and who were promptly discharged because they were inefficient, not dependable; and I did not propose to carry a man on the Government pay roll who did not do his duty, so I discharged them. The first thing they did they began to throw bricks at me, naturally.

Maj. HUMES. Then you feel that it was largely personal, and due to personalities—to jealousies?

Mr. KONTA. No; not altogether personal. There was a great deal of opposition to the league by such Hungarians as did not like my speeches, because they still thought that Hungary came first, and in my speeches, for over a year, in all parts of the country, I made it very plain to them that America came first, second, and last; not forgetful, however, that the human element, of course, is always present. I did not leave it out, naturally. These men have their brothers and sisters and sweethearts over there, and their mothers and fathers, and it is almost unthinkable that they should forget them all. That is unthinkable. But we kept them in line, and we had no trouble with them. Never in the history of the Hungarian colonies in America has it been accomplished that, in spite of bitter opposition on the part of men who have been disappointed because they thought there was a golden barrel to be tapped, so much has been accomplished; and they thought that I was the only one who would tap it, and they did not get anything out of it, and they created the opposition; and still we brought 25,000 members together in nine months—something that has never happened and never will happen again.

Maj. HUMES. That is all.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you want to put some papers into the record, Mr. Konta?

Mr. KONTA. I will put in everything that the committee wants.

Senator OVERMAN. The committee does not want anything, especially, but you may put in anything you desire.

Mr. SAXE. It was only a letter that he wrote to Mr. Tauscher, and the reply on the matter they had disagreed about.

Senator OVERMAN. I thought there was a letter that he had tried to put in.

Mr. KONTA. My records are all at your disposition, Senator.

Mr. SAXE. I do not think it is necessary to put that in.

Maj. HUMES. Are you still connected with the league?

Mr. KONTA. On paper, yes. I resigned. Of course, the league is still in existence. If you do not want me to be connected, I will give you my resignation.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ARTHUR BRISBANE.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Brisbane, in a communication addressed to the committee, under date of September 28, 1918, you made this, among other requests:

> I request most earnestly that you allow me to appear before your committee and answer charges that are implied in a letter from A. Mitchell Palmer, made public through the Senate and the Senate resolution.

Are you desirous, now, of making any explanation or statement in connection with that matter?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; I should be very glad of the opportunity.

My business is writing for newspapers, and the esteem of the public is, of course, very important to a man who writes, especially if he expresses editorial opinions, and so on.

The newspapers of the country, all of them, practically, have carried either the direct statement or the implication that I had been in some way retained in the interests of Germany; that I was, in other words, pro-German, and a disloyal citizen.

A great many thousands of articles have been printed, and they were printed and made privileged, that is to say, practically exempt from the bringing of libel suits, if that had been desired—although I think a newspaper man who brings a libel suit is rather ridiculous; and I wanted, if you would kindly give me the opportunity, to reply publicly in the only place where I thought I could reply adequately. I see that you are very indulgent listeners, and if you will give me five minutes, I shall be very glad to answer what I think are the charges that have been made in the public prints.

Senator OVERMAN. We shall be very glad to hear you, Mr. Brisbane.

Mr. BRISBANE. First, the question of pro-Germanism, which, to me, is the only important thing. The other thing is how I bought the Washington Times. Assuming that I borrowed the money from men who were of age and had the money, and who were willing to lend it to me, I presume that is a matter which is my affair and the affair of the men who loaned me the money, unless it be shown that there was some evil intention, or some dishonest transaction involved in it.

Mr. Palmer made a political address in Pennsylvania and stated that a brewer named Ehret, whose property had come into his possession, had loaned me $50,000 to buy the Times, and this property

had been taken over because the brewer was supposed not to be neutral and consequently pro-German. The assumption from that, although Mr. Palmer assured me that he did not intend it or make it, or imply it, was that this money was loaned to me to further pro-German enterprises.

I called on Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, and he said to me, Mr. Brisbane, I have made no charges against you. I have read your editorials for 20 years, and I have been educated by them. I will quote his words as nearly as possible. He said: "I make no charge whatever against you. Don't you want to buy another newspaper?" And he tried to sell me the Evening Mail, of New York, which he holds as public custodian; and I take it for granted that he would not have offered to sell me the New York Evening Mail and thereby increase my possibilities of reaching the public and influencing the public if he had any thought or any evidence to indicate or imply that I would use it disloyally.

I told Mr. Palmer that I had about as much as I could attend to, but that I would consider the Mail if it were cheap. I offered him $750,000 for it, offering to give him a check to bind the contract for a month while I would see whether or not I could finance the proposition. He told me the paper was losing $7,000 a month.

I am supposed to be a skillful newspaper man, and I thought that that loss, which is not much on a daily newspaper, could be changed into a profit, and I was very much interested in looking into the matter.

However, I talked to the attorney for the owners, and he told me that the paper owed $700,000 in debts, and that it was losing $7,000 a month, and he did not want to continue the loss.

Upon investigation, I was told by Samuel Untermyer, attorney for the creditor of the paper, that it was losing $30,000 a month.

I wrote Mr. Palmer that that was the case, and that I could not think of taking the paper with such gigantic losses; and he said he was mistaken in his original statement to me; and there the matter was dropped. Mr. Palmer said to me that he would be glad to take up with me again the matter of selling me the paper at private sale, although that would be an unusual proceeding, providing the President gave him permission.

So much for the charges which have been made against me and published in thousands of papers repeatedly, that I was pro-German and disloyal. Some of these newspapers are hostile to me because the editor of a small newspaper and the owner of a small newspaper does not cut much of a figure. A great many of them are hostile because they are unsuccessful competitors of the newspapers by which I am employed.

So much for Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer.

Now, as to the question of my pro-Germanism. If a man is accused of a crime—if I accuse one of you gentlemen of a crime—and it is the kind of a crime which is only set to words, or in writing, it is rather difficult for you to disprove it.

When the war broke out, I went to Atlanta, Ga. Shortly after, I was there in a hospital. I was extremely ill and not expected to recover. I had, in fact, 10 doctors, so that it is rather remarkable that I did recover.

I want to say that when I was a boy I went to school in France for four years. My father lived in Paris in 1828. That is a long time ago; 90 years ago. He had lived there, off and on, ever since, until his death. I have a great many friends in France. I felt very strongly on the question of the war. I was not able, at any time, to maintain the neutrality which the President recommended; and until we entered the war, I wrote very little on the subject of the war—practically nothing except very strong—I think—editorials urging the construction of flying machines, long before our war began, saying that the only way to make the Germans stop this war was to drop dynamite on Berlin. I wrote these editorials repeatedly. While I was in the hospital at Atlanta I cabled Lord Northcliffe. I got to thinking over the war, and although I was very ill and not able to move, I wanted to be of service, and I telegraphed Lord Northcliffe, who is a friend of mine, that I believed the hydraulic mining machinery used in the West against mountains, to wash down the gravel beds, would be of value in attacking the German trenches.

Senator STERLING. When was this?

Mr. BRISBANE. In 1914, shortly after the war began, when I was in the hospital at Atlanta.

I took up the matter of the hydraulic-mining machinery by telegraph with California. I got in touch with the Joshua Hendley Iron Works, who manufacture these machines, which are called "giants," that, under terrific pressure, aim streams of water against solid embankments, and would wash down cavalry or infantry like ants before a garden hose. And I sent by express, at my own expense, to Lord Northcliffe, a sample of every kind of hydraulic engine made. The express bill alone amounted to some thousands of dollars, and the cost of the machinery, of course, was very great. I cabled Lord Northcliffe and he said that I could send it, and he would take it up with the Government.

I mention this merely to show you what my feeling was at that time; that is, even before America had become very much aroused about the war.

The machines to which I have referred, however, and which were sent over to Lord Northcliffe as I have described, were not used. For some reason they said it was not practicable.

I took up the same matter with Secretary Baker here and he told me that he had tried experiments, when he was in Cleveland, with a rotary pump, of which I knew nothing, that had worked very well, bringing down stone walls.

I offered to turn over these instruments to the Government without charge, but it did not prove practicable. I simply mention that to show my feeling in the matter. A man can not prove his loyalty by words alone.

I have an estate of 6,000 acres in New Jersey, on which I farm and cultivate a great deal. I got word that the Government would like to have 1,000 acres of it, and I was asked what my charge would be for the 1,000 acres. I wrote to the man who asked me that I had nothing to sell to the Government, but that I should be very glad to have them take the property and use it. I urged its acceptance on the Secretary of War, and he wrote me kindly about it. I said I would be glad to have it used without charge during the war, and if the Government spent any money on it which would improve its

value that I would be glad to turn it over to the Government for $1 after the war, to be used for public purposes.

Now, in regard to my purchase of the Washington Times. I have sent Senator Overman every editorial that has appeared in this newspaper since the day I bought it.

The Washington Times is the first newspaper I ever owned and controlled. For thirty-two-odd years I have been an employee, writing for owners; first for Charles A. Dana and next for Joseph Pulitzer and then for William R. Hearst.

From the day I owned the Times I wrote as vigorously, as savagely and as earnestly on the subject of the war against the German side and in favor of America as I have ever done on any subject in my life. If any member of the committee or the representative of the Government will read my editorials I am sure that he will see that they are written with sincerity and effectively.

Senator STERLING. What was your attitude toward England, as shown by these editorials?

Mr. BRISBANE. My attitude toward England is the attitude that I was delighted to have England in the war, of course. I have, in regard to England, some doubts as to whether, when the war ends, we shall not have our difficulties and discussions, as we may have with France and other countries.

Senator STERLING. Do you not think your editorials manifested an intense opposition to England?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not think so, Senator.

Senator STERLING. Soon after you acquired the Washington Times?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not think so.

Senator STERLING. Were not your editorials calculated to stir up enmity in this country against England?

Mr. BRISBANE. They were not intended to, and I do not think they were calculated to.

I may add that Lord Northcliffe was living in this country at the time. He was in Washington, and I was in Washington, and he repeatedly invited me to go to England and visit England and go to the front with him. I should think a good judge of that matter, perhaps, would be Lord Northcliffe, who is a very strong English journalist, and who was in this country, and who read those editorials, and with whom I discussed these questions. He may have said, "I do not agree with you about this," and so on, "I do not think you are right about this," but he knew what my feeling was, and he invited me to go to England as his guest and that of the British Government—not once or twice, but repeatedly; and when he was in France he cabled me a number of times to do so.

I do not think any editorial I have ever written can be interpreted except as I felt and believed; and I had no other feeling except being in favor of anything that would destroy the German Empire and win the war—from the day the war started; long before we were in it.

Frankly, the only thing I have to reproach myself with about what I wrote is that sometimes I wrote so bitterly that I think it was calculated to stir up dangerous ill-feeling in this country among people of German names who were loyal.

So much for the charge of pro-Germanism, which Mr. Palmer withdrew to me, and I presume will withdraw publicly, as he did privately, saying to me that he had no ground for it.

I used my money in sending machinery to the English Government, to Lord Northcliffe, and wrote to Lloyd-George, and cabled them, and have had letters and answers from him. I spent my money sending machinery to England, to be used against Germany. I offered my land, on which I spent practically all I have made for the past six or eight years, to the Government, for use without charge; and I came to Washington and I wrote these editorials, and I have had assurances from the President of the United States—I shall not produce the letters unless I am subpœnaed to do so—thanking me for my support of the war and of the Government. I believe if he were questioned, he would say that no newspaper in the United States has supported the war more strongly than I have. I have the same statements from Mr. Daniels, and from Mr. Burleson who is the man responsible directly for the attitude newspapers take. Every article I have written I have sent to them.

Now, shall I go ahead with the rest of my statement?

Senator STERLING. I hope to be able to call your attention to some items in your editorials in the Times, soon after you acquired the paper, that attracted my attention at the time, and I think attracted the attention of other Senators at the time.

Mr. BRISBANE. That is the question of pro-Germanism, again. In regard to the purchase of the Washington Times, it was stated that I bought the Washington Times because the brewers wanted an agent, first, to protect their interests, and second, to favor Germany, they being supposedly German because they had German names.

The only brewers I know are men who were born in America, as it happens, although I might have known others.

To explain my attitude on prohibition and temperance: There are some Senators whom I know who are very strongly in favor of prohibition, and in connection with that matter I should like to say this. I went to Paris when I was a boy, and went to school there for four years. Now, about my attitude for more than 20 years: I have been the editor of a newspaper for more than 30 years, and my opinions on this subject have been the same, especially on the question of prohibition.

I have lived in France as a young man, and as a boy was a student in Paris.

Senator NELSON. Let me ask you this: Were you editor of the Times before you bought it, Mr. Brisbane?

Mr. BRISBANE. No, sir. I bought it from Frank Munsey, and had nothing to do with it until I purchased it.

As I say, I was at school there in France for four years, and no boy in school ever drank a glass of pure water. Many of you gentlemen know that, as you have traveled. The drink was very weak claret, with 1 part claret and 4 parts water, or perhaps 10 parts, for all I know, and the boys drank that. I lived at school. I was a boy there until I was nearly 19, in France, without knowing that drunkenness was a common thing. You did not see it in Paris. Men drank red wine. I am speaking of nearly 40 years ago; 1878, and shortly after the Franco-Prussian War; so that, following that war, I saw what the feeling was in France, and I got my strong attitude on the German question from living there then.

I went from Paris to New York, and became a reporter on the Sun, under Charles A. Dana, at 19, and saw the young men on the

newspapers drinking whisky, and a great deal of drunkenness. In those days the newspaper men drank a great deal more than they do now, and drunkenness was much more common.

My first opportunity to write a story of any interest was when I was sent to get the names of prominent people at a fight in which John L. Sullivan participated, and some of the experienced newspaper men were drunk, and that gave me my first opportunity to write a good story. So that I owed that to whisky. Perhaps I am the only man who can say that he owes anything to whisky.

Later I succeeded T. P. O'Connor as correspondent of the New York Sun in London, under Dana, before I was 21. In connection with my duties as correspondent, I went to the House of Commons, and saw Gladstone, nearly 80 years of age, and other famous men, when they used to stay all night in the House debating; and I interviewed him, and knew him and knew his son extremely well, and knew what their habits were; and I saw those men, who drank these very moderate, temperate liquors, strong and healthy in old age; and I went to St. Peters in Rome, and saw Pope Leo, nearly 90 years of age; and I had read his poem, advocating the use of red wines very moderately; and I felt and saw that these things were comparatively harmless.

I reported, for the New York Sun, the dreadful Jack the Ripper murders in London, and I went into the White Chapel district, where gin is drunk, and saw the horrid misery caused by the drinking of spirits. And then I went to Paris, where there is no drinking of spirits to mention, where the people are temperate, and there is no drinking problem whatever.

After that, when I came back to this country, whenever I wrote for the newspapers I wrote in favor of light wine and beer, and against whisky. I do not believe there is anyone who has written more strongly in favor of temperance and against whisky and drunkenness than I have, or who has done more to arouse a feeling against whisky in this country. I have written hundreds of editorials, published in newspapers all over the United States, Sunday after Sunday—not dozen or scores, but hundreds and hundreds. I did that from the day I came back.

In 1898 I began writing editorials. Up to that time my newspaper work had been writing news and managing newspapers.

I was the editor of the Evening Sun, which at that time had the biggest circulation, I was the editor of the Evening World, which had the biggest circulation, and was editor of the Sunday World, which had by far the biggest circulation. At present I am the editor of the Evening Journal, which has by hundreds of thousands the biggest circulation in the United States.

I wrote what I believed to be true, that absolute prohibition is not possible—we are now going to make an experiment, so we will know—and that whisky ought to be classed with cocaine and opium and morphine, and that light wine and beer, which workmen require, should be classed with tobacco, as harmless.

I presented these questions to Mr. Dinwiddie, who has drafted some of the most important legislation on prohibition in this country, and I saw Mr. Dinwiddie, and—with his permission I am telling you this—he said to me:

"I think your beer and light wine are as bad as anything possibly can be, and I don't know but what tobacco is in the same class."

He said, "I promised never to smoke, but when I was about 30 I got permission to smoke, and it made me very sick, and I think it is the worst thing on earth."

I do not smoke, as it happens, but I have seen Maj. Humes smoking here, and if I suggested taking away his cigar because it does not agree with me I think he would consider me impertinent. But if I saw him smoking opium or using cocaine I should not hesitate to suggest to him that he ought to stop it. That has been my attitude about whisky. Tobacco is harmless. Light wine and beer are required by workmen to keep them contented, in my opinion, and can be used harmlessly, but whisky and the other spirits are poisons.

I have presented these opinions of mine in hundreds of editorials that I have written on this subject, beginning in 1898, before I ever saw any brewer. In fact, I tried the experiment on myself to see if there was anything in it.

When I became editor of the Evening Journal I undertook a hard task. When I left Mr. Pulitzer he said: "Do not go on any evening paper, because the Evening World is preeminent." I was anxious to see whether the Evening Journal could not be developed into an equally prominent position. The Evening Journal had 50,000 circulation and the Evening World 350,000, and I made up my mind that within seven years the Evening Journal should pass the World.

I said to myself—although I have not been out of employment for 35 years—I said, "I will not take a drink of claret or anything else until the Journal passes the World." It worked so well that I kept it up for three years. I went to bed at half past 8 and got up at half past 4 and went to work at 5.15, and it took less than two months to accomplish what I was after. And when I got through, the Journal had a bigger circulation than the World. That was my experience with total abstinence. And in the course of that experiment my weight went from 190 to 153, and I found that it did not agree with me. I was working too hard. And I do not believe it would agree with working men under similar conditions.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not mean to argue that total abstinence reduced your weight? Do you not imagine it was the hard work?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; but it worked so well that I thought I would keep it up forever; but one morning in the house in the country where I went, to sleep, and from which I came back to the office to work, I woke up lying flat on my back, with a lamp in my hand, which fortunately had gone out. I was looking for water, which, apparently, was not my natural beverage. I had this attack of heart failure, and my doctor said, "It is extremely foolish. Go back and take your claret to-morrow."

I have had other experiences. When I was so ill in Atlanta I stopped completely, and I went to Dr. Murphy, of Chicago, who was the great surgeon, and he said to me: "Never drink any claret or anything after this."

I said to him: "Doctor, just as soon as I eat my next meal I shall take claret with it, and if you do not take claret, in my opinion, you will die long before I do, though you are a much healthier man now, apparently."

He is dead now, I am sorry to say. I have said that to some of the most distinguished men in the country, that I do not believe, for a very active man, it is the healthful course; and that has been my sincere conviction. I wrote on this subject every day that something seemed to suggest it. When murders were committed they always found evidence of the bottle of whisky which told the story; and I wrote editorials about it. I have written hundreds of editorials against whisky.

Senator WOLCOTT. You do not know my attitude, at all, but I am what is called a "dry" man. I think the fact that you choose to write, expressing these opinions of yours, is nobody's concern but your own, and people who do not like the newspaper do not have to read it.

Mr. BRISBANE. I would not have injected my opinions in the matter except for the bearing that it has upon these charges.

Senator WOLCOTT. I just wanted to suggest, for my part, that it is no affair of this committee as to the opinions you express in this paper——

Mr. BRISBANE. It has simply this bearing, Senator, that it shows that I have constantly written in this way before I came in contact with the brewers.

I went to Milwaukee, and I was invited to speak to the brewers at Milwaukee, at a convention that they had, and I spoke at this convention, 12 years ago, I think it was, or 10 years ago, and I said to them: "Gentlemen, you have manufactured beer, which is a temperate beverage, and which is used separately; but you put saloons on all four corners, and in order to make them pay, these men have to sell whisky in all those saloons, and it is just exactly as if a cigar store had tobacco for sale on one counter and cocaine or opium on the other. The people would close up all the cigar stores." And I told them: "They will close you up." I told them that years ago.

I have always been in favor, however, of light wine and beer, and I told them so; and they appreciated my attitude toward their industry. There were only one or two of them who spoke to me after I had made this speech, and I said to them: "Every one of you will get the discredit of selling whisky, because these saloons do sell it; and you have got to stop it or the Government will stop you."

Senator OVERMAN. Are these the reasons why you bought the Times and got these men to lend you the money?

Mr. BRISBANE. When a man buys a newspaper—a newspaper is not a property on which you can borrow money at a time when it is losing $2,000 a week and has very little circulation. What you could borrow on that would be less than nothing, ordinarily. In that case a man who establishes a newspaper must get the money from other sources, or, as I have said before, marry the money as a short-cut to the editorial chair. You must borrow the money, or you must gradually earn it. I asked Mr. Munsey if he would not let me buy the paper and pay for it out of the profits, and he said no, that he had to have $250,000 cash and $60,000 for various supplies on hand; and I had to have that amount of ready money.

I thought of buying the Newark Star, offered by former Senator Smith, who got into financial difficulties and wanted to sell it, as is a matter of public record. I went out to look at it and talked the

matter over with the president of the trust company in Newark, Mr. Feigenspan. I wanted to get the money to buy a paper, and I said to him, "Mr. Feigenspan, you know my attitude and what I have written on your industry. My name is attached to it, and you know what my opinion is. I think it is to your interest to increase my influence, if you can. If I decide to buy this paper, would you lend me the money to buy it, or help me to finance it?" And he said he would. When I looked into the property, however, I decided that it was not a desirable property, and nothing came of it.

When I came to Washington I saw Mr. Duart, representing Mr. Munsey, and he said Mr. Munsey had asked several times why I did not buy the Washington Times. Mr. Munsey asked me that, for a year, half jokingly, and I said I might, possibly, some time.

Finally I took the matter up seriously, and when I wanted to buy the Washington Times I went to Mr. Feigenspan, and I said to him what I had already said about the other paper, without repeating it. I state this to show why these men should lend me the money. If I had been a strong advocate of absolute prohibition I might have gone to some man like Rockefeller, who, I understand, is in favor of prohibition, and I should have said, "All my life I have advocated prohibition. It is to your interest to increase my influence."

So I went to Mr. Feigenspan, and I said: "I want to borrow this money. I shall pay it back and pay you interest. I can not borrow from a bank." And he was glad to lend it. He said: "I may not lend it all to you, but I will guarantee, among my friends, that I will let you have this money." And he agreed to lend me $500,000. I did not believe that would be sufficient to establish the paper, really, and thought I should have to borrow elsewhere later on. When you begin to get a paper in good shape you can borrow money. However, all I have ever borrowed on this paper was $375,000 because the paper succeeded very rapidly.

Senator OVERMAN. You did not know the other men who went in on this loan?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Senator OVERMAN. It was all done through Mr. Feigenspan?

Mr. BRISBANE. Not only that, but I never knew who they were until the thing was published by Mr. Palmer. I never knew their names, and did not know who they were, except two or three. Col. Pabst I knew. I knew Mr. Uihlein. He came to my office and put down a check for $50,000, and said, "I am going to put this in the paper to help you with this proposition." And I indorsed that check for $50,000 to Mr. Feigenspan and sent it to him and asked him to put it in with the fund, and that I would pay him back all together.

They lent me that money because I was on their side of a public question.

The point I want to make here is that I had always been on that side; and I could cite to you hundreds of editorials that I wrote before I ever met a brewer, on exactly the same lines as those I have written since publishing a newspaper of my own, purchased with money that I borrowed from brewers.

Senator OVERMAN. You gave no collateral?

Mr. BRISBANE. No, Senator; for this reason. I asked Mr. Feigenspan to take a mortgage on my real estate, and he declined, because, he said, "I do not want to go on record as trying to influence the

press." He said, "We are glad to lend it to you, but we do not want it known." And I said, "Very well. It does not make any difference to me."

Senator OVERMAN. Their purpose in lending you the money was to have that sort of a paper here in Washington?

Mr. BRISBANE. They would have been very glad to have me have a paper anywhere, Senator. They knew how I felt on the question of prohibition, and how I wrote about it, and they would have been glad to have me have a paper in Chicago or anywhere else—in Milwaukee, where I have just bought a paper; in fact, I have bought three there.

Senator WOLCOTT. Do you regard that transaction as a loan, strictly, Mr. Brisbane, or does it not come pretty close to being a gift?

Mr. BRISBANE. It is absolutely a loan, Senator. Those men I believe would, if I had asked them, considering what I had done or endeavored to do, first by the advice that I gave them as to what was going to happen to their industry because of selling whisky, and secondly, because of my attitude always on the subject of prohibition—if I had asked them to give me $1,000 or $5,000 or $50,000, they might have done it.

Senator WOLCOTT. But from their point of view it is tantamount to a gift? That is to say, they can not collect it.

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes, they can; because Mr. Feigenspan has my note at the present time.

Senator WOLCOTT. But the terms of that note, as I recall, briefly stated, are about as follows: You are given an unlimited time in which to repay the loan.

Senator NELSON. Without interest.

Senator WOLCOTT. And there is no interest. You are to repay the loan; you are obligated to repay the loan; you are obligated to repay it only out of the profits that the paper makes; and then it is left entirely in your discretion as to how much of those profits, and when, out of those profits, you shall make payment?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes. That was the idea, that while I ran the newspaper, using my influence as I always have done, on this side, these men would be well repaid, and in the end, of course, they would get their money with interest.

I could not say, "I will borrow this money and pay it back at a certain time." I could not tell within a year, or five years, how long it would take to put the Times on a paying basis. As a matter of fact, I did it in six months. It might easily have taken, however, two or three or several years, and I did not want to be compelled at any definite time to repay the money. I should have been glad to say to them at any time, "If you are in a hurry for your money, you can take the paper." They could have had the paper at any time if they had chosen. But I paid them their interest——

Senator WOLCOTT. But you were not under obligation, though, to do that?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; but I preferred to do it, and I expected to do it, and was able to do it, and so I did.

Senator WOLCOTT. But I say, from the viewpoint of the lenders of the money, it really was a gift; that is to say, the money had gone out of their reach and they could not force you to repay. They would have to trust entirely to your disposition to repay or not?

Mr. BRISBANE. They could have taken over the property here. They had a claim against me for $375,000.

Senator OVERMAN. Suppose you had died. There would be no claim then?

Mr. BRISBANE. They would have had the property in which their money was invested—a lien on the Washington Times.

Senator OVERMAN. There is no arrangement in this note giving them a lien on the Times?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; they did not want it. I wanted them to take a mortgage on my real estate, and I asked Mr. Feigenspan to do that, and he said he did not want to do it.

Senator OVERMAN. But there is no lien on the paper?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; there is absolutely no lien on the paper. I could not run a paper with any liens on the paper itself. This was a personal loan made to me, which I agreed to repay.

Maj. HUMES. The obligation was the obligation of the Growing Circulation Corporation?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. You owned all the stock of that concern, did you?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. It is a corporation, I believe?

Mr. BRISBANE. It is a corporation.

I sent Mr. Feigenspan my personal note for the full amount of money when I found what it was going to be. I drew this money in installments as I required it to meet the losses on the paper. As I say, I arranged a loan of $500,000, but I only drew $375,000 out of it. When it became clear that that was the total amount that I was going to draw, I said to Mr. Feigenspan, "Make me up a statement of the interest due to date," and I paid the interest—$22,000—in August and sent him my personal note for the full amount of the loan.

Maj. HUMES. Then, in addition to the note which was given to Mr. Feigenspan by the Growing Circulation Corporation, you have since furnished him with a personal note?

Mr. BRISBANE. I sent him my personal note.

Senator OVERMAN. What is that corporation?

Mr. BRISBANE. The Growing Circulation Corporation.

Senator OVERMAN. You are the owner of that?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Senator OVERMAN. When was that corporation formed?

Mr. BRISBANE. That corporation was formed about a year before, I think.

The original note was to be returned to me, and my note taken in place of that of the Growing Circulation Corporation; and the money was paid as it was because he did not wish it known that he had advanced money. As far as I am concerned, I asked him to take a mortgage on my property.

Maj. HUMES. Your note has been substituted for that of the Growing Circulation Corporation, now?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; it will be returned to me as soon as the Public Custodian, Mr. Palmer, returns it to Mr. Feigenspan.

Senator OVERMAN. You say the Times now is paying?

Mr. BBISBANE. Yes. I expect to be able to pay these men in full in the course of two years. They will get their interest in the meanwhile.

While that amount of money, $375,000, seems large for a newspaper man to borrow, it is not a large amount in my case. I have a large income. If the Times had not paid, I could have paid these gentlemen.

I have one salary, as editorial writer, of over $100,000 a year, which would enable me to pay a debt of that size. I borrowed last year a million dollars from S. W. Strauss & Co., bankers in New York, for building.

I am able to make newspapers pay, and I knew that after I had had this newspaper for a short time its borrowing value would enable me to carry it on successfully.

Senator OVERMAN. How many newspapers are you connected with now, Mr. Brisbane?

Mr. BRISBANE. I own this newspaper in Washington, and I own the Milwaukee (Wis.) News. I bought three newspapers in Milwaukee, and combined them into one.

Senator OVERMAN. You combined the three papers into one?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; they had a great many too many.

I write for Mr. Hearst's newspapers, and have for 20 years, as a salaried employee of his newspapers.

Maj. HUMES. What are the three papers in Milwaukee to which you referred?

Mr. BRISBANE. The Evening Wisconsin, the Daily News, and the Free Press.

Maj. HUMES. Do you own or control either the Leader, the Journal, or the Germania, the Germania Herold, or the Vorwaerts, in Milwaukee?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Senator OVERMAN. Do you own any of the stock in the Berger paper in Milwaukee—I do not know what paper that is.

Mr. BRISBANE. That is the Leader, in Milwaukee.

I received an intimation that some information would be likely desired of me in connection with my acquaintance with Victor Berger. Shall I make that statement now?

Senator OVERMAN. You may put in anything you desire.

Mr. BRISBANE. This is not of any importance to me, but I will put it in if it is desired. I do not own any stock in the Berger paper. I loaned him some money. I met him at Anson Phelps Stokes', the New York banker, with Peter Dunne, who writes the Dooley articles, and formed a high opinion of his intelligence and integrity, which I still have. I consider him a very good, honest man.

They built a building which contains all the offices of all the labor unions in Milwaukee—the mechanics and everything else are all in this building—and they named it the Brisbane Building. They told me they were short of money, and wanted to know if I would take some stock in the building, as they had named it the Brisbane Building, and I took $5,000 of stock in this building.

Subsequently Mr. Berger was going to start a daily paper, and I advised him strongly against it, as I thought he could not possibly make it pay. However, he was going to start it, and I loaned him,

I think, $8,000. Then he said he did not have control of the paper. And I will say to you now what I wrote to the President last spring, when this matter came up. He said he was anxious to have control; that is, to buy sufficient stock to have control—I am speaking of Mr. Berger—and he wanted to know if I would take stock instead of this money which I had loaned, which I did not get back, or the interest, and I said, "Very well." And I took stock in this paper.

Lately, last spring I think it was, Mr. Berger wrote me that he wanted to buy the stock back, and would pay for it when he could, and I returned the stock, and he sent me a thousand dollars in liberty bonds on account of payment.

He came to see me in Washington. I had not seen him for years, and I had not seen his paper. It was financially and as a newspaper a failure. It was simply propaganda.

He told me that there was a question of his being indicted, and assured me that he had done nothing illegal. I had not read his paper. I wrote to the President, and wrote an editorial about Berger, from which I would like to quote two things. This is a part of the editorial that I sent to President Wilson last spring when I wrote him about Victor Berger.

Senator OVERMAN. Was the editorial printed?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; it was written for the President. I did not want to print it and put in my paper anything that seemed to condone the publication of any newspaper even accused of disloyalty; but this is the opinion that I had of Victor Berger.

Here is the opinion of the New York Times:

On August 27, 1916, under the heading "A man and in Wisconsin" the New York Times published a leading editorial from which an extract follows:

Victor L. Berger himself was born in Germany. He lives in Milwaukee, a city full of men born in Germany. But he is an American. He hitches no hyphen on his allegiance. Here is the answer his newspaper, the Milwaukee Leader, makes to the hyphenated proposal of his constituents.

The Times quotes from a vigorous, patriotic editorial, published by Victor Berger in his Milwaukee Leader, and adds this comment:

"That is the answer of a man. In this time of truckling, of politicians who are afraid to say their souls are their own, it is worth while to see here and there the exception. Whether he wins or loses the election, this German-born Socialist in a German-born constituency has given a living illustration of what an American should be and what too many Americans born on this soil are not."

That is from the New York Times.

The Baltimore Sun said practically the same thing, and the Philadelphia Record said practically the same thing.

The merchants of Milwaukee say that Berger is a law-abiding man and defends nothing illegal. They do not agree with his theories, perhaps, any more than I do, about being able to make the human race perfect overnight, but they say he is absolutely honest.

The Republican governor of the State has told me—he detests Berger's socialistic theories, I presume, but he says he is honest.

Well, Berger came to me in distress, and I wrote a letter to the President and made this point: Berger is an educated man, and I believe he is honest. I do not believe he would suggest or do anything opposed to the law or Constitution of the country; and if he is put out of his position as a leader, it would be to substitute for him as leader some dangerous individual of a totally different character, because

these Socialists in Milwaukee are mechanics and people of a different grade from socialistic bodies in some other places; and my suggestion was that it would be a bad thing, unless it were necessary according to law, unless he had really done something which I did not know of, to put him out.

The President asked me to see Mr. Burleson about it, and I talked to Mr. Burleson, and he said to me: "I was in Congress with old Berger, and I know him; but," he said, "if he is printing any nonsense in his paper he will have to take the consequences." And he showed me some things which Berger had said which seemed to be utterly foolish, and I dropped the matter.

This is the extent of my connection with Victor Berger.

Maj. HUMES. You are not, at present, a stockholder in his paper?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. Your relation with the paper has changed since September, 1917—with the Leader?

Mr. BRISBANE. With the Leader?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; you were a stockholder in October, 1917, were you not?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; I gave Berger back his stock last spring some time.

Maj. HUMES. The report to the Post Office Department October 1, 1917, shows you as a stockholder.

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; it was last spring.

Maj. HUMES. Have you any knowledge of the financing of newspapers, or loans being made for the purchase of newspapers, other than your transaction with the Washington Times, by the brewing interests of the country, or the large brewers of the country?

Mr. BRISBANE. None.

Maj. HUMES. Did the brewing interests or any of these brewers participate with you in the purchase of the Milwaukee papers?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. They have not loaned you money in connection with the transaction?

Mr. BRISBANE. No. They knew nothing about it until they saw the announcement in the newspapers that I had bought it.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Uihlein or Mr. Pabst had no part in it?

Mr. BRISBANE. None whatever.

Maj. HUMES. A moment ago you commented on a telegram that you sent to Lord Northcliffe. Did you ever send any other telegrams to Lord Northcliffe with relation to the newspapers of this country?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not know. I very probably have telegraphed and written to him many times.

Maj. HUMES. Did you send him a telegram on the 19th of November, 1917, relative to the antagonism against some journalistic friend of yours?

Mr. BRISBANE. I should think it likely. I do not recall it.

Maj. HUMES. In what connection was that telegram sent?

Mr. BRISBANE. The newspapers owned by Mr. Hearst had trouble with the English authorities, and the use of the cables, etc., were stopped at one period and afterwards renewed. Lord Northcliffe cabled me that if I would come over—he thought this was due to a misunderstanding, and he cabled and wrote me that if I would come

to England—he would take me to see whoever it was necessary to see—the premier, or whoever it was necessary to see—and he felt this thing could be adjusted.

I intended to go, but I had pneumonia and was not able to go, so I did not. He sent his manager to see me in New York at the Gotham Hotel.

I cabled him and I wrote him on different occasions, telling him that I thought it was poor policy for the English Government to take this attitude toward American newspapers and undertake to say what an American newspaper owner could claim in the United States, just as I should think it would be foolish for the President of the United States to say that Lord Northcliffe, in England, could not print what he chose in his paper in England; that I thought for each country to attend to what its own newspapers were doing was sufficient. I do not recall the details of what I may have written.

Maj. HUMES. Was not the cause of that trouble due to the news that was coming from Germany, rather than due to any news that was coming from England?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not know what actually caused the difficulty. No; I think not. My impression is that, as I say, Lord Northcliffe telegraphed that he thought it was a misunderstanding and could be adjusted, and he said that if I came to England—he telegraphed me, and I could find the cablegram—if I came to England he thought it could be adjusted.

Maj. HUMES. As I understand, your relation with the various Hearst papers is purely a contractual relation, as an employee?

Mr. BRISBANE. That is all. I have no ownership and no authority beyond that of an employee.

Senator OVERMAN. Have you anything to do with the policy of the paper?

Mr. BRISBANE. Nothing whatever, except that Mr. Hearst, I think, would listen to my advice, probably; but he very rarely asks for advice.

Senator OVERMAN. Are you given a free hand to write what you please?

Mr. BRISBANE. No. My understanding is that I write what I please and he publishes it if he pleases; but if Mr. Hearst has a campaign, for instance, I do not write what I do not please.

On one occasion Mr. Hearst was advocating the election of a Democrat, and I was making speeches in New York City and informing people that I knew, that I was not supporting that man, that I was against him. I made speeches for Oscar Straus while Mr. Hearst supported Mr. Sulzer; and Mr. Hearst had no objection. He does not wish to be told anybody's views—at least not mine. He rules his papers absolutely, and trusts to me, as I know about what his line of thought is, not to go outside of that.

Occasionally, if he sees something in the paper that he does not like, he throws it out, naturally. The papers are his property.

Maj. HUMES. Was not the whole reason for the closing down of the cables the presence in Berlin and the activities there of William Bayard Hale, who was an employee in the Hearst newspapers?

Mr. BRISBANE. I never heard that even suggested.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Hale was in Germany, was he not?

Mr. BRISBANE. I believe so.

Let me tell you that these matters related to the New York American, which is a morning newspaper, with which I have no connection and by which I am not employed. My connection is entirely with the Evening Journal, an evening newspaper, for which I write.

Senator OVERMAN. You do not edit the morning paper at all?

Mr. BRISBANE. Not at all. I have nothing to do with it. My work is confined to the evening newspapers, except in Chicago I edit a morning paper, and have been since last spring.

Maj. HUMES. Was not Mr. Hale employed for both of those papers?

Mr. BRISBANE. No. The Evening Journal does not print special correspondence of that kind.

Maj. HUMES. Do not both of those papers handle the International News Service?

Mr. BRISBANE. The International News Service comes to both papers.

Maj. HUMES. Yes. Was not Mr. Hale representing the International News Service in Berlin?

Mr. BRISBANE. I believe he was; but I know nothing about the detail of that. It is a separate corporation. My work has been entirely editorial writing, and I have nothing to do with the news management.

Maj. HUMES. You have no connection with the news matter?

Mr. BRISBANE. So far as the International News or the New York American is concerned. In a general way, in the evening paper, it is under my direction, but I could not tell you the names of the assistants or the executives.

Senator OVERMAN. As a matter of curiosity more than anything else, let me ask you this: How can you edit so many newspapers at the same time—this paper here in Washington and one at Chicago, one in Milwaukee, and one in New York?

Mr. BRISBANE. The thing that simplifies it is that I say the same things in every place.

Senator OVERMAN. You write one editorial for all?

Mr. BRISBANE. I write an editorial every day, which is published in my own newspapers and published in all the Hearst newspapers. Then I have in each city a competent editor and publisher, and I live in a Pullman car a great deal. For instance, for nearly a year I made the trip between Chicago and New York twice a week. I have a phonograph and a secretary in the Pullman car.

Senator OVERMAN. Pardon me, I just asked for curiosity.

Maj. HUMES. On which one of the New York papers was Mr. Francis an editor?

Mr. BRISBANE. The New York American.

Maj. HUMES. On the New York American?

Mr. BRISBANE. An editorial writer.

Maj. HUMES. And you were not employed by that paper?

Mr. BRISBANE. That is correct. I was not employed by that paper.

Maj. HUMES. And William Bayard Hale was an International News correspondent?

Mr. BRISBANE. That I never knew. I do not know, really.

Maj. HUMES. Which paper was Anthony Arnaux connected with?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not know. I could not tell you. I do not know anything about it.

Maj. HUMES. By which of the other Hearst publications were you employed, or for which did you write, besides the Journal?

Mr. BRISBANE. I wrote for the Evening Journal, the Boston American—that is, I had no editorial connection except with the Evening Journal; that is, general management; I was one of the general managers; but my editorials I wrote for the Evening Journal, and if they were suitable in Boston, they would be put in the Boston paper, and if suitable for Chicago, they would be put in the evening paper there. But outside of New York the editors of the local papers used their judgment about printing them.

Maj. HUMES. Who was Carl Von Wiegand?

Mr. BRISBANE. I never saw him. I do not know.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know of his being a representative of the Hearst papers?

Mr. BRISBANE. I have seen that since this matter was discussed. When he was a representative I never knew it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Sweppendick?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not recall his name.

Maj. HUMES. Or Mr. Montigliossi?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. Or Mr. Schreiner?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. Or Mr. Kunz?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Brisbane, were you acquainted with any of the German agents in this country?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; I was not.

Maj. HUMES. Were you acquainted with Dr. Fuehr, or Mr. Albert?

Mr. BRISBANE. Dr. Albert I met at luncheon at the Ritz-Carlton one day some years ago.

Maj. HUMES. Were you ever at his office?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. Did you call at his office about the 18th of January, 1917?

Mr. BRISBANE. I never did, one of my secretaries might have called, possibly.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any connection with the International News Service?

Mr. BRISBANE. None whatever.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know the news service that was coming to Dr. Fuehr's office?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; I do not know who Dr. Fuehr is.

Maj. HUMES. You know by reputation who he is, do you not?

Mr. BRISBANE. I really do not. I pay very little attention, and really could not tell you who he is.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know Mr. Claussen?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. Of the Hamburg-American Line?

Mr. BRISBANE. I never met him.

Maj. HUMES. Are you familiar with the activities of various interests in trying to secure control of the American Press Association?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. The American Press Association, I believe is managed by some relative of yours?

Mr. BRISBANE. My brother-in-law is president of it.

Maj. HUMES. Do you know of the effort made by brewing interests to acquire control of that association?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. And a subsequent effort which was made by the German agents to secure control?

Mr. BRISBANE. I saw the publication in a newspaper. That is all I know about it. My brother-in-law has not told me of that.

Maj. HUMES. What is the name of your brother-in-law?

Mr. BRISBANE. Courtlandt Smith.

Maj. HUMES. Then the Growing Circulation Corporation was organized simply as a small corporation to cover up the transaction and for the benefit of Mr. Feigenspan?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; I was going to undertake the delivery of our newspapers by a separate company, myself. I was interested in automobiles, and I thought I would like to test using automobiles in place of horses, and I started to organize a corporation for delivery, with the idea of making this test. But nothing came of that idea. I found the man who had the contract for delivering the papers was extremely anxious to keep it, so that, although I could have taken the contract if I chose, I abandoned the idea; and this corporation was in existence; it was in existence long before that, and was organized for that purpose, and when it was organized I had no idea of buying the Washington Times at that time.

Maj. HUMES. Your ownership of the Washington Times was an absolute ownership, was it?

Mr. BRISBANE. Absolutely.

Maj. HUMES. It was not a trusteeship in any way?

Mr. BRISBANE. Not in the slightest.

Maj. HUMES. Did you have any contract with Mr. Hearst with regard to the taking over or acquiring of the Washington Times?

Mr. BRISBANE. Mr. Hearst knew nothing about it until after I had bought it, when I told him I had bought it.

Maj. HUMES. There was no agreement between you and Mr. Hearst by which he agreed to take the Times off your hands if you so desired?

Mr. BRISBANE. This is my agreement with Mr. Hearst: I was under contract with Mr. Hearst. I bought the Washington Times in May, 1917. This was the first paper I ever bought. Under my contract I had to give my exclusive services for five years, which would be until 1922. I bought the paper, and then told Mr. Hearst that I had bought it. He objected, very strenuously. He was paying me a salary of $104,000 a year—$2,000 a week. He said: "I am paying you to look after my papers. Now you will look after your own and neglect mine." I said: "I think I will not; because what I write for your papers will be in my own, and as it goes in my paper I shall be interested in making it good. However, if you feel that my ownership of the paper would probably interfere with your work I will agree that you can take the paper at any time you like for what it cost me." Later on I said: "As long as I made that agreement with you I think you should say that if I find that I have undertaken too

much you will buy the paper." And he said that he would do that. The idea was that he did not want to be in a position of having me working for my own newspaper while he was paying me a salary to concentrate on his. He objected very strongly at first to my buying it.

Maj. HUMES. Does he not offer any objection to your using material that you were writing for him, at $2,000 a week, in other newspapers of your own?

Mr. BRISBANE. Not the slightest. One reason why I wanted the paper was that he allows me to use everything that he prepares for his own newspapers, very generously, in my own newspaper, which makes it possible to make the paper successful quickly.

Maj. HUMES. Has he loaned to you the services of any of his regular employees?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. Mr. Brisbane, is it not a fact that from the profits of the Washington Times certain payments are from time to time being made to the people from whom Mr. Hearst purchased one of the Chicago papers?

Mr. BRISBANE. No, sir.

Maj. HUMES. Is it or is it not a fact that a sum of approximately a thousand dollars a week is being paid over to Mr. Levi Mayer, who represents the persons from whom Mr. Hearst bought one of the Chicago papers?

Mr. BRISBANE. No, Major. I will tell you what the $1,000 is being paid for, or was being paid for. I subscribed $100,000 to the third liberty loan there in Chicago. I made the subscription at the Continental & Commercial Bank, and sent a thousand dollars a week to the Continental & Commercial Bank to pay for my liberty bonds. That is every dollar that the Times has ever sent to Chicago. It never sent a penny to Levi Mayer, who was attorney for Mr. Rosenwald and the others who owned the Herald, which I purchased from him, as agent for Mr. Hearst.

Senator OVERMAN. How is that?

Mr. BRISBANE. I bought it as agent, acting as agent. Mr. Palmer asked me something of the same kind, and I told him he was off the track on that.

Senator NELSON. Do you own the Chicago Herald?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; I am an employee of the Chicago Herald.

Maj. HUME. Then any statement to that effect made by Mr. Levi Mayer is incorrect, is it?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; and Mr. Levi Mayer has denied, publicly, that he ever made any such statement, or that I ever paid a cent, or had any interest in it. He had an interview in the Christian Science Monitor some time ago. I do not know what was said to make that mistake; but the only money that has ever gone is as I have described it. I never have drawn a check for the Washington Times in my life. The publisher of the paper, Mr. Shaw, signs the checks. If you would like, I will show you one of these stubs, because I had heard of this very thing, and the memorandum I received from you suggested that that might be called for. I thought I had one of those stubs here. Apparently, I have not got it. However, each check was written to the order of the Continental & Commercial Bank, to pay for liberty bonds, and the total amount sent was $22,000 on account of that payment.

Maj. HUMES. My authority for that statement comes from a man who tells me that Mr. Mayer told him personally that that was true.

Mr. BRISBANE. He misunderstood Mr. Mayer; because that was Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, and he told me, and I said to Mr. Mayer: "What kind of a ghost story have you got into Mr. Mitchell Palmer's mind?" How he managed to do it, I don't know. May I show you how this thing was done?

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Levi Mayer call on Mr. Palmer at your request in connection with this matter?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; he did not. Mr. Levi Mayer told me that he knew Mr. Palmer, of course, and many gentlemen said they would speak to Mr. Palmer when they saw this statement that I was pro-German, and so forth—including Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, and others who said they thought it was outrageous, inasmuch as my record was perfectly clear in the papers.

Senator OVERMAN. Let me see that paper you have there, please.

Mr. BRISBANE. This is the letter to the Continental & Commercial Bank, Senator, sending them a thousand dollars to apply on the payment of my liberty bonds.

Maj. HUMES. As I remember, you stated that Mr. Philip Francis was one of the editorial writers on the American?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Who are the other editorial writers on the paper?

Mr. BRISBANE. Mr. Montague writes editorials sometimes; Mr. Bradford Merrill occasionally, I believe, writes editorials; Mr. Willis J. Abbott also. They are not signed, so that you can not identify the different editorials. They are written anonymously.

Maj. HUMES. Are yours written anonymously too?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; in Mr. Hearst's newspaper, except that I write one column "To-day," which I sign. I began it when I bought the Washington Times. The regular editorial column in the Hearst newspapers is printed anonymously, but I write a column every day, which I call "To-day," that I started when I bought the Washington Times, and that Mr. Hearst has used in some of his newspapers.

Maj. HUMES. Was Mr. Augustus Beach one of the editorial writers?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not know him.

Maj. HUMES. You don't know him?

Mr. BRISBANE. I never heard of him.

Maj. HUMES. Was Mr. Carvallo an editorial writer?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; he was the general business manager.

Maj. HUMES. Of which paper?

Mr. BRISBANE. Of all the Hearst papers.

Maj. HUMES. Who controlled the set-up of the paper and the selecting of the editorials and the arrangement of them?

Mr. BRISBANE. All newspapers have a night man in charge, a night managing editor, who decides the different pages—the editorial page being in charge of one man, the sporting page in charge of another man, and the news page in charge of another. They use their judgment. It is a part of the mechanical-editorial end of it.

Maj. HUMES. Did Mr. Hearst himself frequently control those set-ups of the editorials?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not know, because I am never in the morning American's office. The editorial page is made up at night. I should think that quite often he would tell what he wanted done.

Maj. HUMES. You do not know, as a fact, then, that he frequently did designate the style of set-up for the editorials?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; I do not. It can only be done at night. I am never in my office after 5 or 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and the morning paper is made up between 6 o'clock and midnight.

Maj. HUMES. To whom would Mr. Hearst give directions of that kind?

Mr. BRISBANE. It might be any one of a dozen men. It might be Col. Van Hamm, or Mr. Ranck, or it might be Mr. Palmer, in charge of the editorial page. He might telephone, and he would give instructions to anybody that he got on the telephone to tell somebody else—the instruction would be given to whoever happened to come along.

Maj. HUMES. In writing editorials for the Hearst publications, did your editorials sometimes appear in the Deutsches Journal?

Mr. BRISBANE. I believe they sometimes published editorials on Sunday that I wrote. Those were essays on moral questions, with large cartoons. I believe they reprinted those, although I never saw them. Whatever I wrote for Mr. Hearst could be printed in any of his publications that chose to use it.

Maj. HUMES. The Deutsches Journal is still being printed?

Mr. BRISBANE. No.

Maj. HUMES. When was it discontinued?

Mr. BRISBANE. I think about the time the war broke out Mr. Hearst stopped it. I never had any connection with it. Mr. Hearst bought the Deutsches Journal when he bought the Journal; the two things existed at the same time.

Maj. HUMES. I call your attention to some alleged reprints of editorials of yours, and ask you to look them over and tell us if they are correct quotations of those editorials.

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not know whether they are mine. It would be rather hard to say from an extract. Let me see. Yes: I think this one is mine [indicating], in which I objected to the movement that men of German names could not be sent over as Red Cross nurses. I think so. I am not certain, because it does not seem exactly like my style. But I remember I felt it was very strange that a woman who was born in America, because she had a German name, could not go as a nurse in the Red Cross. I still think so.

These are extracts taken from different editorials. This I did not write, for instance [indicating]. I am sure it is not my style. But a separate line is hard to identify, when you consider that I write every day in the year four or five thousand words of matter; I could not be certain whether a certain paragraph is mine or not.

In this paragraph here I say, "When dear old England made a bargain with Japan, she has bargained with somebody a little bit smarter than herself." I think that is true. Japan is about the smartest of the nations, diplomatically.

I should say that, as a rule, those are accurate quotations—isolated quotations from my editorials. However, I would like to have you look at the editorials I have written and have these checked up.

The question is not between America and England. The question is between America and Germany; and my editorials dealing with Germany are the matters to be considered.

Senator NELSON. Suppose you take those articles and mark those that you do not recognize as yours, which have not been published in the paragraphs of the Times.

Mr. BRISBANE. I should like to take them and have the committee see the editorials of which they were a part. It is rather difficult to judge of an editorial by a brief extract of this kind.

Senator NELSON. Those are taken from the first column of the first page.

Mr. BRISBANE. Are they?

Senator NELSON. Yes; which is a lot of paragraphs.

Senator WOLCOTT. Not altogether. Are they from the New York Tribune?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. Yes.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have taken the pains, with a great deal of care, to check up those quotations with the excerpts that Mr. Brisbane has sent in here, and generally speaking they are from the "To-day" column.

Mr. BRISBANE. They are?

Senator WOLCOTT. Those quotations. But now and then they are from the editorial page.

Mr. BRISBANE. I dare say these are correct quotations. Is there anything in favor of Germany in any of these quotations? Because if there is, I did not write it.

Maj. HUMES. I confess that I have not read them all myself.

Senator WOLCOTT. I want to say to Mr. Brisbane, now, that I read those excerpts, as they are gotten together, in your hand there, and my impression, the impression that was made upon my mind, was that your newspaper, the Washington Times, was—how shall I express it? I will not say engaged in propaganda, but at all events that you were saying things that I thought were not designed to be helpful to America, but inciting, often, against England and Japan, and decrying war, and so on. But, recognizing the lack of value of excerpts, detached from the whole context in the series of editorials, I went to a great deal of pains to read all of these quotations in your paper.

Mr. BRISBANE. I am very much obliged to you, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. And the net result of it all, to my mind, is that no man can justly say that you have been engaged in any pro-Germanism.

Mr. BRISBANE. I am very much obliged to you.

Senator WOLCOTT. I started out with a different impression, I confess.

Mr. BRISBANE. Thank you very much.

I have never worked as earnestly in my life at anything as I have at this effort to inspire Americans, those that read my newspapers, who are of all classes, and who run into millions. I have the opportunity of talking, every day, to at least six million or seven million people in the United States, because I have at least that number of readers of the papers.

Senator STERLING. Do you not think the tendency of some of these editorials of yours was to discourage the American people in this war—to break down the morals of the American people?

Mr. BRISBANE. Quite the contrary, Senator. My intention and desire, and I feel the tendency was to protect victory.

Senator STERLING. Let me call your attention to one or two quotations here. On July 8, for example, you say——

Mr. BRISBANE. 1918?

Senator STERLING. 1917; a short time, as I understand it, after you acquired the paper?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. "The European nations are bankrupt, engaged in the murder game. They don't know how to stop."

Of course that blames the European nations generally—all of them—our allies, then, as well as Germany; and it is called, indiscriminately, a "murder game" and our allies are engaged in the game of murder, as well as our opponents.

A little further, on August 16, you say:

Is this civilized word to be nothing more than a field of death? And Europe, so glorious and flourishing, is it going, as if stricken by universal madness, to run to the abyss, and to lend its hand to its own suicide?

And then, on August 20, you speak of it as "the game of murder."

Now, on July 28, you say:

Don't you wish you had such an uncle? Uncle Sam figures that he must lend $500,000,000 a month to his allies, and our financiers told us that we could not possibly have Government ownership of railroads, because the country could not afford it. We can afford more for international murder than for national organization.

Does not that attribute international murder to the United States?

Mr. BRISBANE. No, I do not think so, Senator. I do not think anybody could read these editorials and find anything but the most earnest approval of the war.

This is calling attention to the fact that when it was a question of the Government taking over the railroads, or taking over public property, that those who opposed it said it was impossible that any such amount of money could be raised, and that that which could not be done for peace purposes had been surpassed for war purposes. Of course I say war is a game of murder.

Senator STERLING. We could not make this loan, or afford to make this loan, according to your contention, because we were in this war, and because we were in this war—that is the plain inference—we were engaged in international murder?

Mr. BRISBANE. I think that war is international murder. How would you define international murder?

Senator STERLING. Would you think that, under the circumstances, that was a good idea—we being engaged in war at the time—to inculcate in the minds of the American people?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not presume to teach the American people, or to do anything more than comment. If a man writes every day, he makes a great many mistakes, and especially if he writes very rapidly. But I say—and I am very glad, indeed, to have the Senator from New Jersey confirm my earnest intention—that these editorials are the strongest effort that I could make, and I think as strong as anybody in my profession could make, to make Americans want to go through with this war and win it.

Senator STERLING. In all these excerpts and these editorials, I have not seen a word, or at least I do not now recall having seen a

word, in which you spoke about the justice of America's cause in this war—not one word.

Senator WOLCOTT. I think you will find numerous instances, Senator.

Senator STERLING. But you speak of it as "international murder."

Mr. BRISBANE. I think you will find numerous instances. I think there are a great many. I believe you have found it so, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. Yes; I think you can pick out a great many, Senator, to bear that out.

I confess, as I said a moment ago, that you can select sentences and paragraphs from this great series of editorials and comments, and put them together so as to make it look like Mr. Brisbane had been pursuing a plan of inflaming the public mind in this country against war. But, as I read the whole series, and got through with them, that impression has entirely gone from my mind. That one editorial that you just read, Senator, I remember very distinctly. I tried to analyze the psychology of Mr. Brisbane as he wrote that. I rather gathered that Mr. Brisbane was trying to emphasize the point that it was foolish to argue that we could not afford to take over the railroads, and, being a skillful journalist, he seized upon this rather striking comparison of the cost of the railroads, with the amount of money we were lending to the allies. That is about the way I interpreted his ideas. I should not have done that, if I had been writing for a newspaper. I should not have used that particular comparison for fear that it might be twisted in some way. Yet I do not think it is pro-Germanism.

Mr. BRISBANE. If it was bad judgment on my part, as the Senator intimates, you must consider that I write an editorial every day of my life, seven days a week, for an evening paper, and that I write an article every morning, seven days a week, for a morning newspaper, and, in addition, I run newspapers in different places; and I write under pressure. I dictate to the phonograph, or to a rapid stenographer, and my chief difficulty is to read the stuff after I have written it. If I have a good stenographer, I frequently do without reading it. Just as I talk very rapidly now, I write under pressure, and it would be difficult for me to write every day for 30 years, and to write throughout this war, without having done things which might be condemned or which might be susceptible of a false interpretation.

Senator STERLING. Does it not occur to you now that the average reader, reading a statement like that—the average American citizen—might come to the conclusion, or would come to the conclusion, that the editor at least believed that America was engaged in international murder?

Mr. BRISBANE. No; I do not think it would be possible, Senator. I think that my articles are read by people who read them continually; they are not read occasionally by Senators, who might not bother much with reading editorials and who are busy with other matters; but they are read by the masses of the population, who read them every day.

Senator WOLCOTT. Interrupting you for a moment right there: Does not that emphasize the duty of the editor to be extremely careful what he says?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes, undoubtedly. But it is to be remembered that it is not what a man gets by one paragraph or by three lines, isolated from the context, but what the reader gets at the end of a week, or at the end of a month, or at the end of a year.

Senator STERLING. You contend that you have been strongly anti-German from the beginning?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Senator STERLING. Do you think that an attack upon our strongest and greatest ally in this war is a good way to show your opposition to Germany and Germany's course?

Mr. BRISBANE. I do not know exactly what you have in mind, Senator, but I think that telling the truth to grown men is important at all times. I have not a bit of friendship for Germany, and never have had; and in this, as in regard to other matters, I have written what I thought to be the fact for American readers.

Senator STERLING. Let me call your attention to an extract published in the paper of August 14, 1917:

> How many millions do we want to spend? How many men do we want to kill, in order to get not only the peace that would satisfy us, but the peace that would satisfy England and the other allies? Which is the dominating voice in the peace making question? Is it the voice of America, which is now paying the bills, supplying the food, and asking nothing but an end of murder? Is it the voice of England, not always renowned for her unselfishness?

Now, is not that an editorial calculated to arouse suspicion of England, or opposition to England, calculated to weaken our force and our spirit in this war?

Mr. BRISBANE. I think it is calculated to arouse thought on the part of public officials and on the part of the general public, and I think that is extremely important. I thought then, and I think now, that it is very important to know whether this country controls the making of peace and other questions, or whether England controls them.

I say England has not always been renowned for her unselfishness. Is it her unselfishness that has given her Canada on the north, or that has given her her empire?

Senator OVERMAN. England is not entirely unselfish now?

Mr. BRISBANE. No. And I hope, Senator, you will keep this in mind after this peace treaty is over. I think England will come out of this—and I think she deserves it—much better off than when she began. Should not Americans have a right to express an opinion on that subject?

Senator STERLING. If you were so anti-German from the start, must you not conclude that England, indeed before we got into the war, was, in a way, fighting our own battles?

Mr. BRISBANE. I did not conclude that England was fighting our own battles. I concluded that England was attacked by Germany, and was defending herself.

Senator NELSON. Did you not realize, Mr. Brisbane, that if Germany should succeed in conquering and destroying England and France, that it would give Germany absolute control in Europe, and that we would be at her mercy? Did that never dawn on you?

Mr. BRISBANE. Oh, yes; Senator. It dawned on me, and I talked it over with Mr. Hurley, the head of the Shipping Board, and I told him that I believed they fought the battle of civilization, which is more important than her selfish battle.

I should not like to think that any individual seriously went into this war to defend himself against an attack from Germany; but the Germans were killing innocent and unprotected people.

Mr. Hurley said:

If the Germans want to come and attack us by sea, I would build a dock for them. If they tried to come over the sea, I would be glad to build a dock for them, and see them try to land.

Senator NELSON. We have demonstrated, in this war, one thing, and that is that a big army can be transported across the Atlantic Ocean.

Mr. BRISBANE. When it has the fleet of England to help them to do it, and a friendly base to land the armies upon. If the Germans arrived here they would not have that advantage.

Senator NELSON. But the Germans were trying to get a base in Mexico. That would have given them a base?

Mr. BRISBANE. Undoubtedly. I do not think I feel any differently than you do in regard to that matter. And I believe my articles will bear that out. I am glad the Senator from Delaware took the trouble to read them, as he has stated. My articles are the strongest anti-German articles that could be written. They may not all have been looking upon England as unselfish, I will admit. I hope she will get everything she wants—colonies and all, if she can take care of them. I hope we will not get them. But, as an American, I do not see why, when I am writing for American citizens, I should not discuss even England. The English papers do not hesitate to discuss anything or anybody, as you know, I am sure. They retain freedom of discussion, in war as in peace.

Senator WOLCOTT. I have heard the kernel of that idea expressed in conversations with prominent men here in Washington, though perhaps not quite so forcibly; that is to say, we ought not to fight any longer than the broad necessities of the case require; that we ought not to continue for the sake of getting England something she might want.

Mr. BRISBANE. I think this is the greatest country, and its interests are paramount, and that it should decide things affecting itself.

Senator OVERMAN. Is there anything else, gentlemen?

Senator NELSON. Do you not want to put these papers in the record, Maj. Humes?

Maj. HUMES. I understood they were to be checked up first.

Mr. BRISBANE. Do you wish me to check all of these?

Senator OVERMAN. You can not do that now.

Mr. BRISBANE. Oh, no; it would take me quite a long time. Shall I do it, and mark those that are mine?

Maj. HUMES. Yes; mark the ones that you are the author of.

Mr. BRISBANE. Everything that I have written is in a certain book.

Senator OVERMAN. They are published in the Times?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes; the Washington Times.

Senator NELSON. From the time you became the owner of it?

Mr. BRISBANE. Yes.

Maj. HUMES. And also state whether or not you are the author.

Senator NELSON. Yes; that should be stated.

Mr. BRISBANE. It has been suggested that doubtless the committee would be glad to have me emphasize the strong opinions I have

written on the other side. As a matter of fact, here are 130 articles, all of them violently anti-German, strongly anti-German, and a little newspaper which belongs to the class that I mentioned where the proprietor marries money with which to buy it, and he selects from my articles certain extracts and brings them to the Senators and makes rather a poor case by picking out, here and there, something which is not quite friendly enough to England.

I went to school in this country before I went to school in France, and I had the impression that an American was allowed to express his opinion as to England, or as to Japan, or as to any other country, provided he was loyal to his own country, and when he was talking to intelligent American citizens.

Senator WOLCOTT. I was about to suggest, myself, that if these other articles are to go into the record you should have an opportunity to select such other articles expressing your opinions as you might care to file with the committee.

Mr. BRISBANE. Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator WOLCOTT. That is entirely by way of suggestion. I should favor your having the opportunity to put in any extracts or writings of yours that you wish to file.

Senator OVERMAN. You have the right to put anything you want to.

Mr. BRISBANE. I am not anxious to encumber the record, gentlemen. I have such possibilities of publicity, as I said before, that I can reach millions every day, and I can create opinion, if I am on the right side.

Senator OVERMAN. But in our report, if we are going to put this in, do you not think it would be best to have submitted to us also such articles as you may desire to put in? We do not want to encumber the record; we would like to have it complete.

Mr. BRISBANE. I shall be very glad to select certain of my writings and submit them as indicative of my attitude in this matter.

Senator STERLING. I do not know what has been done in this record, as I have been out a part of the time, but I think there are other statements made by Mr. Brisbane in the Washington Times here which I have not called his attention to. I do not know whether any one else has called his attention to them or not, but I believe they should go into the record.

Senator OVERMAN. Anything you want, Senator, can go into the record.

Senator STERLING. Very well.

Maj. HUMES. I did not go over the editorials, because I knew Senator Wolcott was making a study of those editorials.

Senator OVERMAN. Yes; I appointed the Senator a committee to do that.

Maj. HUMES. I did not have the time to read them, and I have not given them any close attention.

Senator WOLCOTT. I assumed the gratuitous task of preparing to harrow Mr. Brisbane on cross-examination on these editorials; and I confess my inability to do it, after having read them.

Senator OVERMAN. Is there anything else, gentlemen? Do you desire to file anything further?

Mr. BRISBANE. Not at this time.

Senator STERLING. I would like to go over these and submit them for the record to-morrow. I shall not have time to do it now.

Senator OVERMAN. There are no other questions that you want to ask, Maj. Humes?

Maj. HUMES. No other questions, Senator. I think everything I had here has been covered.

Senator OVERMAN. That is all, then we will adjourn until half past 10 to-morrow.

Mr. Brisbane, do you desire to come down in the morning to present these articles? If so, you may do so.

Mr. BRISBANE. May I send them in, Senator?

Senator OVERMAN. Yes.

(Thereupon, at 5.25 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10.30 o'clock a. m. to-morrow, Friday, December 6, 1918.)

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APPENDIX.

The following numbered exhibits, between 5 and 81, inclusive, they being from the correspondence of the United States Brewers' Association, are offered in evidence.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 5.

(From Andreae's files by subpoena. Copy.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. President, Edward A. Schmidt; vice presidents—1st, Gustave Pabst; 2nd, Louis B. Schram; 3rd, John Gardiner; treasurer, Gustav W. Lembeck; secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 11, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
418 Western Union Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg to enclose, for your consideration, copy of letter from Mr. Hugo A. Koehler, President of the Independent Breweries Co., Saint Louis, and copy of my reply thereto. I cannot find any record of our having given any endorsement to the "Neue Zeitung", which is referred to in the correspondence.

Yours very truly,

FT
Enc.

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 6.

(From Andreae's files by subpoena. Copy.)

[The Independent Breweries Company. Suite 934 Pierce Bldg.]

SAINT LOUIS, *Nov. 7, 1913.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We have recently been solicited by a representative of G. Schubert of New York for subscriptions to the publication called the "Neue Zeitung." He claimed to have the endorsement of the United States Brewers' Association, and upon information from Mr. Vahlkamp, of the Lemp Brewing Co., confirming his statement, we, in common with other brewers in this city, have extended to Mr. Schubert a limited amount of assistance.

The thought occurs to me in connection with this paper that great care and discrimination should be exercised by brewers before they give their support to new publications. Many so-called anti-prohibition organs have sprung up like mushrooms throughout the country recently. In my opinion their influence on public sentiment is insignificant, and in many cases they have been started merely for the purpose of making a living out of brewers, liquor dealers, and others engaged in kindred lines.

I hope you will not construe these remarks as a reflection on either the above publication or the support which the Association has given it. I only want to convey the idea that it might be advisable to warn brewers to give their support to the old and tried publications instead of new ones, unless the latter have been thoroughly investigated, and not only have a good field to work in, but have ability and sufficient financial backing behind them.

Would it not be worth while of the Association's new Publicity Department to compile a list of meritorious publications in the United States representing liberal thought?

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HUGO A. KOEHLER, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 7.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

Nov. 11, 1913

Mr. HUGO A. KOEHLER,
President The Independent Breweries Company,
Suite 934 Pierce Building, Saint Louis, Mo.

MY DEAR MR. KOEHLER: This is in answer to your letter of November 7th about the "Neue Zeitung."

The Rev. Dr. J. Schubert to whom you refer, came to us with credentials from brewers in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and I understand that he is a minister in high standing in the German Lutheran Church, and is said to be highly regarded by the leaders of the German American Alliance. He turned up at our Convention after previous preliminary conferences with Mr. Andreae, Mr. Gardiner, and others, and I was finally instructed to advance him $300, to enable him to pay his expenses in getting to some important church meeting in Saint Louis.

At the Convention he made the acquaintance of a number of our people, and I recall seeing him at dinner with some of the leading brewers, amongst whom I think were Mr. Clauss and Mr. Vahlkamp. How he got in touch with them I do not know, as I was too busy with Convention matters to give him any attention myself.

His paper is, of course, an experiment, as any new publication would be. I understand that it is to be published weekly, and is to act as an interpreter of progressive ideas to the German people of the United States, advocating the separation of the Church and State, and upholding personal liberty. Whether there is any particular field for such a publication in addition to the other German American periodicals that already exist, I do not know, but my impression is that the important question in this case is the personality of Dr. Schubert, which may or may not be an affair of any national consequence.

I appreciate your writing me so frankly, and will put the matter before Mr. Andreae and Mr. Gardiner, as it seems to come under their purview.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

FT

EXHIBIT No. 8.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 11, 1913*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE.
418 Western Union Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: You will, perhaps, remember my speaking to you about Gus Myers, the Socialist writer who is now in Canada.

I enclose copy of his letter of November 12th, together with copies of some of his work.*

Yours very truly, H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF/FT
Enc. * Under separate cover.

EXHIBIT No. 9.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *November 17, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
418 Western Union Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose a letter of November 7th from "Der Deutsche Kulturtraeger." Mr. Bevington, who translates foreign matter for us, reports upon the publication as per copy herewith. Before turning the mat-

ter down entirely, I thought it would be advisable to put it up to you. I am also sending you a copy of "Der Deutsche Kulturtraeger" for September, 1913. Will you kindly return the matter, with your comment?

I am enclosing herewith copy of a confidential report concerning DR. J. Schubert, a German Lutheran minister connected with a German paper entitled: "Die Neue Zeitung." You will remember him at Atlantic City.

Very truly yours,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

2 enc.
HFF/GT

EXHIBIT No. 11.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

[American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers, Woolworth Building.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 17, 1913.*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS'N.
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I beg to acknowledge receipt of the circular letter which you are sending out to your members, in regard to the American Leader and the work we are doing, for which please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation.

We hope that your members will do something for us to help us carry on the work we have undertaken.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) L. N. HAMMERLING,
President.

EXHIBIT No. 14.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 21, 1913.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE.
418 Western Union Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose for your information copy of my letter of today to the Secretary of the Illinois State Brewers' Association, also copy of the letter from the Rev. H. M. Brooks referred to therein.

Very truly yours,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF/W
Encl.

EXHIBIT No. 15.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

Nov. 21, 1913.

MR. WILLIAM LEGNER,
Secretary, Illinois State Brewers' Association,
1021 Schiller Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. LEGNER: I enclose herewith copy of a letter sent to Mr. Richard Bartholdt by the Rev. H. M. Brooks of Paris, Ill. It occurs to me that possibly you may be able to make some use of him in your State? In any event we should like to have a line on him. If he is a man in high standing and has actually been boycotted by his church because of his views on the prohibition question, it would form the basis of a good article, and I should think he would be useful to the Liberty Leagues.

Very truly yours,

_____,
Secretary.

HFF/W
Encl.

EXHIBIT No. 16.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

PARIS, ILLS., *Nov. 6, 1913.*

Mr. RICHARD BARTHOLDT,

HONORED SIR: I am a minister of thirty years experience. Have held one pastorate of six years, another seven and another of ten, and I have married more than 800 couples, and conducted more than 1,300 funerals. I mention this that you may see that I have had some experience.

Four years ago while doing Evangelistic work I was asked during a revival service to preach a sermon in favor of Local Option and I respectfully declined, but the matter was pressed until I was compelled to tell them plainly that "I do not believe in Local Option" and from that time until this day the church has not given me a week's work. I was getting $50.00 per week and expenses when this boycott was begun and since then I have had nothing only the little work I could gather up here and there.

Local Optionists and Prohibitionists will not meet me in debate on the questions; they fight like *gorillas.*

My proposition is that Prohibition either local or general is *unscriptural, has no foundation* in *equity* and is therefore ethically wrong. The Bibles common sense and experience all teach and commend the legitimate use and condemn the illegitimate use of all intoxicants just the same as all other things that God created. The people should be taught moderation in all things. Drunkenness is a one-sided question—nobody believes in it, and the sale of all intoxicants should be regulated by law. What I want to ask you is this: Is there any way for a man to get enough to eat and wear for advocating the rights of man in this country? Or is the embargo placed so heavily on freedom that a man who is outspoken in its advocacy must starve?

I write this at the instance of some of my life long friends. If I had a little help I could go where I please and preach what I please. Unless there is something done in this country we will be controlled by hypocrites and fanatics in a few years. I have *pity* for the *fanatic* and *contempt* for the *hypocrite.*

I am enclosing one of my circulars that you may see something of my standing as a man and as a minister.

Please excuse this long letter, and if you think it worth while, let me hear from you.

Very kindly,

H. M. BROOKS.

EXHIBIT No. 17.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 25, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,

3357 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant containing your comments on the Deutsche Kulturtraeger and on Dr. Schubert's work. I have made note of same for our information files so that we can refer to them at a later date if it is necessary.

I have instructed the office to note your change of address and in the future we will address all communications to you at the Michigan Avenue address.

Thanking you for the information in your letter, I am,

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

GT/W

EXHIBIT No. 19.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

DECEMBER FOURTH, 1913.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,

United States Brewers Ass'n., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to your favor relative to the letter from Mr. Hammerling, I would suggest that you write him that you understand I have communicated with him on the subject he refers to.

I want, first, to have some assurance regarding the character of articles that are to appear in the American Leader, before inviting our people to subscribe to the paper. If this assurance is satisfactory, I propose to endeavor to interest the brewers individually in the American Leader.

I have a twofold object in doing this. In the first place, I believe that the brewer himself should read and familiarize himself with the purposes of the American Leader, and he is more likely to do so if he subscribes for the paper, and adds a few subscriptions for people whom he thinks will benefit by reading it; and, secondly, I want to get the individual brewer in touch with the work we are doing along these lines.

I am, therefore, having sets of envelopes addressed, not only to the brewers, but to the distillers and wholesale liquor dealers, and shall from time to time, as I intimated in my talk in Atlantic City, appeal to them individually for assistance and co-operation in my work. This will serve the double purpose of informing them as to the progress of that work, and interesting them in its details. I have some hope, moreover, that by constantly keeping in touch with *all* brewers, I may succeed in bringing a few more into our national association.

Very truly yours.

GMH/MW.

EXHIBIT No. 20.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Woolworth Building, New York.]

Nov. 29, 1913.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York City.

GENTLEMEN: We beg to confirm telephone conversation of the 28th inst., and state that beginning with the December 11th issue, Hon. Charles Nagel, ex-secretary of Commerce and Labor will contribute articles on Personal Liberty to The American Leader, and we will inaugurate a campaign to have the foreign language press re-publish the articles, which we believe will have a far-reaching effect on your industry.

As we are not in a position to defray all these expenses, the writer while in Chicago, explained to Mr. Percy Andreae how the situation could be overcome, which is to have your 1500 breweries subscribe to four copies of The American Leader each issue. This would make 6000 copies per issue at $2.00 for each subscription, per year, making a total of $12,000 for one year. Of course, you could pay this in monthly installments or at one time. This would give us an opportunity to make up the translations and do the work properly.

I would greatly appreciate if you would take this matter up with your officers and advise us as soon as possible, so that we do not lose any time, as we are not only doing it for your interest, but for the interest of our people whom we must defend.

Awaiting your commands, we are, very truly yours,

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS,
L. M. HAMMERLING, *President.*

P. S.—Find enclosed clipping from a Detroit paper which will give you an idea of how we are working to create a better feeling among our people.

EXHIBIT No. 25.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Dec. 13, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Hammerling has asked us to furnish him with an article in about two weeks, to be translated into various foreign languages,

and printed with editorial comment, in about 600 pages. Of course we shall be glad to do so, and I have notified him accordingly; but wish you would let me know whether this is in accordance with your arrangement with him.

Very truly yours,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF/W.

EXHIBIT No. 26.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

DECEMBER 15, 1913.

To HUGH F. FOX,

U. S. Brewers' Ass'n., 50 Union Square, New York City.

I wired Hammerling on December eleventh that I would supply desired articles, and have arranged accordingly.

ANDREAE.

(Telephoned. J. L.)

EXHIBIT No. 30.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. President, Edward A. Schmidt; vice presidents—1st, Gustave Pabst; 2nd, Louis B. Schram; 3rd, John Gardiner; treasurer, Gustav W. Lembeck; secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *Jan. 12, 1914.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,

3357 So. Michigan Ave.,

Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose letter of January 9th from Der Deutsche Kulturtraeger of Grand Haven, Michigan, with copy of my reply for your information.

I have written to Mr. Gordon of the Michigan Brewers' Association, for information about the publication, but you will note that it is a new venture, and therefore an experiment!

Yours very truly,

FT

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 31.

(From Andreae's file by subpœna.)

[Translation.]

On the letter-head of "Der Deutsche Kultur Traeger" (The German Culture Courier) to the United States Brewers' Association, New York:

JANUARY 9, 1914.

HONORED GENTLEMEN: I most humbly allow myself to remind you that I have as yet no answer to my letter of November 7th, 1913, of last year, in which I offered to you my support in your battle against the proposed national prohibition proposition in return for a certain consideration. My friend Dr. Frederick Grosse of New York who in response to my request was to speak to you personally on this subject was not admitted to see the gentlemen who have charge of the matter because the latter were occupied at the time.

I inform you that Dr. Grosse will attempt to talk with you again on the matter and I trust that the gentlemen in question will find the time to receive Dr. Grosse.

My offer is as follows: I am prepared to place at your disposal in every number of my monthly publication from three to four pages in the editorial part. Either you send me the articles that you wish to have printed or I will

write them myself. In return for this you order 5,000 copies of my monthly at the regular annual subscription price less a rebate of 50%, making a cost to you, therefore, of $1.00 per subscription. If you wish to double the quantity of the propaganda I am prepared to furnish you 10,000 annual subscriptions at the total price of $7,500. The Deutsche Kultur Traeger would then immediately appear in an edition of 15,000, which would continually be increased.

The Brewer's interests are facing serious times and they should not overlook a publication which in its first year has become popular. It is true that from my own private convictions I am against prohibition in any form but I can not understand why I should carry on your battle without any recompense while other newspapers and publications are receiving very considerable campaign funds from you.

I beg to refer you to Mr. Joseph Uhlein, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, of the Schlitz Brewing Company.

Awaiting your further advices,

Respectfully your humble servant,

(Signed) FRED R. MINUTH.

EXHIBIT No. 32.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

NEW YORK, *Jan. 12, 1914.*

Mr. FRED. R. MINUTH,
Der Deutsche Kulturtraeger, Grand Haven, Mich.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of the 9th instant, I beg to say that you are evidently under a misapprehension. We do not do any advertising, nor do we contribute "campaign funds" to any newspapers or periodicals. I would suggest, however, that you write to Mr. Percy Andreae, and send him copy of your publication, as he is in closer touch with the advertising brewers than I am.

Yours very truly,

FT ——— ———, *Secretary.*

P. S.—Mr. Percy Andreae's address is 3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

EXHIBIT No. 33.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Jan. 20, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The editor of the German Edition of the New York Herald is going to publish a 50th Anniversary issue on March 15th, and has asked us for data for a long editorial in reference to the relation of the German people to the brewing industry of the United States.

We can, of course, furnish him with the data from this office, but if you prefer to handle the matter direct, kindly let me know.

Awaiting your reply, I am,

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF/ED

EXHIBIT No. 34.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 23RD, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
United States Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to your favor of January 20th, please deal with the matter of the anniversary edition of the German New York Herald from your

end. I have no data bearing upon the subject, and matters of this kind are so entirely within the scope of publicity which the U. S. Brewers' Association is equipped to undertake that to delegate this work to anyone else would, in my opinion, be very inexpedient.

Yours very truly,

——— ———.

PA/W

EXHIBIT No. 36.

(From Andreae's files by subpoena. Copy.)

THE PH. ZANG BREWING CO.,
Denver, Colo., Febr. 3rd, 1914.

Mr. H. F. Fox, *Sec'y.*,
New York City.

DEAR SIR: In perusing the "Current Thought" under date of January 17th, which I understand to be the mouthpiece of the Chicago "Wets", I was horrified to read an article on page 4 entitled "The Liquor Business". Although most of what this article states may be true, it is absolutely suicidal to print it. You can imagine with what joy the "Drys" will republish this article all over the United States as soon as a copy gets into their possession.

This periodical "Current Thought" should at once suspend publication as instead of doing good it is only injuring the cause, and if you have any influence with the organization backing same, wish that you would use it toward this end. I have read this publication for some time and before the date of the terrible mistake referred to, had reached the conclusion that the publication was absolutely worthless. We look for a State Wide Prohibition fight in Colorado this year and the re-printing of this article would do incalculable injury.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) GEO. H. KAUB,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 43.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Mar. 27, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Will you look at the April number of Everybody's Magazine, and note their announcement regarding their Symposium on Rum? We have sent a short article outlining the attitude of the U. S. B. A., and the distillers have done the same, and I am arranging to have a number of articles sent in by writers of high standing. However, the Magazine wants particularly to hear from non-professional writers, and, of course, the whole plan is to build up its circulation, and interest its readers. I should think it would be well to have some of the liberal organizations and foreign societies represented in the Symposium, and also to have the matter dealt with from the standpoint of personal liberty. I understand that Everybody's has a circulation of some 400,000 copies, and think the Symposium may be made valuable to us, if we can over-balance the "other side".

Can you get Windle to write something also?

Prompt action is necessary.

Yours very truly,

H. F. Fox,
Secretary.

HFF/ED

EXHIBIT No. 44.

(From Andreae's files by subpoena. Publicity.)

APRIL 23RD, 1914.

Mr. E. SCHMIDT,
President, U. S. Brewers Association, 50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: I beg to notify you of the following developments since I last reported progress.

On April 14, at the invitation of the American Hotel Protective Association of the United States and Canada, I made an address before the convention of that Association on the subject of Nation-wide Prohibition and its effect upon the American Hotels and their patrons, and obtained the unanimous passage of a resolution by which the Association pledged itself to take a poll of the traveling public on the question of national prohibition.

I inclose the address and the resolution, which are being sent out by the Hotel Association to 22,000 hotels in the country. I have undertaken to organize this work, and superintend the carrying out of it in all its details.

The Labor Press of the country at its recent Convention in St. Louis passed very strong resolutions against the Hobson, Shepard and Works amendments, and the delegates present agreed with the editor of the brewery workers journal to carry on an educational campaign in their papers against the prohibition movement, the material for such campaign to be issued to the labor press generally by the Journal of the Brewery Workers. I have been asked, and have agreed, to supply the necessary articles, either weekly or bi-weekly, and arrangements to this end have already been perfected.

Yours very truly.

EXHIBIT No. 54.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

AUGUST 7, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I am obliged for your letter of the 5th inst. with enclosures.

The articles in the American Leader are now being made shorter. They have, of necessity, to be written in a style fitting the Leader itself, and are intended more for the editors of the individual papers than for their readers. Every editor has been personally seen, and been requested to use these articles as a basis for editorials worded to meet the intelligence and taste of his particular readers. In most cases this is being done, but it is manifestly impossible to write the articles in language suitable to the taste and understanding of all those whom they are intended to reach.

I wish you would let me know whether you received the 25 advance copies of the address I made in Cleveland. Everything issued from here of that kind is sent to you, and these copies should have reached you.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 55.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

AUGUST 22, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Mr. Royal E. Cabell has prepared and submitted to the Saturday Evening Post a very comprehensive article in refutation of Mr. William Allen White's statements regarding Kansas. A request has been made upon the Saturday Evening Post to print an answer from another source, and I learn today that the Editor replied that you had been asked to answer, and that he did

not care to cover the same ground twice, but, that if you should not send in your comments, he would print the article offered.

I happen to know that Cabell's article is now under the consideration of the publication committee of the Post, and suggest therefore that you delay sending in an article for a week or two, in order to prevent any clash.

I think you will agree with me that Cabell's name carries great weight. He has spent quite a time in Washington, at my suggestion, verifying statements from the government records, and the answer prepared is in every respect a clinching show-up of Mr. White.

Of course, I cannot guarantee that Cabell's article, or any other article, will appear, but Cabell speaks with quasi-governmental authority, and nothing should interfere with the chance we have of getting his statement before the public.

I am going to Atlantic City for a week's rest, and shall be at the Marlborough Blenheim from next Wednesday on.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 56.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Aug. 24, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have your letter of the 22nd with regard to Mr. Cabell and the Saturday Evening Post, but fear that it comes too late, as we sent our article to the Post last Friday. I may add that we have been trying in every possible way to break into the Saturday Evening Post, and have had articles sent to them by some of the best writers in the country, all of whom were turned down. After a correspondence extending over a month, in which we finally intimated that the William Allen White article was being used as a campaign document in a number of different States, and that it would be necessary for us to issue an open letter to the Saturday Evening Post, correcting the misstatements, and appealing to the editor as a matter of common justice and fair-play, Mr. Lorimer finally agreed to give us space for 1,000 words. Our article was based on data supplied by Mr. Koren, and supplemented by official data from Kansas itself, and by a very careful scrutiny of the files of Mr. White's paper "The Emporia Gazette." I think it will be absolutely conclusive, but, of course, it is possible that after all they may want to edit it.

If we had known that you were taking this up with Mr. Cabell, we might, of course, governed ourselves accordingly. As it is, we appear to have been working at cross purposes. The article has been answered in a number of different ways. For example in the Seattle Times and several of the California papers, and we have just arranged for an article by Dr. Williams in a Nebraska paper, but we have continued to direct our guns on the Saturday Evening Post, because we felt that the correction should have the same circulation as the original article.

Of course, if the Saturday Evening Post prefers the Cabell article, so much the better, but I think, under the circumstances, we had better wait for the editor's reply to our letter of last Friday, before doing anything further.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF/ED

EXHIBIT No. 59.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]
NOVEMBER 12, 1914.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: This is to call your special attention to the article entitled "Facts about Kansas on the Water Wagon" by the Hon. Royal E. Cabell, which appears in Leslie's Weekly of November 12th.

We believe that this article should be put before as many people as possible, and suggest that you send to Leslie's direct for as many copies as you can use, without delay.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 60.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union. Day Letter.]

NOVEMBER 9, 1914.

To HUGH F. FOX,
United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

Letter to Brewers has been issued. I cannot see that simultaneous letter from you would cause confusion. I always understood that confusion in the past has been caused owing to apparent absence of co-operation between myself and officials of the United States Brewers' Association. National wholesale liquor dealers association suggested this method of concerted action between their organization and mine.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 61.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union. Telegram.]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *Nov. 10–14.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 Michigan Ave., Chicago.

We are sending letter to brewers regarding Leslie's. Are ordering two thousand copies for own use.

H. F. Fox.

3.49 p. m.

EXHIBIT No. 62.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 11, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I received your telegram yesterday. The Chairman of our Publication Committee objected to sending out the letter you suggested, in advance of the publication of the article. However, I have secured an advance copy from Leslie's, and will now send a cautious letter to our members.

Mr. J. A. Sleicher, the Editor of Leslie's, is a personal friend of mine, and he requests, for obvious reasons, that the letter be extremely guarded.

Very truly yours,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF/W

EXHIBIT No. 67.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

MARCH 18, 1915.

Mr. E. A. SCHMIDT,
Pres., U. S. Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: From July 5 to July 10, both dates inclusive, an International Press Congress is to convene at the Exposition in San Francisco,

which will be composed of editors and publishers from all over the world. On each day there is to be one address delivered on behalf of a certain section of the world's press, and an invitation has been extended by the Exposition authorities in charge of this feature to the President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers to deliver the address on July 6, taking for his topic "The Foreign Language Newspaper in the United States."

I received yesterday the following telegram from Mr. L. N. Hammerling, President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers:

"At meeting of some of our Directors held yesterday I suggested that we shall ask you to be one of our fourteen delegates to attend the International Press Congress at San Francisco July sixth and that you shall deliver the speech on the Foreign Language Press of the United States instead of myself. Would you accept such an honor. If it is necessary that you speak as official representative of this Association we would be glad to elect you a Vice President. Wire or write at once on this matter.

"LOUIS N. HAMMERLING."

After conferring over the telephone with Mr. Hammerling I notified him of my acceptance of the offer. This is so signal a recognition of the Foreign Language Press as an important factor in the country by the Press at large, that the importance of the occasion, I think, cannot be overestimated.

Of course, the address will have to be along newspaper lines, but the opportunity to speak generally on the duties and obligations of the Press as the guardian, par excellence, of the constitutional and individual rights and liberties of the American citizen is a splendid one, while the fact that I shall appear before the Press of the country as the selected mouthpiece of the Foreign Language Press cannot but aid me materially in the prosecution of the work I am doing in that press.

Will you give this matter some thought, and if anything occurs to you that might help me in preparing my address let me know of it.

I take this opportunity to inform you that I have received and accepted an invitation to address the forthcoming Congress of American Hotel-men which convenes at Galveston, Texas, between May 3 and 6. This Congress consists of delegates from all State and local Hotel Associations in the country, and the special subject I am desired to present and discuss is the method by which the Associations of Hotel-men can join in the common defense of all those whose existence is threatened by the Prohibition movement, the object being to enlist the co-operation of the hotels throughout the country in raising a defense fund by means of the stamp scheme. Quite an influential section of the members of the National Hotel Men's Association, including the officers of the Association, are anxious to join the National Association of Commerce and Labor and put the stamp scheme in operation, and I have agreed, after the Congress adjourns, if its action shall prove favorable, to have each State Association visited, either by myself or a substitute, in order to give all necessary detailed information regarding the working of the scheme.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 68.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. President, Edward A. Schmidt; vice presidents—1st, Gustave Pabst; 2nd, Louis B. Schram; 3rd, John Gardiner; treasurer, Gustav W. Lembeck; secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *Mar. 23, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1132–38 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have your letter of March 18th, having reference to the Convention of the International Press Congress, which will be held in San Francisco July 5th to 10th, and quoting from a telegram from Mr. Hammerling, in which you are asked to deliver the speech on the Foreign Language Press of the United States for the Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. I note that you have accepted this honor, for I certainly consider it an honor, to have been selected as the mouth-piece of so important an organisation.

I also observe that you are to address the Congress of American Hotel Men, which convenes at Galveston, Texas, May 3rd. The Hotel Men, if they should become associated with the National Association of Commerce and Labor, would add very materially to its influence and strength; and, I have no doubt, would be instrumental in collecting a large sum of money, through the stamp system, for the Association. I trust that you will be able to awaken a keen interest in these gentlemen to join in the fight for our common defense.

Looking forward to seeing you at the next Board of Trustees' Meeting, when we can talk over this matter further, I remain, with kindest regards,

Very truly yours,

EDW. A. SCHMIDT.

EXHIBIT No. 69.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

MARCH 20, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Sec.*,
U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I am in receipt of your favor of the 10th inst. regarding L'Opinion Publique of Worcester, and shall be interested to learn what you hear from the Secretary of the Massachusetts Brewers' Association.

L'Opinion Publique is one of the 700 newspapers that republishes the articles on Personal Liberty which appear semi-monthly in the American Leader.

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 70.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *March 22, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have a letter from Mr. Noble of the Brewers' Association of Massachusetts, dated the 20th inst., reading as follows:

"Concerning L'Opinion Publique, I have been looking into this matter for some time, and I hope to be able to give you some facts upon which to base an opinion in a few days.

"The value of this and other French publications in Massachusetts, in my mind, depends upon two things: First as to the effectiveness of an organization known as the Cercle Lacordaire; second as to whether these French papers can combat the influence of that organization.

"The Cercle Lacordaire was organized a few years ago in Fall River. It is a temperance organization among the French similar in a way to the Catholic Total Abstinence Society among the Irish, with this difference: Cercle Lacordaire appears to be adopting a militant attitude by influencing its members to vote against license. It is claimed that this organization has caused considerable defection among the French voters of Lowell, Lawrence, Salem, Lynn, Fall River and possibly other French centers.

"The proposition of the editor of L'Opinion Publique is to run a series of counter articles in his paper, which I understand he is circulating by manner of free subscriptions to the amount of 5000 weekly. I have a man out investigating this whole situation and will have something definite to report in a few days."

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF/W

EXHIBIT No. 71.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *April 1, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE.
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing copy of letter of the 31st ult., from Mr. Howard Noble, Secretary of the Brewers' Association of Massachusetts, with the report to which he refers, which explain themselves. You will note his suggestion that you should give the papers mentioned a helping hand.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF/W
Encs.

EXHIBIT No. 72.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Copy.]

BREWERS' ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS,
March 31, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Sq., New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I enclose herewith two copies of a report which I had Mr. Pfeil make of the activities of the Cercle Lacordaire. This matter relates to the solicitation for financial support made by the French Paper, L'Opinion Publique of Worcester.

To my mind the value of this French paper and of similar French papers in Massachusetts lies in their ability to offset the activities of the Cercle Lacordaire. The French vote in this State has always been considered as being solidly for license, but I am now thoroughly convinced both as the result of Personal inquiry and of Mr. Pfeil's investigation that the Cercle Lacordaire is becoming a menace.

The activities of this Society were called to my attention originally by a French newspaper published here in Boston called L'Opinion. This is the only French Sunday paper printed in New England. The editor of it is also the editor of the French daily newspaper, L'Etoile, in Lowell. L'Opinion is a new publication and since it started has been running in every issue a strong well-written article prominently displayed devoted to our cause.

While the Cercle Lacordaire has not as yet established a branch in Worcester, there is no doubt that it shortly will, because in Worcester and the surrounding towns there is a considerable French Canadian population. L'Opinion Publique, the Worcester paper, has a circulation of 6,000 copies, so the editor says, circulating in Worcester and Worcester County. I believe that both of the papers mentioned, namely L'Opinion Publique of Worcester and L'Opinion of Boston are worthy of support by Mr. Andreae's organization. I intend to recommend to our advertising brewers that support be given to both these papers but in addition to that I feel that if Mr. Andreae can see his way clear to do so it would be well for him to give them a helping hand. Perhaps you would like to send Mr. Andreae one of the copies of Pfeil's report herewith enclosed.

These French newspapers seem to offer the only practical medium of publicity to offset the activities of the French Total Abstinence Society named. The French Canadian people as you know are not given to reading newspapers to the extent of some other nationalities. Thousands of them read only those newspapers printed in their own language. Therefore, in order to reach them we must use such French papers as are available. There are quite a few French daily and weekly newspapers in this State that have apparently become champions of the Cercle Lacordaire's cause. They uphold that cause in a very fervent spirit, such as one would never find in a newspaper printed in the English language.

Trusting that this information may be of some value to you, I am,

Very truly yours,

HOWARD NOBLE, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 73.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

(Answered Apr. 1, 1915. H. F. F.)

CERCLE LACORDAIRE.

A total abstinence society for French Catholics founded by Father Jacquemet at Fall River, Mass., Feb. 5, 1911. The society is for men only—boys of the age of discretion are also admitted. To join, it is necessary to take the oath of total abstinence before some priest. The candidate then passes through four stages of probation covering four years. There are today 22 societies in 16 cities and towns. The present membership is upwards of 2,500. There are societies in Fall River, Salem, Dodgeville, New Bedford, Lawrence, Lowell, Mass.; Manville, Central Falls, Woonsocket, Warren, Oakland, Mapleville, Centredale, Albion, Phenix, R. I.; and Manchester, N. H.

Each society has a club room which is fitted up for social entertainment. Members pay an initiation fee of which, I understand, One Dollar goes to Pere Jacquemet, the founder. In addition they pay weekly dues. The object of the Cercle Lacordaire is the promotion among French Catholics of total abstinence. It is in this respect a counterpart of the Societies already existing in the Irish Catholic Church. Members of the Cercle Lacordaire make it their duty to bring users of alcoholic drinks into the Cercle with the object of reforming them.

According to Pere Jacquemet, the Cercles do not mix up in politics or the license question, but he admitted that some of the stronger societies had a tendency to do so. When confronted with the question of "what about the saloon which you claim as the cause of drunkenness," he answered that might have to be dealt with later but that it was his desire to keep out of politics. His idea in fighting for abstinence is that in time the business of the saloon will be so damaged that it will go out of business. He believes that the people should be educated to the harm and danger of drink. To this end there is published literature in the French papers, plays are given and a monthly magazine called "Revieu Antialcoolique" (Antialcoholic Review) is published. This is the official organ of the society. An example of the sort of stuff contained in this Review is the following translation:

Errors and prejudices that must be combatted, or the truth on the subject of beer.—"There persists in certain quarters a desire to spread harmful illusions on the subject of the nutritive value of alcoholic beverages, notably beer and wine. If you have not given this subject thought until now, dear reader, here are some truths gathered from a reliable source.

"Treating of the food value of intoxicating drinks, Dr. Liebig in his 'Lettres sur la Chimie' says 'We are able to prove with mathematical certainty that the quantity of flour that one is able to put on the point of a pocket-knife possesses more nutritive value than five glasses of the best Bavarian beer, and that a person consuming daily this quantity of beer has taken, at the end of a year—and this is the most favorable case—exactly as much nutritive material as is contained in five pounds of bread or in three pounds of meat.' With no less truth, Dr. De Wilde of Brussels University says 'It would be more economical to nourish oneself on (flaut) than on beer and wine.

"Listen now to the authoritative voice of Dr. Bieufait:

"'Neither whiskey, nor brandy, nor rum, nor any spirituous liquor is nourishing I tell you, but is this also true of beer and of wine? These drinks are made of grains and of grapes. They should possess a real food value. We do not hesitate for a moment to affirm that this again is an error. Grain and grapes are nourishing. Yes; but beer and wine are not. In effect, these materials are subjected to a change, and it is precisely by these operations that the useful substances are dispersed; they have been partially transformed into alcohol. Beer of the best kind contains from three to five per cent and wine one per cent of useful materials. Bread, on the other hand, contains more than fifty per cent. The difference is colossal; beer for instance, instead of being "liquor bread," fools the stomach without assuaging hunger, because its large volume simply fills up the stomach. We note in passing that a goodly number of stomach troubles have no other origin than the use of beer and wine, and this without these drinks even having the merit to be classed among the nutrients.'"

Although Father Jacquemet, the founder, is wise enough to say that the Cercles will keep out of politics, there is no doubt that some of the stronger among them have already become active. In Lowell and Lawrence for instance the license vote seems to have been affected by work done by the Cercles. The Cercle in Lawrence has 750 members and the one in Lowell about 500. Before these Cercles were started the French people were as a rule license voters, but partly due to the strong influence and sway of the priest exerted through these Cercles this license sentiment has been changed. Each separate club has its own spiritual advisor, who is usually the parish priest. Nothing is done without the approval of this priest. It is said that the clubs get together and decide how to act and vote on certain issues. Up to the present time the Cercle Lacordaire has not come out openly against license and the saloon, but it seems impossible for it to keep out of politics. The trend in that way.

I had a long interview with Pere Jacquemet, the founder. Due to his impression that he was talking to a newspaper man for publication he was especially anxious to avoid giving the article any political complexion. It was plain, however, that in the founder's mind there was no real repugnance towards political activity by the Cercle Lacordaire; it was simply a question of not being yet ready to avow it. Judging from what I gleaned from many persons who have closely watched the operations of this Society, both from a sympathetic standpoint and otherwise, I should say that the Cercle Lacordaire is a positive political influence against the cause of license and may easily become a much more serious menace.

JOHN S. PEEL.

EXHIBIT No. 76.

(From files of U. S. B. A.)

Report of literature, March 1st to 31st, 1915.

* * * * * * *

1,593,000 Books and pamphlets printed during the month.

* * * * * * *

489,750 Books and pamphlets sent to Brewers.
826,725 Books and pamphlets sent to State & Local Associations.
37,200 Books and pamphlets sent to Private Individuals.

1,353,675

The above includes 8,000 copies of our 1914 Year Book sent to the Medical Profession.

9,600 Circular Letters were sent out (including our Monthly Bulletin.)

32 Sample Sets of Literature were distributed (including our 6 Year Books, Text Book and over 200 different pamphlets.)

18 Different pamphlets, etc., were sent out to 55 Live Wires.

In addition we have distributed 4,000 different books, pamphlets, etc., not included in our regular stock.

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EXHIBIT No. 77.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Publicity.)

APRIL 15, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec., U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I have yours of April 12th, and beg to advise that the Cabell address, as delivered in Cincinnati, on "What the U. S. Government knows about Prohibition," was forwarded by this Association to all Brewers, Distillers, all members of State Legislatures, U. S. Congress and Senate, Catholic Clergy, Rabbis, Episcopalian Rectors, and Lutheran preachers, and Presbyterian ministers.

I enclose herewith a dozen copies of this address, as per your request.

For your information, upon March 22nd, I mailed your office twenty-five copies of this address, as I thought you might want it for your files.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 78.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York, April 12, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: We are writing to inquire if your Organization has published a pamphlet—"What The Government Knows About Prohibition"—this being an Address by the Hon. Royal E. Cabell. We should be glad if we could get about six copies of the pamphlet and if you have not published it, could you give us any information as to where we might obtain the same?

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

MW.

EXHIBIT No. 80.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.
50 Union Square, New York, May 3rd, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR ANDREAE: I send you herewith copy of the report of the activities of the Publicity Department for the month of April, 1915. This is for your information.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF:JD
Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 81.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

(Publicity department, April, 1915. Confidential.)

MAY 1ST, 1915.

Mr. Stone has sailed for Europe to visit the various foreign bureaus of the Associated Press and get a line on conditions in various countries during wartime. He has secured letters from the British, French, German and Russian Ambassadors and from the State Department in Washington, and is also armed with letters to a number of the leading editors, publicists and statesmen in London, Paris, Berlin and Petrograd. For the purpose of this trip, he has been appointed by the Associated Press as a special inspector of Associated Press agencies. We expect, through this undertaking, to establish a chain of permanent correspondents who will keep us thoroughly informed as to all the developments, and, at the same time, will send items and articles of special interest to American publications.

Dr. Edward H. Williams has written an excellent article for the Medical Record on "The Peace and War Footing of Alcohol", and is now writing an article for the American Journal of Surgery.

The Metropolitan Magazine for May has an exceedingly able and important article on Billy Sunday, by John Reed, which was arranged for by the editors of the magazine at Mr. Stone's suggestion.

The American Magazine has accepted an able article by Miss Martin on the Ford Automobile plant which is the result of her recent investigations. She is now in West Virginia studying the finances and general conditions of that State under prohibition. After she completes this investigation we are planning to send her to South Carolina to study the County Dispensary Plan, and then to North Dakota to study prohibition conditions in that State.

Mr. G. Myers is now in the Province of Quebec getting material for articles on the Compensation Plan, which has been adopted there in connection with saloons that are put out of business.

Mr. J. G. Rice has an excellent article in the Louisville Journal on conditions in Tennessee, and is continuing his articles in other Southern papers.

Longmans, Green & Company are reprinting for us, Prof. Shadwell's excellent book on "Drink, Temperance and Legislation", which will be sent to all the libraries.

Mr. Koren is writing an article for Appleton & Company and for the North American Review. He writes us that the Carnegie Foundation is not to take up the liquor problem, but that their nutrition laboratory has been carrying on physiological experiments with alcohol for a number of years, and may soon publish results. The Rockefeller Foundation is not yet ready to take hold of the question. As soon as the Census Publication on Crime comes out, Mr. Koren is to prepare a hand-book for us on the latest comparative statistics relating to crime, insanity and pauperism.

In connection with our advertising campaign in Georgia, 165 letters were sent out to the country papers offering them our beer advertisements. So far only about [illegible] newspapers have accepted and about 40 rejected.

We have been writing to the various State Associations, suggesting that they take up cooperative advertising, either as associations or through groups of brewers and the matter is now being considered in several of the States in the middlewest as well as in the east. Such work has already been done most effectively in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Massachusetts, and in several of the southern States.

HERBERT S. STONE.

There is offered in evidence Exhibit No. 82, it being a memorandum prepared for Mr. Hugh F. Fox and being a part of the files of the United States Brewers' Association.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 82.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

Memo. for Mr. Fox.

From the standpoint of publicity, it would be much better to offer a series of prizes for a solution of the saloon problem to a string of newspapers or a magazine than it would to simply have the Convention offer prizes and let it go at that.

The advantages of the first mentioned scheme, I think, are obvious. If the Hearst newspapers for example, could be gotten to co-operate with the brewers for months before the awards are made, they would carry editorials and articles to stimulate interest. People would send in manuscripts and the winning articles would be widely read and discussed. On the other hand, if the U. S. B. A. offered a prize through the Convention, the Associated Press would carry a short announcement of the fact. People would be interested, but their interest would not be stimulated. If they were interested enough to submit manuscripts, a great many would not know where to send their manuscripts. As to getting the winning manuscript nation-wide circulation that would be next to impossible. The most that could be hoped for would be favorable editorial comment. Nevertheless, I think this idea of offering prizes is an excellent one if properly carried out. It ought to go far to convince the public that the brewers are really in earnest in their effort to clean up the disorderly saloon.

Another thought occurs to me on the same subject: Why not bring over to America Alexander E. Part, the young man who has so successfully managed the Public House Trust of England. He could make an extensive study of the saloon situation in this country and offer his suggestions. It is possible that something practical might come out of this visit—the organization for example of a saloon trust in America. If it did not, however, the publicity received would more than justify the outlay of money and you would be emphasizing the fact that you are in earnest about this business.

Again there is a possibility of securing the co-operation of the People's Institute in any proposition to improve the saloon. I think that Mr. Collier's pamphlet shows their attitude toward the proposition, and he might be the man to handle such a place on the lower West Side, the neighborhood in which he is particularly interested.

The suggestions above it seems to me, ought to be embodied into the settled policy of the brewers, consistently followed up and not abandoned after a few sensational and sporadic efforts have been put forth. Its effect would be twofold:

First, it would go far to convince the American people that the brewers are honestly seeking a solution of the "drink" question, not a solution that would merely place it in the same category as prostitution—that is prohibited but not disposed of.

Secondly, (and this I consider even more important). It would place the brewers squarely on the side of progress instead of being considered an obstacle in the way of progress. In other words it would become the ally—and the ally whose friendship would be appreciated—of the social reformer and of the forces of law and order generally. In this connection let me say that there is a great deal more antagonism to the brewery because of the general belief that the brewer is behind the dive saloon in politics than there is to the sale of beer.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Consistently with this general policy, the brewers, if they did not lend active aid in suffrage would not at least oppose it. Nothing it seems to me can be more short-sighted than the policy of the brewers in some States in actively opposing, and therefore, arousing the hostility of what is undoubtedly the most fanatical of all groups in American politics today. In the line of ideas, it is not only fanatical but in the practical aspects of life, it has the insiduous power of enforcing its boycott.

By leaving out of consideration its indirect power, there can be no question that suffrage will be extended to many more States within the next year. This means that the voting population of these States will be doubled. In some of the suffrage States prohibition will come and there will be the question of compensation to the brewer. Why arouse the antagonism of one half the voters? Why not educate them—and before they have the vote?

What I have said bears indirectly on the question of publicity. The work of a publicity man would be ten times easier if it were not for the hostility of the brewers toward suffrage. There are few editors, even if they were favorably inclined to the brewers, who would care to face the protests of their women subscribers by espousing the cause of the brewers.

I think the effect that the brewers attitude has had upon publicity may best be illustrated by the following incident. I had made an investigation of crooked politics in Delaware County, Pa., at the request of the Citizens' Rights Association of that county and had found the local brewer in the muck up to his neck. In my article I described the situation and expressed the resentment that the citizens naturally felt at this. I concluded by saying that if the brewers wished an explanation for the growing sentiment of prohibition they might find it in situations such as that in Delaware County.

Mr. Walter Lippmann, one of the editors of the New Republic, took sharp issue with me on my article because he thought it stood for prohibition. Prohibition he described as one of the worst movements that this country had seen, and he added that he wished he could get a good anti-prohibition article. "Of course" he said, "I can't go to the brewers for stuff."

Here was a publication against prohibition but feeling, nevertheless, that they could not come to the brewers for material. Why not go to the brewers? I think the answer is to be found in the New Republic of August 21st. The New Republic does not believe in the methods employed by the Texas brewers, who masquerading under the name of Farmers' Union et al attack woman suffrage. "The methods of the Texas Business Men's Association furnish an excellent example of how public opinion is poisoned against woman suffrage."

Lippmann, Weyl and Crowley, the three editors of the New Republic, have written books on political economy that are in use in various universities of the country. The New Republic is rapidly gaining the place held by the old Collier's as the most influential weekly in America, is quoted in newspapers throughout the country, is opposed to prohibition, yet publishes editorials that can be used by the prohibitionist and refuses to get material from the brewers because of the position taken by the brewers towards woman suffrage.

As to the other publication, exercising a nation-wide influence, there is hardly one that dares to attack the movement. Collier's, Everybody's, the Metropolitan, American and McClure's are actively for suffrage. Such publications as The Times, the Sun, and Life, that were formerly bitterly opposed, have tem-

pered the tone of their editorials in the past few years. The Ladies' Home Journal lost circulation so heavily that they were compelled to drop their anti-campaign and they have never been able to recover the lost ground.

The editor, with his finger on the circulation department, is always the first to detect signs of public disapproval. The editors of New York have taken a reef in their sails, as I have shown here, and the brewers may well take a reef in time. It may be true that in some States the brewers may be able to successfully fight woman suffrage for years, but these few should not be allowed to sacrifice the industry in other States where suffrage is strong.

From what I have written, Mr. Fox, you will see that I believe that there is as much work for your publicity man in your organization as there is outside of it.

M. MICHELSON.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 86, which is a report on the American Press Association and the desirability of securing its cooperation and utilizing its services.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as

EXHIBIT No. 86.

[2328. From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

Report on the American Press Association.

Investigation has convinced me that the American Press Association is probably the most powerful agency for influencing public opinion in the United States. Unquestionably, this is true of public opinion in the small towns and in the rural districts. The Associated Press supplies telegraphic news matter to a large number of newspapers, many of which, however, can afford to have their own staff of special correspondents, and these newspapers can thus secure the particular service they desire to suit their editorial and general policy. Moreover, the Associated Press dispatches can be scrutinized or altered by the editorial staff; they can be used, changed, or left out, according to the judgment of the news editors.

With the American Press Association, the case is very different. The Association supplies stereotype plates, notices and news matter to eleven thousand newspapers in the United States and Canada. These newspapers are small daily, bi-weekly or weekly newspapers which lack the resources to supply a news service of their own. Consequently, they use whatever is sent to them by the American Press Association, the services of which they get for a stated sum. The matter supplied by this Association comes in prepared form, generally in the form of plates. It comprises editorials, news dispatches, special articles, fiction, jokes, etc. Whatever is sent out by the offices of the Association is used by these papers, and it has an immense effect in influencing the opinion of the people in the small towns and rural districts.

The American Press Association's main office is at Nos. 45 and 47 Park Place, New York City, and it has offices in Philadelphia, Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbus, Indianapolis, St. Paul, Omaha, Des Moines, Atlanta, Dallas, San Francisco, and Portland (Oregon). Its capital stock is $1,600,000. Its officers are Jesse Holdom, president; Courtland Smith, vice-president and general manager; W. G. Brogan, assistant general manager; Albert Bernet, second assistant general manager, and J. M. Hazzard, third assistant general manager.

My attention was first attracted to the methods and influence of this Association when I was in Florida recently. Nearly every day I would go to the office of the local paper, the Sanford "Herald." This newspaper received exchange copies of all of the newspapers published in Florida. In daily going over piles of these newspapers, especially those published in the smaller cities such as Orlando, Daytona, Petersburg, etc., I was impressed with the identical nature and abundance of matter the obvious purport of which was to show the evil effects of liquor, and the progress of prohibition. This matter was "boiler-plates"—that is stereotyped matter sent out by the American Press Association. I could see how systematic press agency work was being done to discredit the brewing interests and magnify the results of prohibition. For instance, three distorted news items were artfully linked under a single head in one article. One paragraph referred to the falling off of the production of beer in Milwaukee, and ascribed it to the progress of prohibition. The next paragraph de-

scribed a murder in a vicious saloon, and the third paragraph dealt with crime caused by indulgence in liquor. This grossly distorted "news" matter appeared in all of the exchanges that I read. It was but one example of many examples. I did not come across a single article or news item telling of the defeat of the Anti-saloonists in any quarter, but I did notice a number of items telling Prohibition victories. These victories had occurred sometime before in small places, and as news were stale, but they were published as fresh news.

These facts opened my eyes to the real manner in which the rural districts were being influenced. I could begin to see the cumulative effects upon the average mind of the constant publication of such reports and articles. That they were being manipulated from a central source I could not doubt.

My inquiries in New York have confirmed that belief, and have made me realize the vast influence exerted throughout the United States by such methods. I found that the American Press Association is doubtless the most effective, although the least known, agency in this respect. Most people are not aware of its great influence; much as I know of current methods of influencing public opinion, I had never given it attention.

I found that for years the matter sent out by the American Press Association has influenced the rural population in booming publications for the Presidency and for many other political offices; in rehabilitating discredited politicians; in minimizing the force and counteracting the effect of damaging legislative investigations; in creating popularity for certain men or measures, and in hundreds of similar ways.

One specific instance that I heard of on the best of authority was that of Mark Hanna's using this means to make McKinley the Republican nominee long before McKinley's nomination in 1896. A certain writer was employed by Hanna to write Democratic editorials for the Democratic newspapers in the service of the American Press Association. In these editorials McKinley's stand on the tariff and other questions was severely attacked. The same writer, at the same time, was employed to write Republican editorials for the Republican newspapers in the service of the American Press Association, warmly defending McKinley's views and personality. This persistent campaign made McKinley the Republican issue, in the mind of the rural population, long previous to the Republican convention of 1896, and prepared the way for his nomination, and in fact practically insured it.

The insurance legislative investigations of 1895 revealed, I find, a regular system of counteracting the effects of that investigation. During the great coal strike of 1902, when President Baer of the Reading Railroad was being severely denounced in some of the large city newspapers, special articles and news dispatches were appearing in the "boiler plate" newspapers, eulogizing him and his career, and describing him as a popular, likeable, public spirited man. Senator Depew has been rehabilitated largely by the same means. During the recent investigation of the New York Senate into the charges of bribery made against Senator Allds, news dispatches were constantly appearing in the "boiler-plate" newspapers in New York State, the evident purport of which articles was to create the impression that the investigation was breaking down, and that Allds was a very much abused man.

These are a few examples of the methods of influencing public opinion. How far they are the results of a centralized system is a matter not to be determined off-hand. One can judge somewhat, however, by the evident nature of the methods. They seem to imply a regular system of insidious use of the rural newspapers for the purpose of moulding public opinion. At the general offices in New York no information can be obtained; but it is very probable that if talks are had with the managers in other cities by persons who are personally acquainted with them, some very highly interesting information could be obtained.

The following additional exhibit is also offered in evidence:

EXHIBIT No. 90.

(Copy. From U. S. B. A. Files. Newspapers.)

[Association of Indiana Brewers.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *September 25th, 1909.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
#109 E. 15th St., New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. FOX:—Relative to the press of Indiana: practically all of the Republican papers stand with the Republican party on the county unit, or local

option and with some of the Republicans now talking state-wide prohibition. There are very few papers of this political faith that are willing to handle editorial matter opposing county option. I do not mean by this that every Republican editor is in favor of the county unit, or in favor of state-wide prohibition, but they are hammered into line by the party, and very few have the courage to express their own opinion, if they oppose the position into which the Republicans have been placed.

The Democratic press is just the opposite. It is the exception when one of their papers favors county option, excepting as provided in their platform, which is for the licensed and regulated saloon, and county option to be applied by ward and township. Practically all of the Democratic papers would accept beer advertisements, or other paid advertising, and some of which could be run as reading matter, and, in many papers, you could get some favorable comment editorially. As you have a newspaper directory, there is no need to mention the Democratic papers.

You appreciate, of course, that when the papers in Indianapolis take a position, that it influences the smaller publications over the state. The Indianapolis News, an independent publication, has been writing dry articles for two or three years, and I think the brewers have had some "ramble" with this paper in the past which did not help matters any. Of late, the paper has been more moderate in its articles, and has been publishing whiskey advertisements, and I have no doubt but that we could put in beer advertising if we so desired. The Star is an independent paper, but is looked upon as the official organ of the Republican party. It is a part of the Star Syndicate, and is now in the hands of George Hitz, receiver, who is supposed to be a Prohibitionist. Hitz was appointed, I understand, through the influence of Senator Beveridge, who has taken the dry side for the reason that he supposes it is going to benefit him in his fight for re-election. The Star has been publishing some whiskey advertisements, but they are always attacking the liquor traffic editorially. The Sun has weekly editorials favorable to the traffic, and carries some whiskey and beer advertising. I have never attempted to do anything with the state papers, although I think I could use their columns with rational matter and advertising to a liberal extent. I have been doing most of our publicity work through the country papers, both dailies and weeklies, thinking that it would, in time, have some influence with the papers published in Indianapolis.

I will endeavor to make you up some kind of a list in a short time, but, for the present, I think this general explanation will answer your purpose.

Very truly,

J. R. JOHNSTON.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 92, it being a letter from Mr. Hugh F. Fox to the members of the United States Brewers' Association, dated February 5, 1908.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 92.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109 & 111 East 15th Street.]

Trustees; Local Secretaries; Members of the different Committees.

NEW YORK, *Feb. 5, 1908.*

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: Collier's Weekly announces a prize of $100.00 for the best article, not over 1,000 words long, on "The Saloon in Our Town."

The articles are to be submitted before March 15th. Besides the prize article, they will use others that are of special interest, for which they will pay $25.00, and they also state that a proportionate rate will be paid for portions of any articles which they may use.

There is no doubt that a great many articles will be submitted, and I think that it is probable that the majority of them will be of the "Horrible Example" type. It is important to secure the submission of as many articles as possible that will be favorable to the Industry.

Will you not try to interest able writers in your City and State to enter the contest? We shall, of course, be glad to furnish them with literature on the subject, and you, for your part, can give them practical points for their information and guidance. Wherever it is possible to do so, discreetly, it will be well to try to get copies of the articles, so that eventually we may be able to use them ourselves, in case they are rejected by Collier's; provided, of course, that the subject-matter is of such a character as to make it available.

If we can, by this means, secure the submission of several hundred articles to Collier's, there is a fair chance that one or two of them may be accepted. Even, however, if none of them prove to be winners, the cumulative effect of the submission of such a large number of articles supporting the Saloon as a necessary social institution, must have its effect upon the minds of the Editors of Collier's Weekly and influence their judgment. The present attitude of the Editors makes this most important.

The matter should be taken up without any delay. Please consider this confidential.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Maj. HUMES. The following additional exhibit is also offered in evidence:

EXHIBIT No. 93.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. Newspapers. Todd.)

[Wisconsin Brewers' Association, 905–907 Majestic Building, Milwaukee. Thos. B. Culver, president; Oscar Schmidt, vice-president; S. F. Mayer, treasurer; Wm. H. Austin, sec'y and gen'l counsel. Executive board: Gustav Becherer, Milwaukee; Fred J. Blumer, Monroe; Thos. B. Culver, Ashland; Frank Erdlitz, Menominee, Mich.; C. J. Hausmann, Madison; Oscar Hussa, Bangor; A. S. Lindemann, Waukesha; Otto Mathie, Wausau; S. F. Mayer, West Bend; C. F. Michel La Crosse; E. R. Mueller, Two Rivers; Fred A. Rahr, Green Bay; Reinhardt Rahr, Manitowoc; Oscar Schmidt, Milwaukee; Henry J. Stark, Milwaukee. Telephone, Grand 4800.]

MARCH 13, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
c/o United States Brewers' Assn.,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I enclose you copy of our publicity report presented at our last annual meeting, as I promised you. There are matters referred to in the report which I think should be considered as confidential, therefore request that you give it no publicity.

Am sorry that I was unable to give you the time that I wished to talk with you about your matter, but I have a general idea of its purpose and will be glad to co-operate with you so far as it is possible and practicable in our territory.

If you desire to correspond with me more in detail about it, I shall be glad to take the matter up at any time.

Very truly yours,

W. H. AUSTIN, *Secretary.*

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 94, it being a report by the Wisconsin Brewers' Association of 1914, showing the activities of the State Brewers' Association.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 94.

(Confidential.)

GENTLEMEN: In the few minutes that can be allowed this department, I am going to ask you to consider with me the daily and weekly press of the state and its attitude toward our industry. The thing desired is that you may appreciate both the power of the press and the method by which the editors arrive at their conclusions with reference to our business. I think you will all agree with me that outside of a few newspapers, we are facing a hostile force. Unfortunately, many editor's estimate of the brewer is identical with his estimate of the saloon, and when I say hostile, I mean that the very large proportion of

the press of the state are antagonistic toward the saloon as a factor in the local life where both are located. In other words, you can count on the fingers of your two hands the cities and villages where the local newspapers approve and endorse the kind of saloons that exist there. While *we* realize that the brewers are in no way responsible for the kind of saloon in 90% of these localities, the newspapers do not seem to accept statements to this effect and the people follow the belief of their papers. And it is through the vicious influence and unfair tactics of a few newspapers of the state that the people have been led to believe that the brewers are responsible for every bad feature of the present-day saloon. I could name you several cities where saloon conditions are perhaps as nearly perfect as they can be with our kind of population, but in these very same cities I will name you one or more newspapers which will at any time turn their energies and use their influence in favor of making that city dry. We must face the fact that many of the newspapers are hostile and will remain so—but the important thing to keep in mind is that these are counterbalanced by the group that are friendly and while the Radicals may outnumber the Liberals, the latter probably have the more influence, including, as they do, the press of Milwaukee. Summing this up, we find that we have a few papers friendly and a few hopelessly hostile—but that leaves the large middle group that are what we might call neutral.

This large number of papers are positively swayed by local conditions as they find them at home. And the glass through which they view the entire industry is the saloon. They immediately condemn the manufacturer if there happens to be a disreputable saloon in their vicinity. They have you coupled closely with their local dispensing system and this relation must be severed insofar as it relates to the selection of the licensee by the brewer, before you will be relieved of this responsibility in the eyes of the public. This is manifestly unfair but, nevertheless, it is a fact.

I recall now one instance some years ago when a single saloonkeeper's meddling in politics offended the local editor, who was the absolute "boss" of the county and he announced that he would make the city dry within six months *and he did it.* The press is one of the most sensitive potentialities that you have to deal with. And I hope to impress upon you as forcibly as I can that this great power in influenced and controlled almost without exception by the saloon conditions which surround it. We have some papers that will always support Prohibition but they are few in number compared with the large group that are not, as yet, lost to our cause. Better men back of the bars who will observe and even assist in securing sane regulation will help much. The brewers must come to this premise,—and I am sure you all will—that majority local sentiment must to a certain extent be met because it will force itself in the end. We will find a more friendly and favorable press just as soon as some of the evils that are now disturbing us are removed, and it would seem to be the duty of the brewers to redouble their efforts to clear up the situation. Much has been done recently but we are still at a disadvantage before the public because of faults that are not wholly ours.

Reversing this review completely, I want to tell you briefly of the special advertising campaign which we have been conducting for several months in the German and smaller English weekly press of the state. There had long been complaint from these editors that they were largely the supporters of the license system but that they did not profit or share in the advertising of the industry. This was a fact, as the brewers, especially the larger brewers, did not find it profitable to place advertising with them. It failed absolutely of results. These papers were not satisfied with only the advertisements of their local brewers and were offended every time they saw a foaming glass in the large metropolitan papers which, as they declared, "do nothing to fight your battles." It was to meet this situation that your Executive Board devised the campaign I refer to. The papers used were the following:

Antigo Herold, Sauk City Presse, Marshfield Demokrat, Fountain City Republican, Jefferson Journal, Racine Correspondent, Green Bay Landsman, Pt. Washington Herold, Janesville Journal, Oshkosh Telegraph, Marinette Volksbote, Schleisingerville Botschafter, Portage Wecker, Fond du Lac Courier, Mayville Banner, Arcadia Anzeiger, Mayville Pioneer, Kiel Zeitung, La Crosse Volksfreund, Kewaunee County Banner, Wausau Wochenblatt, Plymouth Post, Appleton Volksfreund, Sheboygan Demokrat, Sheboygan Zeitung, New Glarus Courier, Neillsville Amerikaner, Merrill Thalbote, Watertown Weltburger, Monroe Herold, Manitowoc Wahrheit, Medford Waldbote, Manitowoc Post, Appleton Wecker, Madison Staats Zeitung, Pt. Washington Zeitung, Eau Claire Herold,

Kenosha Volksfreund, West Bend Beobachter, Wausau Pioneer, La Crosse Abendpost, La Crosse Nordstern, La Crosse Nordstern Blatter, Beaver Dam Argus, Elkhorn Independent, Jefferson Banner, Superior Leader Clarion, Spooner Advocate, Portage Register, Waukesha Despatch, Oconto Enterprise, Humbird Enterprise, Stevens Point Journal, Ashland News, Monroe Times, Wood County Reporter, Oconomowoc Enterprise, Kenosha Courier, Bangor Independent, Green Bay Gazette, Edgerton Reporter, Mondovi Herald, Juneau Independent, New London Republican, Burlington Standard Democrat, Marshfield Times, Menasha Record, Two Rivers Chronicle, Wood County Times, Appleton Crescent, Mauston Star, Madison Democrat, Wausau Record Herald, Monroe Journal Gazette, Sauk County Democrat, Vernon County Censor, Janesville Gazette, Berlin Journal, Menomonee Falls News, Shawano Journal, Florence Mining News, Oshkosh Northwestern, Columbus Democrat, Stevens Point Gazette, Oconto Enquirer, Marinette Eagle Star, Burlington Free Press, Port Washington Star, De Pere Democrat, Jefferson County Union, Progress, Marinette Tribunen (Swedish), De Volksstem (Hollander).

You all know what this campaign cost but I am firm in the belief that, considering the character of the advs. used and the influence it has had with these *one hundred editors* that it has been a good insurance investment for you. The expressions that we have had from these men justify us in telling you that you never spent money for which you received more in return. You can afford to do it again. We could not include some of the papers which we wanted to help, for our funds would not permit it, but these are all down for remembrance next time and the list will be somewhat modified. If any man here has a deserving paper at home which was not included in this list, he should notify us so that we can use it, if the funds will permit. Daily papers have not yet been included and some of these editors are quite offended that they have been overlooked. We also had a number of papers which refused to run our ads. A list of these will be given any member desiring it.

This all leads to the conclusion: Cultivate your home editor. It may in some cases be distasteful, but it will pay you good dividends. We are meeting the demands of these papers that they be given a slice of advertising. They feel better already. It was a good remedy. But do not forget that they will again quickly sicken and their community along with them if compliance with law and recognition of local regulation are not faithfully complied with by the dispensing end of the system. That is a duty before you in so far as you have power to influence it.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 95, it being a letter from Louis N. Hammerling, president of the Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, to Bernheim & Schwartz, dated March 17, 1915, telling of the control over the foreign-language press, and what that association has accomplished.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 95.

(Copy. From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. Todd.)

[American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc.]

NEW YORK, *March 17, 1915.*

BERNHEIM & SCHWARTZ,
Amsterdam Ave. & 12th St., New York City.

Attention of Geo. Bernheimer.

MY DEAR SIR: At the instance of our Board of Directors, I take the liberty of addressing you in behalf of the foreign language press of this city, as it seems to us that it is either an oversight on your part or a misunderstanding that no portion of your advertising appropriation goes to the foreign language press.

According to the United States Census of 1910, there is a total population in Greater New York of 5,736,520. Of this total there are 2,729,282 actually foreign born and 4 669,162 of foreign birth and foreign and mixed parentage. By using the foreign language press you will reach these people, which accord-

ing to statistics and information we have and with which we are sure you are also acquainted, are the largest users of beer in this city and the United States. Furthermore, the foreign language press has for the past two years waged a campaign for Personal Liberty and the enlightenment and education of their people on this topic and the necessity for guarding against infringement on their personal habits and customs, as well as the justification for the existence of your industry. The writer has not only written articles on this question for The American Leader, the Official Organ of this Association, of which we are sending you under separate cover a copy marked personal, but has also delivered addresses and lectures on this subject and plans to continue doing so. The articles on Personal Liberty which are being published in The American Leader are also being republished by over 400 foreign language newspapers throughout the United States.

Besides all this, we are entitled to a share of your patronage as consumers of your product, and we would like to know why we are ignored. It is true that the agencies to whom you may entrust your advertising are not acquainted with the real problem and with the value of the foreign language press. In fact, we have found that some advertising agencies avoid giving their clients the benefit of the Foreign language papers for selfish motives, such as small commissions, etc., from the papers, hence this Association is obliged to do a great deal of missionary work and give knowledge which otherwise might not be presented.

May we ask you to give this matter consideration and advise us your decision. We would appreciate it if you would give the writer an opportunity to call on you, or grant a hearing to our Board of Directors who would call on you in a body. We feel that this is a very vital matter to all concerned and want to go into this matter thoroughly and find just why this situation exists which has no justification and which, on the contrary is working a great hardship to all interested.

Breweries located in other parts of the United States where our people are not nearly as numerous as they are in this city have placed a great deal of advertising in our papers as they have realized that it is our people who have built up this great industry and who are maintaining it in prosperity.

May we now ask you to be good enough to look over the enclosed page advertisement which we recently put on, which will give you an idea of what we are doing.

Awaiting your reply, we are,

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN ASS'N OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, INC.
LOUIS HAMMERLING, *President.*

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 99, it being a report of the secretary to the board of trustees of the United States Brewers' Association.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 99.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Nov. 9, 1908.

I respectfully submit the following report in regard to special matters which will be the subject of your deliberations:

MEMBERSHIP.

I enclose a statement showing the actual status of our membership at the present time. Repeated letters have been sent to delinquent members; and I am now preparing a statement setting forth the activities of this Association and its value to the individual brewer. This will be sent to every brewer in the country, and will be followed up by a final appeal for co-operation and support, and where possible, by personal interviews with the brewers.

We are also taking advantage of every opportunity to meet the State and Local Brewers' Associations, with a view to kindling their enthusiasm, and

making them realize the seriousness of the situation and the manner in which it is proposed to handle it.

We have employed a local collector during the summer, who has succeeded in a number of instances in securing the payment of back dues.

When all of these efforts have been made, I believe that the members, who have persistently failed to pay their dues, and who do not answer our communications, should be dropped from our membership list.

The membership report, which is herewith submitted in detail to each member of the Trustees, shows that the members who are in good standing as to dues, represent, approximately, 70% of the total beer output of the United States.

EDUCATION.

The Association is now fairly committed to a long and comprehensive campaign of education. I submit herewith a report showing in detail the publications which we have issued during the past six months. We are now supplying our leaflets and post cards in quantities to any of our people who ask for them, and who will agree to distribute them.

The Year Book, which you authorized, is now in preparation and will be issued about the first of January.

Under the direction of Dr. Nathan Oppenheim, we have had prepared a complete bibliography of the whole liquor question in all languages, which includes all publications since 1893. It is the only complete bibliography of the subject in existence. This will be published and sent to every University and Library, and to all important publications and newspapers in the country. We believe that the character of this bibliography and Year Book is such that they will be consulted by the press and by students of this subject generally, as the standard references.

We have made a mailing list of three thousand important newspapers and publications, to which we shall send our literature and special letters, and believe that in the course of a few months we shall have won the confidence of the press in the accuracy of our information and the value of our data, and that this will open up avenues of publicity which will enable us to get a fair hearing, and will be most useful in the educational campaign.

We are now receiving an average of five thousand newspaper clippings a month, which are carefully examined, and those of special importance filed and indexed. These serve to keep us in touch with the developments from day to day, and enable us to feel the public pulse and gauge the trend and force of public sentiment throughout the entire country.

We are gradually building up a library on the liquor question and all related subjects, and are constantly gathering data so that this office may be eventually recognized as the one complete fact station in this department of knowledge.

I suggest in this connection the employment of a trained librarian, preferably a linguist, who will not only keep the data indexed, but will be able to use it objectively. We ought to be in a position to prepare comparative statements at short notice for any State or community, showing the local facts as to license revenue and its application to public utilities; and the status of the community in the matter of drunkenness, pauperism and crime, and the general character of the community, as indicated by health standards and its economic status.

An expert librarian or statistician could not only assemble the facts, but interpret them in popular terms, so that all of the material would be made available and could be brought into action at any time. In special cases printed matter should be prepared in various languages to reach the foreign voter.

We are planning, in fact have already started, important lines of investigation and research, with a view to gathering a body of facts which will help to establish certain definite principles in regard to licensing and the whole question of saloon regulation.

We are endeavoring to establish lines of communication and cooperation with municipal experts and civic organizations; and to win the confidence of all serious students of government in the consideration of the liquor problem.

ABOUT ADVERTISING.

We have been making a study of the advertisements in the Prohibition and Temperance papers, and shall shortly issue to our members a list of the con-

cerns that are supporting these papers by their advertising. This list will be indexed by trades, and by States. I suggest sending copies of this list to the various Merchants' and Manufacturers' Associations, and members of the allied trades.

I suggest for your consideration, the advisability of our making a thorough study of the whole subject of brewery advertising. This cannot be done without the cooperation of the brewers' themselves. It involves getting from each brewer a copy of all the advertising matter which he has issued during the past year, a list of the publications which he has patronized, and possibly, an approximate statement of the total amount of money which he has spent for advertisements in the public prints. Besides this, we should have a record of the advertising done through bottling and other agents, in the country papers. A tabulation of these facts would show the total amount spent by the brewing business in this form of advertising, and enable us to make a statement to the newspaper publishers and proprietors, which might secure for our interests more recognition. Through our clipping service, we could then check off the papers that persistently misrepresent the trade, and that refuse to give us a fair hearing. I am also inclined to think that eventually it would enable this Association to improve the character and telling qualities of much of our trade advertising, and would open up a vista of possibilities in the advertising line, both from the trade and the publicity standpoint, that would be of incalculable service to brewers, as individuals, and to the cause which we represent.

If we could count upon the willing and intelligent co-operation of the brewers, I would also suggest the same intensive study of other forms of advertising, such as saloon signs and display features, and of course street car advertising.

This is a matter in regard to which we need the counsel of men of experience in the trade, with a view to deciding whether, if we undertake this very considerable piece of work, we should act in conjunction with the advertising agents of the principal brewers, or whether we should keep the matter entirely in our own hands.

ELECTION LESSONS.

The recent victories in Indiana, Ohio and Rhode Island clearly indicate the value of the educational method of campaigning, when it is efficiently conducted, and is combined with the thorough organization of the trade and of our friends, and especially of the labor element. We must not, however, allow these victories to make us over-confident. Within the past week, President Eliot of Harvard, and Cardinal Gibbons have both come out with a public endorsement of local option. The brewers in the middle west, and in the New England States seem to have accepted local option, with the municipality as the unit, and to have adapted themselves to it. I doubt, however, whether the trade at large is prepared to accept municipal option as a fixed principle to such an extent as to warrant us in giving it official endorsement. The New Jersey and Pennsylvania brewers are certainly opposed to it most vigorously. Of course, we are all agreed that county option means county prohibition, and shall argue accordingly. My own impression is that our brewers in some sections of the country have given in to their adherence to the option principle much too readily. I believe that a thorough study of this subject will show that the constant agitation of the license question has a demoralizing influence and tends to keep the saloon in politics.

Investigations which have been conducted recently in our behalf, in Massachusetts and Vermont, prove that no license towns are backward as compared with license towns, and will not stand comparison with the license towns from either the physical or moral standpoint. There is sufficient doubt about the whole matter to show the need of a thorough first-hand investigation of conditi ns in the eastern states and in the middle west, before committing ourselves finally to any form of option on the license question.

The continuance of the fight against the saloon and the liquor trade does not depend entirely upon the Anti-Saloon League or the Prohibition Party. The people are now so thoroughly aroused that the saloon problem is a household topic, and we must be prepared to discuss the whole temperance question in a constructive fashion. In other words, we can only win in the long run, upon our merits. In the settlement of this question, and all that it involves, new problems will present themselves from time to time. The village saloon will have to be entirely remodeled, or it will disappear. The trade will, probably, have to find new ways of distributing its product, in some localities. It may be that in some respects the product itself will change somewhat. In all of these changes

there are possibilities of friction and new difficulties will arise which must be faced, and overcome. Take, for instance, a large brewing state in which over half of the counties go dry. The Breweries in those counties will continue manufacturing, and will be forced to seek new markets. Naturally, they will try to find an outlet in the nearest wet counties. The brewers in these wet counties will chafe under this added competition. Whether a brewer in a wet county can ship into a dry county, within his own State, is yet to be determined. In any event the shipping brewer from another State will compete with him for the trade in the dry county. There is no use in borrowing trouble over it, and I merely call attention to indicate the growing complexity of the problem, both commercially and from the standpoint of this Association. This much is certain,—that the Association and the trade need the experience and judgment of its wisest heads, who can adapt the Industry and the Association to the new order of things.

A LOOK AHEAD.

As we study this question thoroughly, we cannot escape the conviction that there is a long and hard fight before us, and that we must look and plan a year or two ahead. The people at large are taking a hand in this fight, and our appeal must be made to them, if we can hope for success. Our Association must be so equipped that it can furnish efficient service to the entire brewing industry. There are some State organizations that are so well officered and equipped that they may be able to get along without our assistance. We are, however, constantly being called upon for personal assistance in the matter of organization, preparation of special material and in the matter of speakers and journalists. The Organization Committee has already suggested the forming of a Speakers' Bureau. The possible wisdom and practicability of such an undertaking should be thoroughly discussed. In the event of your deciding upon such an enterprise, I would suggest that we call a meeting in this building of the executive officers of the State and Local Brewers' Associations, and of some of the Merchants' & Manufacturers' Associations for the consideration of the project. In this connection we should also consider the possibility of arranging a course of instruction for our workers. A syllabus might be prepared covering not only the controversial phases of the subject, but such practical questions as political management, publicity, advertising, organization, etc., etc.

There are some able men within our own ranks who might serve as class leaders on various phases of the subject. We might supplement these by employing specialists to lecture on the economic, social, legal, and physiological aspects of the question. By this means we ought to be able to gather up the sum of the knowledge and experience gained in all the various State campaigns, and to establish the effective cooperation of all the forces that the brewing trade can command through organizations with which it is in touch

In short, I believe that the function of this Association is to furnish competent service to its members, instead of making contributions to them in cash for their campaigns. We cannot keep our members together by any other means. Our present method of conducting campaigns is expensive and wasteful, and does not lead to a permanent settlement of the question.

In two or three States the Brewers' Associations have secured voters' lists, which have been classified by occupations, and educational matter is mailed to all of the individuals on these lists from time to time. If this was done persistently for a year without regard to the imminence of any special contest, the cumulative effect of it would be of the greatest value.

OUR WORKERS.

The report of the Organization Bureau, which you will hear read, speaks for itself. I should like to add that it is impossible to form a fair estimate of the value of this branch of our work, without regard to the reports which are sent in by the agents of the Bureau, or without personal observation of its methods.

The recent contest in Rhode Island clearly indicates the practical efficiency of the Bureau. A few days of intense work, a week before election, resulted in a roundup of the brewers, the wholesale liquor dealers and the saloon men, and all of the principal labor organizations in the State. The No-License League of Rhode Island was led by the Bishop of the Episcopal Church, and comprised all the Protestant bodies, but in spite of this handicap, we not only held all of the cities and towns that were wet, but regained seven dry towns

I should like to say a word here in appreciation of our workers. The men employed in the Organization Bureau have made good without exception, and several of them have done brilliant work. The staff in our home office has worked most faithfully and zealously. It has been necessary to call upon them to do a great deal of extra work out of hours, and they have one and all responded in fine spirit of willingness to the call. We employed a trained newspaper man, Mr. Brewer, to do press work in the Indiana campaign. Mr. Brewer was formerly employed by the Model Licese League and has done such valuable work that we should like, if possible, to employ him permanently. Mr. Carradine did similar work in the Ohio campaign until his health gave out. Through the courtesy of Mr. Gardiner and the Pennsylvania Brewers' Association, Mr. George Muller of Philadelphia, has made personal investigations for us of the conditions in Massachusetts and Maine, and his report is so extremely valuable, that we are about to issue it to the press. We employed a young woman to make a study of conditions in Vermont. She proved to have a talent for investigation and has presented an exhaustive report, which is also of the greatest permanent value. This we are now trying to have published in one of the magazines, failing which, we shall send it out to the press and to our members.

The Trustees are entitled to know of the untiring labor of the President of this Association. I doubt if any Banking institution in New York has had more able and devoted service from its President than this Association has received from Mr. Liebmann. The Finance Committee and the Treasurer have also been called upon to give a great deal of time and personal attention to the affairs of the Association.

OFFICE EXTENSION.

Whether you adopt the program which I have outlined in whole or in part, we must face the question of office extension. It would be a grave misfortune if we had to separate ourselves from the various State and Local Organizations which occupy and control this building. However, the Organization Bureau will undoubtedly have to be brought to New York before long, and we are already so overcrowded in our present quarters that we cannot work to the best advantage. I take the liberty of recommending that, if possible, arrangements be made with the Trustees of this building, at a suitable rental, to enable us to occupy the entire basement of this building, and at least one of the committee rooms on the first floor, in addition to our present quarters, and that the necessary alterations be made in the basement, so that the work can be done there under healthful and comfortable conditions.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 100, is being a summary of the work of the United States Brewers' Association.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 100.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

SUMMARY OF THE WORK OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS'N.

During the current year the U. S. Brewers' Association has taken an active part, and in many cases, the leading part in the direction of the following campaigns:

Maine, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

In addition to this, investigations have been conducted and preliminary organization work started in Alabama, California, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Montana, Oklahoma, Oregon and Vermont.

This Association took entire charge of the recent campaigns in Rhode Island and South Dakota; and handled exclusively the press end of the successful campaigns in Georgia, Ohio and Indiana.

This Association has distributed over two million pieces of literature, the educational effect of which has been recognized by our opponents; and in some of the campaigns we are informed that the statements of facts which were prepared in our office, turned the *scale in the elections.*

Through the efforts of the Organization Bureau, in co-operation with the Secretary, twenty-six (26) Merchants' & Manufacturers' Associations and Liberty Leagues have been organized. These have been exceedingly effective in a number of States in handling the campaign, and in distributing literature to the voters.

Several State Federations of Labor and a score or more of the Labor Unions have passed resolutions in opposition to Prohibition; and we have rallied the forces of labor to our side most effectively in a number of the recent State campaigns. In several States the wholesale and retail liquor dealers Associations have also been welded into compact bodies and their influence used in the elections.

During the past month and on November 3rd important victories were gained for our side in the following States:

Connecticut, Illinois. Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah and Wisconsin.

In fact the latest returns indicate that on November 3rd we won every contest in which we were engaged, outside of New York State. We are about to take up license campaigns in Fall River, Worcester, Lynn and other Massachusetts cities, in co-operation with the New England Brewers' Association. There is, however, a long and hard fight ahead of us. not only to hold our ground, but to regain lost territory, and we cannot afford to relax at any point.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 103, it being minutes of a meeting of the officers of State Brewers' Associations.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 103.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF STATE BREWERS' ASSOCIATIONS

Held at the call of the Organization Bureau of the United States Brewers' Ass'n. In Chicago, Ill., on Tuesday, December 29, 1908.

Mr. William Hamm in the chair.

The following gentlemen were present from their respective States: Messrs. Paul Esselborn of Portsmouth, Ohio; Jude Kohn and Reichart of Louisville, Ky., Henry Nicolaus, Philip Stock and E. S. Clauss and C. J. Lemp of St. Louis, Mo., Albert Fischer of Salt Lake City, Utah; D. C. Huntoon of Des Moines, Ia.; L. L. Caufy, W. H. Austin, Gustave Pabst, Joseph Uihlein and Oscar Schmidt of Milwaukee, Wis.; A. Lieber and Joseph Bell of Indianapolis, Ind.; J. B. Haynes and Wm. Krug of Omaha, Nebr.; A. M. Eppstein of Denver, Colo.; F. W. Zollmann and Wm. Hamm of St. Paul, Minn.; E. R. Diederich of South Dakota; W. C. Manchester of Detroit, also F. A. Tusch of Grand Rapids, Mich., J. J. Hoch of Ypsilanti, Mich. and H. Darmstaedter of Detroit, Mich., Ernest Fecker, A. J. Doyle, Rudolf Brand, Joseph Theurer and C. J. Vopica of Chicago, Ill., and Mr. Robert Crain, of Baltimore, Md.

In addition to these, the entire staff of the Organization Bureau was in attendance.

On motion, Mr. Fox was made Secretary of the meeting.

After Mr. Hamm had stated the object of the meeting, which was to exchange experiences and consider the problems which we now have to face. He called upon the representatives from the various States to explain the situation from the standpoint of his State.

Mr. Esselborn of Ohio, stated that 62 counties had gone "dry," 9 "wet" and 17 had yet to vote.

The Ohio brewers will endeavor to amend their law so as to exempt municipal corporations from the county option provisions, in accordance with the Kentucky plan. They will also advocate the appointment of county licensing Boards with discretion to enable them to apply a character test.

Judge Kohn of Kentucky says that until recently the brewers have done all the fighting in his State. 97 counties are "dry" and 7 are "wet" with dry spots. He strongly advocates the separation of the beer from the whiskey traffic.

Mr. Reichert of Kentucky says that members of the Assembly are inclined to favor compensation for losses and fixtures rendered valueless under the operation of the county unit bill. During the past year they have been getting support from the whiskey interests. Under the increased license in Louisville, saloons have been reduced from 857 to 650; and the Red Light district cleaned up. An enormous percentage of the whiskey business in the Kentucky manufacturers is a mail order business, and the whiskey men only came into line with the brewers when prohibition of the manufacture of whiskey was threatened. Nobody in Kentucky wants prohibition. The color question is not much of a factor; it is a religious question in the rural districts.

Mr. Bell of Indiana stated that under their law petitions for license elections can be signed by the power of attorney, which holds until rescinded, and that this is most mischievous. The remonstrance law recognizes the ward and township as units. The Indiana brewers will advocate a reform bill in the Legislature providing for a fine and short suspension for the saloon keeper's first offence, and imprisonment for the second offence. He said that the literature distributed in our interests deals too much with past history, and that in our argument the economic standpoint should be emphasized. He declares the lawful saloon to be the key to the situation.

Mr. Crain made a report for Maryland and the District of Columbia. He emphasized the necessity for thorough organization and absolute observance of the law, and declared his belief in high license, as a general rule, and the observance of the Sunday laws. He explained that in drawing the bill increasing the license fee in Maryland, provision had been made for the payment of a certain portion to the State for the maintenance of good roads, and that this had disarmed the opposition of the farmers.

Mr. McDermott reporting for Missouri, stated that the outlook was good and that the Legislature and the Governor are believed to be O. K.

Mr. Huntoon of Iowa, spoke of the very effective clean up movement that had been conducted by two of the Iowa brewers, in co-operation with Mr. Zollmann of Minnesota. He explained the working of the Mulct Act, and stated that if the prohibition question was resubmitted to the people of Iowa, it would receive the majority of their votes.

Mr. Fischer of Utah reported that Salt Lake City with a population of 90,000 has 106 saloons—a few of them are bad, but this is due to municipal negligence and police "graft." The Mormon religion forbids the use of tobacco, coffee and tea as well as intoxicants. The sentiment is particularly strong against whiskey; and he leans towards the separation of the beer interests from the whiskey interests. He reports that Idaho will probably pass a county option law.

Mr. Austin of Wisconsin said that their common councils have the power to license and revoke. The sentiment against the saloon is growing, and we must get ahead of public sentiment by proposing remedial and constructive legislation, and take an affirmative position ourselves. Under present circumstances in Wisconsin, it is practically impossible to get a license revoked, because the saloon keeper is such a factor in local politics. He is proposing to introduce bills to provide for the appointment of a non-partisan and non-political State Commission of Revocation, with varying terms of appointment, so that no one Governor can control the Commission. Also a bill licensing bar-keepers, with a view to establishing a standard of character and fitness. Also a bill prohibiting the licensing of saloon dance halls, and all places which may be resorted to for prostitution. Mr. Austin declared that the brewer is actually soliciting his own responsibility for the saloons by putting his brewery signs over them, and he would advocate legislation to prohibit brewery signs on the saloons entirely. The Wisconsin Association employs three men to investigate saloons in different parts of the State, and, when necessary, will prosecute offenders. He declared emphatically that beer and hard liquors must be divorced if we are to save the business, and that this can be done by Congressional legislation, requiring the issuing of separate special licenses for beer and whiskey. These should be in different colors, so that at a glance it can be seen which license a man has. If a man has a Federal license for whiskey, it is prima facie evidence that he is selling whiskey. He recommends the attempt to secure compensation in connection with all county option laws, and called attention to the Ontario law which requires a ¾ vote to make a "wet" county "dry" or a "dry" county "wet" again. Only with this preponderance of sentiment can local option be enforced. He does not

advocate the enforcement of Sunday closing laws when they are contrary to the general sentiment of the people.

Mr. Zollmann, reporting for Minnesota and South Dakota, gave an interesting explanation of his methods of conducting campaigns. He emphasized the need of considering the nationality and local questions in distributing literature. The voters should be divided into occupations and a classified mailing list made up which may be roughly classified as follows: Hotels, Real Estate, Merchants, Ministers, Physicians and Teachers, Farmers, Labor Men, Lumbermen, etc. He does not believe in using speakers, if the question is one between candidates. If, however, the Prohibition or County Option issue itself is directly at stake, speakers should be used.

Mr. Eppstein of Denver, Colo. spoke of the effect of Woman Suffrage. 80 per cent of the women in Colorado vote and their general sentiment in Colorado is strongly for Prohibition. The attempt to organize a Manufactures' & Merchants' Club there has failed, because the women visited the men with whom they are doing business and threatened to boycott the men if they joined such an Association. A general election in Colorado to-day would mean Prohibition. He is opposed to separate the beer from the whiskey interests, and says that it is impracticable. He advocates the organization of a law department by the United States Brewers' Association to examine all bills offered in the different States to see if they do not contain "jokers."

Mr. Manchester of Michigan emphasized the fundamental principles of free government which are involved in our liquor problems and declared that we were getting away from our American theory, which regarded the individual as a unit and held him responsible for his individual acts. He declared that we must create issues ourselves. The Michigan law prohibits the manufacture, as well as the giving away, of malt, vinous and spiritous liquors; and that the Anti-Saloon League is now trying to get a search and seizure law passed. The brewers are going to try to have laws passed to limit the number of licenses to 1 to 500 (new saloons), and to revoke licenses on the 3rd offence. He called attention to the danger of blackmailers putting up jobs on saloon men, when the penalty was too great for a first offence.

Mr. Hamm then called attention to the dangers involved in the initiative and referendum principle, and in constitutional conventions, and in measures to codify and revise the laws, and also the Women's Suffrage Movement.

Mr. Doyle of Illinois stated that in the last State primaries of the liquor interests, the allied trades had combined, with the result that they have won great victories and have the Legislature well in hand. The policy of the Illinois brewers is to keep out of court. He said that the seven thousand saloons in Chicago are all open on Sunday, in spite of the law. There had been 13 prosecutions under the law for Sunday selling, but no convictions.

Mr. Fox in closing declared that even if we perfected our political and business organizations, and put the Anti-Saloon League out of business, we should still have only taken the first step towards the solution of the problem. The present agitation is the culmination of 20 years of temperance education. The issue is a public one of paramount importance, and must be discussed on its merits before the whole people. We must be prepared to meet every question that is raised fairly and intelligently. We must base our argument on absolute facts and precise data. He called attention to the fact that the Scientific Committee of the Women's Christian Temperance Union contains a better library on the liquor problem than all of the liquor interests combined, can boast of. He expressed the opinion that the fight will last for years to come, and that the brewers must set aside a certain sum every year for the protection of their business which should be regarded as insurance and that this should be a fixed charge on the cost of production.

A resolution was passed unanimously to hold another meeting on Saturday, February 20th, 1908.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 104.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 104.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

[1909 reports.]

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSN. TO THE TRUSTEES, JANUARY 22ND, 1909.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership report which is presented herewith needs a word of explanation. The list of delinquents must not be taken to indicate any sudden change in the affairs of the Association, or any depreciation in the interest of its members. It simply shows that for a number of years the Association has been carrying a lot of dead wood. As a matter of fact, we have collected per cent more dues from our members than last year, and more than at any other time of which we have records, in spite of the depression in our business, and the hard times incident to the panic of a year ago. On the whole, the statement shows that the Association has gained ground steadily during the past year, in the sound and healthy character of its membership, and that if the habitual delinquents had been taken off the list of members a year or two ago, we should be able to show an actual increase in the present regular membership of the Association.

PUBLICITY.

The experiment which has been tried since the last meeting of the Trustees, to secure publicity through the press, seems to have already justified itself. Besides the résumé of the result of the election in November, which was sent out from Milwaukee, we have sent sets of our leaflets to a picked list of 3,000 newspapers and special publications. We have tried to keep track of the result through our clipping service. Our scrap book, which I have in evidence here, shows that columns of matter have been printed by the press, as the direct result of our efforts. Of course this only includes the leading newspapers, but the result is encouraging when it is considered that we have had to face the prejudice and distrust of the papers, and that we have had nothing to offer in the way of advertising, and that very little of the matter has been of such a character as to give it news value. It clearly indicates, however, a recognition on the part of the press that the liquor question, and the saloon problem, are public issues, and that a spirit of inquiry has been aroused which we must take advantage of, and which will give us an opportunity for a hearing, if we present facts in an interesting and judicial way.

Leading newspaper and magazine editors and writers have expressed their personal interest in the frank method of publicity which we have adopted, in contrast with the underground methods so generally used in the past by other large commercial interests. Only two or three unfavorable comments on our publications have come to our attention, and these from sources that are manifestly prejudiced.

THE MAGAZINES AND ADVERTISING.

A number of the popular magazines are exploiting the fact that they decline to receive advertisements from brewers or liquor dealers, and the character of the articles which they have published on the liquor problem, clearly shows that they are playing up to the temperance sentiment in the interest of their circulation. It is futile to engage in controversy with them, and in fact I question the wisdom of the controversial method in dealing with this question from our standpoint. If, however, we can secure the publication of original matter which will carry conviction to the mind of the public, and which in substance will answer the prejudiced statements of our opponents, without referring to them directly, it will be much more effective. A magazine is just as much a business proposition as a brewery, and if it prints an article exposing prohibition, it is the result of collaboration between the publisher and the editor. The editor considers the article favorably because of its general interest and its

literary or dramatic quality. The publisher accepts it because he thinks it will appeal to his subscribers, or will enlist new subscribers, or will bring in more advertising, or that at any rate it will not offend the readers of the magazine. Anything that we can do to put the publisher in this frame of mind, either by increasing the circulation, and especially the subscription list for the magazine, or by giving it advertising, is of the greatest value. I mention the matter now because of favorable avenues which are being opened to us in this connection, through such eminently reputable concerns as the Harper publications and Appleton's Magazine. Mr. Schaefer, the Chairman of the Publication Committee, suggests that we might ask the brewers to subscribe to half a dozen periodicals, which we might pick out, and that the receipt of the thousand subscriptions from our members to these publications, would certainly make a most favorable impression upon them. The matter is well worth considering.

The point which I want to make clear is that no reputable magazine would either accept pay for the publication of an article, or even allow a special interest, such as ours, to contribute directly to the expense of making an investigation or procuring material for an article, but there are a number of reputable magazines, and a good many daily papers which can be favorably impressed through their advertising columns, and to a smaller extent, through their subscription lists. This is a case in which the individual brewer can not only help himself, but the whole cause, more effectively than it can be done by an organization.

EDUCATIONAL METHODS.

The recent developments in States where the saloon has figured in the elections, show more clearly than ever the absolute necessity of presenting our case to the people on its merits. The saloon question and the liquor problem are public issues and we must conduct an educational campaign on a national scale. The Anti-Saloon League has announced its plans with regard to the erection of a printing plant at a cost of $100,000, which will serve as a center of publication for all its printed matter, and it is evidently preparing for a wide extension of the literary end of its activities. The work which we have been doing during the past six months, is merely scratching the surface. It is, however, futile to suggest larger plans until we are in a position to finance them.

Our own special leaflets and reprints of magazine and newspaper articles, ought to be sent to the home addresses of every legislator in the land, and such officials as Governors, Mayors, Sheriffs, Prosecutors, and to County officers in all the States, entirely regardless of whether a campaign is going on or is impending. In the same way literature should be sent constantly to members of the learned professions. This general literature should have no reference to specific campaigns, for which latter purpose the State Associations should prepare special matter to be sent to all of the voters, well in advance of the election. We are trying to give our publications such variety that something may be found to meet every phase of the question, and to appeal to individuals of each particular class. It is a sheer waste to fire it out indiscriminately, and there are only a few of our State and local Associations that appear to be using good judgment in the distribution of our material. I am inclined to believe that the general educational campaign can be conducted most effectively from this Association as a center, but that the objective work which is done in connection with local elections, must be done by the State associations.

The following additional exhibit is also offered in evidence.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 106.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

[Minutes of meeting of executive officers of State and local brewing associations. (Held at the call of the secretary of the United States Brewers' Association, in Hotel Pontchartrain, Detroit, Michigan, July 21–22, 1909.)]

The Meeting opened at 10 A. M., July 21, with Mr. John Gardiner presiding and H. F. Fox acting Secretary. The roll of those present was taken and is attached hereto. The Secretary read very interesting letters from Mr. J. B. Haynes of Omaha and Mr. F. G. Deckebach of Salem, Oregon, regretting that they could not attend the Conference, and making suggestions with regard to

publicity and campaign management. Letters expressing interest in the movement, and regretting that they could not attend were also received from Mr. Lawrence Fabacher of Louisiana, Mr. H. V. Huse of Massachusetts, Mr. N. W. Kendall of Connecticut and Howard Gray of New Hampshire.

Mr. Gardiner stated that the purpose of the Conference was to increase the effectiveness of the working forces concerned in the campaign for the brewers' interests and called upon representatives from the various States who were present at the meeting to give a brief statement of the conditions in their several States. Addresses were made in this connection by Colonel Schwartz of New York State, Mr. Austin of Wisconsin, Mr. Zollman of Minnesota, Mr. Ess Born of Ohio, Mr. Reichert of Kentucky, General Crow of Missouri, Mr. Brewer of Illinois, Mr. Muller of Pennsylvania, Mr. Kingsley of New Jersey, Mr. Reymann, West Virginia, Mr. Manchester of Michigan and Mr. Fleming of Indiana.

The Meeting on the afternoon of the 21st was presided over by Mr. Fox, as Mr. Gardiner was obliged to leave on an early train. Before leaving Mr. Gardiner made a statement as to the work which is being planned by the United States Brewers' Association, in reclaiming "dry" territory and directing campaigns in the States where the brewing interest is not strong enough to conduct the fight alone. Mr. McDermott outlined the work of the Organization Bureau, and Mr. Fox explained the work and methods of the Publicity Department of the United States Brewers' Association. A general discussion on publicity work then took place, Mr. Gordon, of Michigan, stating his views as a practical newspaper man.

In connection with the correlation of work between the United States Brewers' Association and the State brewing associations, Colonel Fecker made a motion, seconded by Mr. Reymann, that it is the sense of this body that the State associations should send delegates to the Convention of the United States Brewers' Association, who shall constitute an advisory committee to the Trustees of the U. S. B. A. After some discussion, Mr. Austin moved that the Chairman appoint a committee of five, with Mr. Zollman as Chairman, to whom the motion of Mr. Fecker should be referred, and this committee should be asked to report a plan of action to carry out the purpose of the Conference, and to take into consideration the tentative suggestions submitted by the Secretary of the United States Brewers' Association for the consideration of the Conference. With the consent of Mr. Fecker this motion was then put and carried, and the Chair appointed Messrs. Zollman, Austin, Fecker, Esselborn and Reyman as the Committee.

The Meeting on Thursday morning was presided over by Mr. Carl Hoster, President of the United States Brewers' Association, Mr. Fox acting as Secretary. Mr. Hoster extended a word of greeting and congratulation upon the Conference, and then called upon Mr. Zollman to read the report of the Committee of Five, which is attached hereto. On motion it was decided to discuss the report section by section.

Colonel Schwartz moved that Section 1 should be amended so as to provide a permanent association to include local as well as State associations. Carried unanimously. Section one was then voted on as amended and carried.

Mr. Reichert moved a re-consideration of the vote on Section 1, particularly with reference to the election of officers, but the motion was lost. Sections 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 were then adopted in turn unanimously. Mr. Reichert then moved that a Section 7 be added to provide that the executive officers must be members or employees of a brewery, or some person filling an executive capacity with a brewery. The motion however, was voted down. The question of the adoption of the report as a whole then came up, and Mr. Muller opposed its adoption on the ground that Mr. Gardiner had not been consulted as to accepting the office as President. On motion of Mr. Ettla the question of the adoption of the report was put to vote and carried, Mr. Muller voting *No.*

On motion of Messrs. Forster and Esselborn the Committee of Five was continued for the purpose of drafting by-laws, copy of which they were instructed to send in advance of the next meeting to members of the local associations, etc. On motion it was decided that these proceedings should be considered confidential, and that no report of them should be given to the trade papers or to the press.

A resolution was passed thanking the Committee for its labors.

Mr. Forster then delivered an interesting address on the Anti-Saloon League Movement in New York, and explained the principles, etc., of the Original

Rights Society, which he urged the members of the Conference to support. Mr. Diederich on invitation informed the Meeting of his investigation of the moving picture business in Michigan and in Chicago with reference particularly to the use of films exploiting alleged saloon sensations. He suggested that the matter should be taken up locally by our various associations, who should interview the proprietors of moving picture shows and endeavor to secure their co-operation. Moved by Col. Schwartz, seconded by Mr. Renner that the members of the Conference take the matter up and report at the next meeting. Carried.

Mr. Tusch suggested that in connection with moving pictures in churches, etc., something might be done with the City electricians, in connection with dangerous and illegal wiring.

Colonel Schwartz then addressed the Conference with regard to trade problems and urged a policy of non-interference between outside and local brewers. On the motion of Mr. Hess an adjournment was then taken, with the understanding that the next meeting should be held in Cincinnati on Wednesday and Thursday, November 10 and 11. Carried.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 110, a communication from the secretary of a county brewers' association to that association, reporting upon the result of the Atlantic City convention and the proposed activities of Mr. Andreae.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 110.

[Report sent to member of U. S. B. A. convention (1913) by Mr. Hoch, its secretary. From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

To the members of the Country Brewers Association of Michigan.

GENTLEMEN: Pursuant to instructions from our President, Mr. Louis W. Hine, I proceeded to Atlantic City, and attended the 53rd Annual Convention of the United States Brewers Association, as your representative.

The meeting was opened with an address by Mr. Jacob Ruppert, President, in which he emphasized the danger which confronts our Industry, not in any particular locality, but all over the United States. Notwithstanding the fact that the consumption of beer is steadily on the increase, national legislation is dreaded and feared, and drastic steps must be taken to check the growing sentiment, which is produced principally by the politician, who carries the favor of the Brewer, and who makes political capital for himself of the Liquor traffic.

The speech of the President was followed, after minor other lectures, etc., by a masterly oration and exhortation by Mr. Percy Andrae, who has been chosen as the chairman of the National Organization Bureau. He pointed out in most forceful manner, the necessity for "Concerted Action;" the urgency of every Brewer in the United States affiliating with and being a member of the National Organization. Not so much for the purpose of increasing its revenues, although sinews of war must also be provided, as the necessity of having a proper working organization. No one hearing the able oration of Mr. Andrae could be indifferent to his appeal for concerted and organized effort on the part of the Brewers, and contributing to the maintenance of such organization. Sixty-five per cent of the Brewers Barrelage is represented in the Association, but only forty per cent of the Brewers of the United States are members. This shows conclusively that the large breweries contribute to its maintenance principally. Mr. Andrae must have the moral influence, as well as the physical force to bring about his noble aims. His warfare will mean the death of the Demagogue and Hypocrite, whose slogan is the "Liquor traffic" to land him in office. He proposes to ascertain the standing of every office seeker, and deal only with men of principal and high integrity for office, and not allow men who pretend friendship turn upon us after election, believing that thereby they may advance a step or two on the political ladder. A list of the Brewers of Michigan, not members of the United States Brewers Association will be furnished me by Mr. Fox's office and special efforts must be made by our board of Control to induce every member of our own Association to join the National Association.

We, in Michigan, need the assistance of the United States Brewers Association, and direction of Mr. Andrae, Mr. McDermott and others, in our fight to avoid State wide Prohibition in 1914. I regret that the meeting of our Associa-

next; our meeting should immediately follow that Let us all get busy and when the roll of our to answer, that we are also members, one and all.

speeches, papers and suggestions found utterance at the Association. My report would tire you to mention esterly paper on "Accomplishment of proper organized Mr. John Gardiner, a Philadelphia Brewer; a copy of to every Brewer in the United States. Read it, by all pamphlet reaches you through the mail. Mr. Edward A. was chosen to succeed Mr. Ruppert as President. The held in New Orleans, La.

was received and treated most cordially by the officers, of the National Association, as well as by the six Brewers and their representatives, Messrs. Gordon and Manchester.

J. J. HOCH, *Secty.*

ASSOCIATION OF MICHIGAN.

Ypsilanti, Mich., Oct. 7, 1913.

ered in evidence Exhibit No. 112, it being a meet- State Conference Committee, on July 15, 1915, includ- the representatives of the several States on the ars in their States.

referred to is here printed in full in the record as

EXHIBIT No. 112.

S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

ING OF THE INTERSTATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE HELD AT THE OFFICE OF THE U. S. B. A.

JULY 25, 1915—10.30 A. M.

members were present:

Davis, Tacoma, Wash.; R. L. Autrey, Houston, Texas; G. L. Utah; G. H. Steele, Manchester, N. H.; T. C. Haffenreffer, H. A. Brehm, Baltimore, Md.; John P. Sullivan, New Orleans, ert, Louisville, Ky.; Austin J. Doyle, Chicago, Ill.; F. W. Zell- Minn.; Gilbert Potts, Newark, N. J.; Wm. F. Hess, Cincin- P. Hansell, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Oscar Schmidt, Milwaukee, Wis.; ver, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Henry Thuenen, Davenport, Ia.; F. W. en, Ct.; Mr. Martz, Detroit, Mich.; Harry Rickel, Detroit, Mich.; ler, St. Louis, Mo.; Hugh F. Fox, secretary, New York, N. Y.

were received from the following:

H. Over, Providence, R. I.; John F. Held, Wilmington, Del.; Carl S. Oakland, Cal.; J. E. Good, Denver, Colo.; A. von Rosenegk, Rich-

Schmidt, acting as chairman of the meeting, read the following which was adopted at the convention of the U. S. B. A. in October, regard to the creation of the Interstate Conference Committee:

a new Standing Committee shall be established, to be known as the Conference Committee, which is to be appointed by the industry in owing State as follows: each State Brewers' Association shall be to appoint one representative on such committee, and in States where ers are not organized as a State Brewers' Association, the local mem- the U. S. B. A. may meet and appoint their representative. The Presi- the U. S. B. A. shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Interstate Conference

shall be the duty of the Interstate Conference Committee to advise with d of Trustees upon conditions existing in the several States, and to the extent and nature of assistance, if any, which shall be given by the A. in meeting such conditions, and also to discuss and recommend a olicy to be pursued by the Association in matters concerning the in all States equally. The Committee shall hold a joint meeting

with the Board of Trustees at least once a year. The Secretary of the U. S. B. A. shall act as Secretary of the Interstate Conference Committee"—
and then stated that the various delegates would be called upon in turn for a report as to conditions in their State.

Mr. Davis reviewed the recent election in the State of Washington, which he said went dry by a majority of a 5% vote. The last legislature did nothing one way or the other, but the sentiment has changed since the last election. The election was lost because the people who patronized the saloons voted dry, and it was not the rural districts, but the cities that were responsible for the State going dry. He said that business has become stagnant especially in building and real estate, and that rents have dropped 25%. At present the State is facing financial difficulties and must have a bigger fund. The small communities have always felt that they got no benefit from the license fund, or from the revenues from the liquor business, but that if a State tax on liquor was imposed which would bring $1,000,000 to the State, all of the citizens would feel the benefit of it, and it would undoubtedly affect public sentiment very materially. To this end a referendum measure has been drawn, which it is proposed to initiate by petition next January, with the intention of bringing it to a vote in November, 1916. This bll is to provide for revenue by a stamp tax on all alcoholic beverages as follows:

One cent per quart and one-half cent per pint on such liquids or beverages containing 5 per cent or less of alcohol.

Five cents per quart and two-and-one-half cents per pint on such liquids or beverages containing more than 5 per cent and not over 17 per cent of alcohol.

Twenty cents per quart and ten cents per pint on such liquids or beverages containing more than 17 per cent and not over 34 per cent of alcohol.

Twenty cents per quart and ten cents per pint on all sparkling wines containing alcohol.

Twenty-five cents per quart and twelve and one-half cents per pint on all liquors or beverages containing more than 34 per cent and not over 55 per cent of alcohol.

Fifty cents per quart and twenty-five cents per pint on all liquids or beverages containing more than 55 per cent of alcohol.

That when such liquids or beverages containing alcohol are stamped in original packages containing 5 or more gallons such excise stamp tax shall be at the following rate:

Forty cents per barrel of 31 gallons, twenty cents a half barrel and ten cents a quarter barrel on all liquids or beverages containing 5 per cent or less of alcohol.

Ten cents per gallon on such liquids or beverages containing more than 5 per cent and not over 17 per cent of alcohol.

Forty cents per gallon on such liquids or beverages containing more than 17 per cent and not over 34 per cent of alcohol.

Fifty cents per gallon on such liquids or beverages containing more than 34 per cent and not over 55 per cent of alcohol.

One dollar per gallon on such liquids or beverages containing more than 55 per cent of alcohol.

The Chairman stated that this would establish a precedent which would be most mischievous, and that he regarded it as the most dangerous question that had ever been put up to us.

The argument of our opponents is that our people are big enough to assume the expenses of the government regardless of the liquor business, and we do not believe that conditions would be improved in any degree by increased taxation.

New Jersey. Mr. Potts moved that the Washington brewers be requested to withdraw any measure which imposed a stamp tax, or any other direct tax on the liquor business.

Wisconsin. Mr. Oscar Schmidt stated that the Missouri beer tax which is called an Inspection Tax, has proved most unfortunate, and is not a help to the industry at all. In a dozen State Legislatures a tax ranging from 25 cents to a dollar on beer has been brought up every year or so, and has had to be fought very hard. He seconded Mr. Potts' motion.

Washington. Mr. Davis stated that he had been in touch with the voters of Washington for twelve years, and that our people must have some new proposition in order to win. The proposed plan would bring in one-eleventh of the total revenue of the State. They are not pushing it now; the Legislature

has adjourned. They are willing to have the matter thoroughly investigated.

The resolution should not be put through at this time.

Mr. Zollman said that the policy is conceived on the wrong principle. It would not have any effect in deterring the prohibitionists, but would only operate as a weapon in other States. Our people have had to consider the question in Minnesota, but the proposition has always come from our opponents. The revenue question was at one time a very weighty one, but it has no weight now. The industrial question is at the present time the most important. The educational method is the only remedy.

Mr. Davis suggested that the matter go over until the fall. He did not realize that this Committee had any authority which would bind the Trustees with the U. S. B. A.

New Hampshire. Mr. G. H. Steele thought the matter was sufficiently serious to be considered by the Trustees, and suggested that a committee from this body confer with the brewers from the State of Washington.

Mr. Becker then moved that a Committee on Resolutions be appointed to consider these resolutions, and bring in a general resolution of the recommendations of this Committee to the Board of Trustees. The motion was adopted unanimously, and the Chairman appointed the following Committee on Resolutions:

G. L. Becker, Chairman
Oscar Schmidt
R. L. Autrey
W. P. Hansell
Hugo A. Koehler

Mr. Edward A. Schmidt then had to retire to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the U. S. B. A., and called upon Mr. Potts to take the chair.

Texas. Mr. R. L. Autrey reported that it had been an off-year in Texas, but that present conditions were very good. The Liquor Committee of the Legislature did not even have a meeting. Prohibitionists in Texas are on the defensive. At the same time the situation is serious as indicated by the fact that there are 256 dry counties in Texas, and only 20 counties entirely wet, and 32 partially wet. The next election for U. S. Senator will hinge on the National Prohibition issue. The Texas brewers have no feeling of security.

Referring to Mr. Davis' tax suggest on, it simply meant that the brewer should be the collector for the State, and that the matter is merely one of expediency without regard to principle.

In Texas the liquor interest provides 25% of the revenue of the State, but they think it so unimportant that the brewers disregard it entirely in their campaigns. The question is—does the citizen care enough about his liberty. In Texas the law is promptly enforced in the dry counties. In the early stages of the wet and dry fights the sales in the dry counties kept right on, but new laws have eliminated this. The last straw was the adoption of a license fee of $4,000 for the selling of non-intoxicating malt liquors in dry counties, and this has prevented the brewers from shipping into dry counties. Any liquor which goes into a dry county is brought at once under the taxing power. The recent action of the courts has, however, made it possible for the individual citizen in dry counties to bring liquor in for his personal use, and for the use of his family, but he cannot even give it away to anyone else.

Utah. Mr. Becker said that the situation in Utah is very serious. He referred to the passage of the prohibition law by the Legislature which the Governor vetoed. A law of a drastic nature was also passed and signed, which prohibits shipments into dry counties except to drug stores and individuals. Our concern at present is the election of the next Legislature. We have to make an open fight on the merits of our case, and are planning a very extensive educational campaign during the next year and a half, appealing to the reason of the leaders and winning the sentiment of the people.

New Hampshire. Mr. Steele said that the industry had been fairly successful for the past ten years in New Hampshire. The New Hampshire law is unique in some respects and has certain attractive features. For example the State Licensing Board can license hotels in dry towns. In New Hampshire there is a vast investment in resort hotels.

Vermont is to vote on prohibition next March. The units of the State are overwhelmingly no-license, and an educational campaign is their only reliance.

Mr. Haffenreffer reported that the Massachusetts brewers are spending $25,000 on a newspaper campaign, and they believe thoroughly in the educational method.

Mr. Brehm stated that the Maryland brewers are trying to ward off prohibition in the Legislature. He stated Anderson, former superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League conducted his campaign in the open, but Hare, the present superintendent still hunts and visits the people in the country districts, and gets acquainted with the family. He had charge of the Virginia and West Virginia fights.

Mr. Brehm said that if Maryland goes dry, the District of Columbia will of course follow, and a dry wave will sweep up the Atlantic Coast. He urged that the non-members of the U. S. B. A. should be visited personally, and he suggested that Mr. McDermott of the Organization Bureau go to Baltimore, and visit the non-members personally. The Baltimore brewers have conducted a newspaper advertising campaign, which has been very effective. Special consideration should be given to the distribution of pamphlets, and the U. S. B. A. should make suggestions as to where they should be sent, and the class of men that each pamphlet should be sent to.

Louisiana. Mr. J. P. Sullivan referred to the recent passage of the "Blind Tiger" Act, which prohibits shipments to dry places, and he stated that he had served notice on the Anti-Saloon League that if the League did not offer a bill regulating the illicit trade, he would do so. He joined with them in the passage of such a bill, but was opposed by the whiskey interests. Mr. Sullivan stated that 7 out of 8 congressmen in Louisiana have voted against the Hobson Resolution in Congress, and that the prohibitionists are making a fight on them in their districts. In Louisiana the solution of the question has been the passage of the Gay Shattuck Law, according to which a saloon in any district can be closed for misconduct by petition of a majority of the people. When the "near-beer" law was first passed there was a good deal of complaint as to the sale of substitutes particularly at soda water fountains, which made people ill, and it also served as a cloak for "blind tigers." Hence the passage of the bill which allows the sale of near-beer only in places where it is sold exclusively. The license fee for the sale of this near beer is $50 minimum. The Louisiana brewers have engaged a competent newspaper man to attend to publicity matters, and are publishing a paper called "Facts" which reaches 175,000 voters once a month. He stated that statutory prohibition prevails in all Southern States that have gone dry, and that Mississippi has never had an election on the prohibition question. He called attention to the Westerville Publishing house of the Anti-Saloon League, and said that all voters could be reached in each State by the publication of such a paper as "Facts".

Mr. Sullivan gave an interesting account in which he said that the whiskey men would load up wagons with flasks of whiskey which they would take to saw-mills and lumber camps when men were paid off, selling the flasks of whiskey for 25¢. That is the reason why every saw-mill man in the South is a prohibitionist. A law should be passed prohibiting the shipment of liquor into dry territory in every State.

Referring again to the publication of "Facts," he stated that he had secured paid subscriptions on 20,000 copies through the assistance of individual brewers, and that the $5 000 received as a contribution from the U. S. B. A. for publicity purposes had been put into this paper.

Iowa. Mr. H. Thuenen submitted a written report in regard to the State of Iowa, for the consideration of the Board of Trustees of the U. S. B. A. Iowa is now dry by the repeal of the Mulct Law, which takes effect January 1, 1916. At that time every brewery will be closed and all saloons banished from the State. The Legislature has adopted a resolution submitting to the people of the State an amendment to the constitution providing for state-wide constitutional prohibition. This resolution must again be adopted by both Houses of the Legislature in the 1917 session, and if adopted, will then be submitted to the people at the general election in 1918. The next battle will be at the next session of the Legislature. The margin in the State Senate in favor of Constitutional Prohibition is very small indeed, and there is a general feeling that the Legislature made a grievous error in repealing the Mulct Law.

While the brewers of Iowa will go out of business January 1, 1916, they have arranged to maintain their organization so as to co-operate with the U. S. B. A. if any effort is made to continue the fight.

Missouri. Mr. H. A. Koehler reported that the situation in Missouri is satisfactory except in regard to Congressmen. The sentiment in Missouri is for

local self-government, which is the key-note of all of the campaigns in that State. The State gets a revenue of half a million dollars from the beer inspection tax of 20¢ per barrel, but there is a division of opinion as to whether it is worth what it costs. There has been agitation among the brewers to organize for the purpose of limiting the number of saloons, but they are afraid of the Anti-Trust Law, and will probably advocate limitation by law.

Mr. Busch is anxious to try out the family resort idea. The U. S. B. A. should use all its efforts to repeal the present war tax as soon as it may be expedient.

Mr. Koehler thinks that the Interstate Conference Committee should meet semi-annually, if not quarterly.

Ohio. Mr. Wm. Hess said that Ohio has had everything in the way of local option laws that could be devised. At the last session of the Legislature 14 adverse measures were considered, all of which were defeated except the bill giving the county officials the right to appoint license commissioners, instead of having them appointed by the State. Ohio will have a prohibition fight this year to abolish saloons and the liquor traffic. The brewers are doing a great deal of publicity work. A million copies of their "Home Rule Almanac" were distributed. The newspapers have been used freely in the campaigns, and in the last campaign a speakers' bureau was established. A school for speakers was conducted for six weeks, and out of 70 candidates, 40 young lawyers were selected, and they did good work. Mr. Hess said that there are 2,000,000 barrels of beer brewed in Ohio on which the Ohio Brewers' Association has been unable to collect dues.

Pennsylvania. Mr. W. P. Hansell said that Pennsylvania is now at peace, but preparing for war. The recent Legislature defeated the county option bill by a large maority, which was entirely due to organization. The brewers, distillers and wholesalers and their employees are all working together. Pennsylvania practically has local option now under the Brooks Law. Only 60% of the barrelage is paying dues to the State Association.

Wisconsin. Mr. Oscar Schmidt says that Wisconsin has a very effective organization. The Legislature is still in session, but every adverse bill has so far been defeated, and three of the Senators from dry counties have been defeated for re-election. Only 60% of the barrelage from Wisconsin is paying dues to their organization. Mr. Schmidt has been devoting three days a month (as President of the Wisconsin Association) visiting brewers personally and getting them to join. With reference to the saloon situation he said that the brewers must not rely on the reports of their sales managers. There are 2200 saloons in Milwaukee, and 1000 to 1500 would be enough. Some brewers, however, are actually trying to increase the number of saloons. License fees are only $200. Chicago brewers are selling bottled beer in Milwaukee at 35¢ per dozen without charging for bottles or cases. Some of the Chicago brewers who do not belong to the Cook County Associatin are supplying salonkeepers in Milwaukee, who are under the ban of the Milwaukee brewers. Mr. Schmidt said that Wiscon brewers have not asked for any assistance from the U. S. B. A. except in a literary way. The wholesalers and distillers in Wisconsin have not given them a dollar.

Mr. Schmidt said that it was his idea to have meetings of the Interstate Conference Committee at various points quite frequently. There ought to be another meeting before the October Convention.

Nebraska. With reference to Nebraska, Mr. Oscar Schmidt reported that Mr. Bryan had been a bitter opponent, and that he had gone so far as to go before the grand jury three times to try and get indictments against the Nebraska brewers.

Referring to the general situation, Mr. Schmidt said that the people, and not the brewers, are responsible for bad saloons. He said that in Tennessee an offer was made to eliminate saloons in towns of less than 1000 people, which have no police protection, but this did not satisfy the other side. Texas hired attorneys to put the dives out of business, without impressing our opponents. Mr. Schmidt said that he believed we should always have to fight for the protection of our business, and advanced the opinion that there is no trade in which the sales force is given so much leeway.

He stated that a compensation bill is of the greatest importance. All we ask is to have our property rights protected, and let the damages be fixed by the jury. He believes that such a bill can be passed in Wisconsin. If ten big States were to pass such a compensation bill, the effect on Congress would be very great.

Illinois. Mr. A. Doyle submitted a written report, which in substance is as follows:

Under the law which allows women a vote in the municipalities, which has been upheld by the Supreme Court, the spring elections of 1914 in the towns, cities and villages resulted disastrously. Elections were held in 251 places and no less than 154 towns, cities and villages which had been wet were voted dry through the women's vote. There is no material change in the vote of the men. The population of the State residing under Township prohibition is 41.21 per cent, while those residing in license territory equal 58.79 per cent.

Since 1912 the Anti-Saloon League has raised over $100,000 a year. The situation in Illinois is a serious one, and it is of the utmost importance that there should be a strenuous defense of our industry, particularly in Chicago, because of the special concentration of the opposing force on what is called the "Dry Chicago in 1916" campaign.

Michigan. Mr. G. A. Kusterer reported that in 1916 Michigan would vote on state-wide prohibition under Initiative & Referendum. They have had no real organization of brewers for several years, but have formed a publicity bureau through a group of individual brewers who have formed a sort of Vigilance Committee. Only ten per cent of voters are required for signatures to a petition in Michigan. Efforts are now being made to bring about one State organization of brewers, and a general conference is to be held about the middle of July. Under the present conditions of dis-organization we, the brewers of Michigan, are bound to lose. Already 43 out of 83 counties are dry. Our opponents gained 10 counties this spring. It was the vote in the large cities that made the counties dry, as the large manufacturers have been intimidating their men into voting dry. The rural vote has not materially changed.

Kentucky. Mr. L. Reichert reported that there is a joint committee in Kentucky of all interests—distilling, brewing and distributing—and that there will be a state-wide fight in Kentucky. Out of 120 counties only 13 are now wet, and some of these are only partly wet. Officers of the U. S. B. A. should go through the State and see for themselves what the situation is.

Connecticut. Mr. Orr stated that an advertising campaign well handled would be very effective, and that literary material from the U. S. B. A. has been used mainly through newspapers, also that in Connecticut the city papers are read in rural districts, and advertising should be done there in the city papers, and *not* in the rural press. The advertising of the shipping brewers has not been of any assistance. Mr. Orr believes that shipping brewers should ask for suggestions from the Connecticut Brewers' Association in their advertising campaign.

Connecticut is one of the greatest beer-drinking States in this country, and it must be kept in line, but the co-operation of the outside brewers is absolutely necessary. At a recent session of the Legislature an effort was made to get a special measure through providing for the sale of a temperance beer containing less than 2% of alcohol, under special conditions. At the legislative hearing Prof. Jenkins of Yale, and a professor from Trinity College, also an expert from New York testified in favor of the measure, but when they were asked if they would give the beverage to their children, they all said "no" and this killed the measure.

The license fee in Connecticut has been raised from $500 to $750 by the recent Legislature. Mr. Orr stated that the outside brewers who do business in Connecticut ought to become a part of the Connecticut Brewers' Association.

The Resolutions Committee then presented the following report, which was unanimously adopted (except by Mr. Davis, who desired to be recorded as ruling "no") as a recommendation to the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association:—

"***Resolved***, that it is the sense of this meeting that the imposition of a direct State tax on alcoholic beverages is unsound in principle, and would be a serious detriment to the brewing industry of this country, and we believe that it will not serve to deter the people from voting for prohibition. We urge the brewers of Washington to confer with the Executive Committee of the U. S. B. A. before taking any further steps to promote such legislation.

"***Resolved***, that we believe the issues now confronting us must be met on their merits, and that a campaign of education must be conducted in each State, for the purpose of securing sound sentiment, based on accurate information.

"***Resolved***, that we endorse the suggestions of the Joint Harmony Committee in regard to the betterment of Saloon Conditions, and recommend that local

organizations give the matter their earnest and practical aid in putting these suggestions into execution.

"*Resolved*, that this Committee meet the day preceding the opening of the convention.

"*Resolved*, that the members of this Committee exchange their publicity matter, and that a report of this meeting be sent to each member of the committee.

"We recommend that the Executive Committee consider carefully conditions in the several States in the forthcoming campaigns, and that all the activities of the U. S. B. A. should be so centralized and its resources so conserved that the weight of its aid and influence may be placed where the greatest needs exist."

The meeting adjourned at 4:40 P. M.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 113, which is a statement of the membership of 1914.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 113.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP [NOV. 1914].

Active members November 1, 1914		661
Associate members November 1, 1914		48
		709
Active members:		
Oct. 1st, 1913	682	
New members since Oct. 1, 1913	109	
		791
Resignations	1	
Consolidations	2	
Out of business	4	
[1] Crossed off membership list on account of delinquency	123	
		130
		661
Associate members:		
Oct. 1st, 1913	65	
Crossed off list since Oct. 1913 on account of delinquency	17	
		48

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 116, a statement for 1916, showing total barrelage of the members of the association in each one of the States, the total for all of the States being 45,890,228 barrels, or 66 per cent of the total production.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 116.

Total barrelage of members in each State.

State.	Total barrelage.
Alabama	44,734
Alaska	1,310
California	1,334,599
Colorado	328,097
Connecticut (1913)	645,953
Delaware	130,325
District of Columbia	200,278
Florida	23,536
Georgia (1913)	118,470

[1] These delinquents have been carried from year to year, and are not current delinquents. If they had been dropped a year ago our present active membership would show a net active increase of 102.

	Total barrelage.
Idaho	29,931
Illinois (1913)	3,744,249
Indiana	1,441,110
Iowa (1913)	365,251
Kentucky	725,587
Louisiana	418,866
Maryland (1913)	555,141
Massachusetts	1,951,344
Michigan	1,353,827
Minnesota	1,045,541
Missouri (1913)	4,046,373
Montana (1913)	63,492
Nebraska (1913)	190,800
Nevada	15,720
New Hampshire (1913)	288,270
New Jersey (1913)	3,188,772
New Mexico	19,295
New York	8,865,248
Ohio (1913)	2,718,223
Oregon	161,718
Pennsylvania (1913)	4,313,661
Rhode Island (1913)	535,862
South Dakota	44,231
Tennessee (1913)	261,967
Texas (1913)	641,301
Utah	150,269
Virginia (1913)	171,538
Washington	868,176
Wisconsin (1913)	3,767,252
Wyoming	16,683
Hawaii	22,228
	44,809,228 or 66 percent of total production.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 117, it being a circular letter from Hugh F. Fox, secretary, to the members of the United States Brewers' Association, telling of their activities in the different States.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 117.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

United States Brewers' Association, Association's Office, 109 and 111 East 15th Street.

NEW YORK, *January 6, 1999.*

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:

Organized Strength of the Brewers.—The United States Brewers' Association is now in its forty-ninth year. Of the 1,600 brewers in the United States, only 823 are members of the Association. Their output, however, represents eighty per cent. of the entire brewing business of the country.

In addition to the parent association, there are now over 50 State and local organizations of brewers, many of which have been started under the impetus of the parent association. Every effort is being made to increase the number of such organizations, so that the entire country may be thoroughly covered by men who know the situation, in each locality, and who can get into personal touch with all the interests involved.

Organization Work.—During the current year the United States Brewers' Association has taken an active part, by disseminating our literature and educating the voters, in the following States, where the license question was a campaign issue: Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska,

New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

In addition to this, investigations have been conducted and preliminary organization work started in Alabama, California, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Montana, Oklahoma, Oregon and Vermont.

This Association took entire charge of several of the recent license campaigns in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and the campaign against constitutional Prohibition in South Dakota.

During the past month and on November 3rd, important victories were gained for our cause in the following States: Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah and Wisconsin. In fact, we won nearly every contest in which we were engaged.

* * * * * * *

Our Literary Bureau.—Since the opening of the Spring of 1908 we have printed 2,000,000 pamphlets, editions of some 50 originals, and have reprinted many important newspaper and magazine articles. Most of the material for these leaflets has been collated and prepared under our direction. The total quantity of leaflets, etc., which we have printed is 2,500,000. Of this quantity 1,750,000 have been distributed, direct, to our members, and through the State and local brewing and allied trade organizations. The more important pamphlets are plated, so that we can reprint new editions as they are called for, without delay.

The best testimony as to the value of our publications comes from our opponents. The head of the International Reform Bureau recently appealed to the so-called temperance organizations to get together and suppress much of their present literature and combine for the issuance of new matter which should *compare in quality and character with our publications.* He told them, in effect, that they were simply outclassed, so far as their literature went.

In Touch With The Press.—We have just completed a list of three thousand important newspapers and publications, which will constitute a mailing list for our literature, and intend to keep them constantly informed of new developments of public interest. We hope, in this way, to gradually win the confidence of the press, with the result of securing a larger measure of helpful publicity. Already we can trace a marked difference in the tone of the thoughtful newspapers with regard to our business.

We are planning, and in fact have already started, important lines of investigation and research, with a view to assembling a body of facts which will help the brewing trade to establish certain definite principles in regard to licensing and the whole question of saloon regulation. We are endeavoring to enlist the coöperation of municipal experts and civic bodies, and of all serious students of government in this connection.

In the Enemy's Camp.—We have been studying the tactics of the forces opposed to us, with a view to measuring their strength. This is not a mere skirmish—it is a "seven years' war," which is destined to cover the whole country. Do you know that—

There are over one hundred temperance and Prohibition papers published in this country? That the Anti-Saloon League alone publishes thirty weekly, bi-weekly, and monthly papers throughout the United States, of which 500,000 copies are sent out?

What we have to Reckon with.—That the League has over a hundred business offices, and at least five hundred men and women on its regular salary list, in these offices alone? That besides this, it employs large numbers of speakers on contract, from the Governor of Indiana down to the local pastor of a Methodist church?

That it confesses to an annual income of over $400,000 and probably has a much larger sum at its disposal?

Do you know that the Anti-Saloon League and the Prohibition party maintain well-equipped press bureaus, and send out plated matter every week to all of the newspapers of the country? That the Lincoln Temperance Press of Chicago, and the National Temperance Society of New York, and the Anti-Saloon League are publishing and distributing, broadcast, their leaflets, books, songs, prohibition buttons, etc.?

Do you realize that the men who are managing those movements have capitalized the temperance sentiment which has been evolved in a century of preaching and agitation?

Do you realize that the sentiment of the people of this country against the disreputable saloon, and the saloon influence in politics, has also been cap-

italized by the Anti-Saloon League, and that it has temporarily won the votes of thousands of men who are not naturally our opponents, and who are men of liberal habits themselves, but who have been induced to support the league, for the sake of getting a crack at liquor people, because some of them have abused their privileges?

* * * * * * *

Evils We Must Cure.—Second, we may as well admit the fact, and face it squarely, that there is some ground for complaint, and that there are real evils connected with the saloon business which must be overcome. Unless we can get rid of the saloons of disreputable character which resort to disorderly practices, the agitation will continue to grow. This is the most essential and *the elementary thing* to do. Of course the number of such saloons is exaggerated, but there are still enough of them to cause scandal in most of our cities. However, enough has already been done in the way of correction to be an earnest of the intentions of the brewers, and to show them it is not by any means a hopeless undertaking.

Organization Imperative.—Third, we must ourselves present a solid front to our opponents. Every brewer should join his State Association, and all brewers, of course, ought to be loyal members of their National Organization. These organizations must be thoroughly well equipped, and brought to the highest point of efficiency, so that in intelligence, general character and ability we may completely outshine our professional adversaries, and win the respect and confidence of the thoughtful public.

Fourth, we must prove by our open-mindedness and sincerity that the interest of the brewers and that of the community at large coincide. We must willingly and frankly cooperate with civic organizations and individuals who are trying to study the liquor problem justly and intelligently, with a view to working out some system that may improve conditions.

* * * * * * *

All this spells ORGANIZATION, EQUIPMENT, INTELLIGENCE, EFFICIENCY, and a combination of the resources of the trade, and the best thought and energy that money can buy. I believe sincerely that the brewers have the best argument on their side. I believe that if they will show faith and hope in their own cause, the final outcome of this contest will be a condition of business which will prove a benediction both to the trade and the public.

Will You Now?—In the meantime, it is an expensive undertaking, and the question is whether you will make your investment at this critical time, when it is most needed and will bring about the best results, or whether you will spread it out thin over a period of years, and perhaps fail in the end. A man who is brave and intelligent faces an operation, if it is necessary. A weak or a foolish man staves it off with tonics and palliatives which do not cure the evil, until sometimes the operation itself is too late to save him.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 119, with reference to the organization and showing the purposes of the Interstate Executive Association, an organization composed of the executive officers, attorneys, and secretaries of all of the State and local associations, for the purpose of coordinating the action of the several organizations.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 119.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[United States Brewers' Association, 109 and 111 East 15th Street. President and chairman board of trustees, Carl J. Hoster; vice presidents—1st, Jacob Ruppert, jr.; 2d, William Hamm; 3d, Edward A. Schmidt; treasurer, Anton C. G. Hupfel; secretary, Hugh F. Fox; general counsel, Robert Crain; chairman vigilance committee, Albert Lieber; chairman advisory committee and labor committee, Louis B. Schram; chairman publication committee, Rudolph J. Schaefer; chairman finance committee, Jacob Ruppert, jr.; chairman committee on federal relations, Julius Liebmann. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Interstate.]

NEW YORK, *July 22, 1909.*

Your Committee, to whom was referred the motion of Mr. Fecker and the matters pertaining thereto, and which by subsequent motion was authorized to

consider the other matters referred to in the tentative suggestions of Mr. Hugh F. Fox under date of July 9, 1909, herewith beg leave to submit the following report:

First. We recommend that a permanent organization be and hereby is perfected of the executive officers, attorneys and secretaries of the various state and local organizations, and such other officers as may be designated by said various state and local associations; to be known as the INTERSTATE EXECUTIVE ASSOCIATION; that the officers of such Association shall be: President, Vice-president and Secretary; that such officers shall hold their respective offices for a term of one year and until their successors are elected and qualified. *And we recommend that John Gardiner of Philadelphia, be elected as President;* William C. Manchester of Detroit, Vice-president, and Hugh F. Fox of New York, Secretary. And we further recommend that this Association hold quarterly meetings, at some place to be designated by the Association and that special meetings be called by the President at any time he deems advisable.

The general purpose and object of this Association shall be to interchange ideas, information and literature bearing upon educational and publicity methods, trade problems, *campaign management*, legislation and such other matters as may be of general interest to the brewing industry. We recommend that the various state associations secure information of the conditions in their various states, as the same may pertain to the liquor traffic and the brewing industry, and the movement for the regulation or prohibition of the same and that such information so obtained be transmitted by each state to every other state association and the headquarters of the U. S. B. A. from time to time as the same is secured, to the end that such state so receiving same may utilize such information in the work in each such state, so far as practicable.

Second. We believe that there should be a closer affiliation between the various state and local organizations and the United States Brewers Association, and that advance information should be sent from the United States Brewers' Association to the various state and local organizations as soon as practicable, to the end that use can be made thereof to the best advantage by the various state and local associations. We also believe that the various state associations should endeavor to secure the admission as members of every brewer within their jurisdictions, first with the state association, and second, with the United States Brewers Association. We do not deem it advisable that a digest of the liquor laws and court decisions of the various states should be compiled by the United States Brewers' Association, but we do recommend that the various state organizations separately compile a digest of their liquor laws and court decisions, and that such compilations be interchanged.

Third. We believe that there is need for a campaign book covering general topics for use in the various states and that such campaign book should be issued annually by the United States Brewers' Association.

Fourth. We believe that beverage advertising would be advantageous to our cause and to the trade as a whole, and we recommend that the President appoint a committee of three or five to thoroughly consider this subject in all its details and devise some plan by which such advertising can be made feasible, and report same at the next meeting of this Association.

Fifth. Campaign management and legislation is largely a matter for each state individually, but we believe in a general outline under the auspices of the National Brewers' Association and in a Speakers' Bureau to be organized along national lines.

Sixth. As to the other matters contained in the tentative suggestions above referred to, we believe that they should be left to an open discussion upon the floor of this meeting and subsequent meetings.

Inasmuch as the majority of the members present are not engaged directly in the brewing business, but are employees of the various state organizations in the capacity of attorneys and secretaries, Mr. Fecker, who made the motion resulting in the appointment of this Committee, has consented to withdraw the same, and your Committee believes that such withdrawal should therefore be assented to.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) F. W. ZOLLMAN.
W. H. AUSTIN.
ERNEST FECKER, Jr.
PAUL O. REYMANN.
PAUL ESSELBORN.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 120.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 120.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[United States Brewers' Association, Association's Office: 109 East 15th Street, New York.]

NEW YORK, July 23, 1912.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * * *

Constitution: * * * ARTICLE IV. Provides for nine standing committees, of which the Finance Committee and the Committee on Federal Relations shall be chosen by the Board of Trustees. The other seven standing committees—viz: Advisory Committee, Vigilance Committee, Labor Committee, Publication Committee, Membership Committee, Crop Improvement Committee and Committee on Transportation and Rates—shall each consist of five members, who shall be elected annually at the regular Convention. The Chairman of each of the nine standing committees shall become a member of the Board of Trustees upon his election or appointment. The scope and duties of each committee are carefully defined in Articles 5 to 13 of the By-Laws.

The provision that the Trustees shall not appropriate any money for local or State interests, except by two-thirds of all the members of the U. S. B. A., is eliminated.

* * * * * * *

Yours respectfully,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 121, which is a summary of the minutes of the United States Brewers' Association in the year 1910.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 121.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

The Organization Bureau.—This department, which is our fighting field force, is financed by a *voluntary fund.* It has taken an active part during the past two years in State and local campaigns throughout the country. No less than 46 States and Territories have had the personal service of the Bureau. The statement with regard to the elections of November 8, 1910, which has gone out to our members, indicates the extent of the recent work. There were 27 State campaigns in which we were interested, and we won substantial victories in all except one of them. Surely this speaks for itself.

The Campaign of Education.—During the years of 1909 and 1910, we have distributed over three million pieces of printed matter. We have been sending leaflets and books, at frequent intervals, to a list of three thousand newspapers and periodicals, and to two thousand public libraries and also to the reference libaries and departments of economics and sociology in five hundred colleges and universities. Special studies have been made for us of conditions in Prohibition States, and the "dry" territory in County Option States, which have been worked up into magazine articles. We have employed the best talent to make these investigations, and also to supply us with absolutely accurate data on the social aspects of the liquor problem, in order that no statement might go out from the U. S. Brewers' Association which could be challenged from the standpoint of its accuracy or authority. During the past two years a large number of articles have been published in the principal popular magazines and weeklies, which are the result of this work and have had a marked influence in the education of public sentiment. By these methods, we have won the respect and confidence of the men who are the leaders of thought in this country. The Scientific Societies and professional men in journalism and in the universities

are coming to us constantly now for information. We have succeeded in impressing such men with the fact that they can get more material from our office than anywhere else in the country, and that we are actually a central Clearing House of information on everything that is related to the liquor problem and the beer business. Some extent of the campaign may be gained from the fact that our newspaper clipping service brings us in about 15,000 clippings a month. These are examined and those that are of any value filed and indexed. *Our Secretary is a member of all of the national societies which have anything to do with public health, political science, social science and economics, criminology, charities and school higiene. The acquaintance thus gained with public men has proved most valuable.* We have also been making a thorough study of the tactics of our opponents, and in various ways, which I cannot take time to specify here, have undermined the confidence which contributors and churches have had in them.

Federal Relations.—Our counsel has guarded our interests in the matter of Federal Legislation with most remarkable success. During the last two sessions in Congress over 200 bills adverse to our interest have been introduced, many of which have had the backing of the entire Prohibition and Temperance organizations in this country, including the W. C. T. U. and the National Reform Bureau. Only one measure affecting our interests has passed Congress in this period and that went through with our assent. You can readily imagine what this has meant in winning and keeping friends in the Congressional Districts. It is also literally true that Congress has been kept from doubling the tax on beer by our unaided efforts. These, of course, are *confidential matters.*

Labor Committee.—The Chairman of our Labor Committee occupies a unique position. He is respected alike by capital and labor, and has been selected as one of the Conciliation Committee of Five of the National Civic Federation, which is called upon in any very great and far-reaching strikes which affect the public, and has also been elected a member of the council of the American Association for Labor Legislation, which is a most important body. We are constantly called upon to advise our members in regard to their contracts and labor difficulties, and in addition have succeeded in solidifying the ranks of labor in the various Prohibition and License campaigns. For example, Fall River and Worcester, Mass., were reclaimed from the "dries" last year by the organization of the labor vote.

Advisory Committee.—The Advisory Committee has conducted a very large correspondence with brewers throughout the country who have asked for information and advice in regard to the label and pure food laws and other technical matters.

New Order of Things.—New Times require new methods. The brewer cannot afford to ignore public sentiment. On the contrary he must educate and influence it. Above all we must present a solid front to our opponents. Membership in the U. S. Brewers' Association as well as in our State and local organizations should be taken by every intelligent brewer as a matter of course. It should be charged to insurance. If we are willing to spend money in insurance to protect our property against fire, accident and all the other hazards of business, why should we not also insure ourselves against the destruction of the business itself. It is absolutely necessary that these organizations, and particularly the U. S. Brewers' Association, should be brought to the highest point of efficiency so that in intelligence, equipment, character and ability we may completely outclass our professional adversaries. We must be able to command the best thought and energy that money can buy. This is the time for us to show by our works that we have faith and hope in our cause.

There is also offered in evidence a skeleton of the reorganization plan.

(The exhibit referred to is here printd in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 122.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[Copy.]

SKELETON OF REORGANIZATION PLAN.

The various activities of this association naturally group themselves as follows:

(1) *Political Organization:* This includes State campaigns, Congressional campaigns, the Washington Bureau and the Organization of Voters.

I shall not attempt to deal with this department except to say that it must be organized with a view to getting as much work as possible out of other people. The problem will be how to keep up the interest and activity of affiliated bodies upon whom we must rely, at a minimum cost. (To illustrate: If a central bureau attempted to deal directly with a body of ten million voters, it would cost $200.000 to send out a single letter). Undoubtedly, we shall have to supply organizers who can head these movements nationally and they, in turn, will have to call out the active assistance of our forces in the various states and centers of population.

(2) *Education:* This includes the whole work of publicity, maintenance of the library, exhibitions and our relations with organizations and individuals engaged in the work of social welfare.

The object of our educational campaign is to develop public sentiment, based upon sound information. The work must be corrective and constructive; that is, it must correct false impressions while the building-up process is going on. No organization in this country is big enough, or rich enough, to reach all the people of the country directly, much less to educate them. Recognizing our natural limitations, we must, first of all, reach and teach the teachers. This includes the colleges, libraries, newspapers, magazines, instructors in economics and physiology, and the men who are the leaders of thought in their communities. With the coming of Woman's Suffrage, this is more than ever necessary. We must supply campaign material on demand, and assist our members and allies in all matters relating to publicity and newspaper work. The scope is enormous, and the value of this department is limited only by the amount of money that the Association can spend upon it.

(3) *Labor:* The Labor Bureau should have two objects, First, the assistance it can give to our own members in making contracts, adjusting differences and standardizing the cost and conditions of labor. This necessarily means the establishment of a bulletin service, keeping our members informed from week to week of all the news in the field of brewery labor, such as new contracts, new conditions, local difficulties, etc.

In addition to this, the Labor Bureau might be of very great value in our political organization by establishing a permanent working connection with the other labor bodies who make up the American Federation of Labor, and who have any direct or indirect connection with or relation to the liquor industry. There are probably a score of trades and crafts included in this category.

(4) *Law:* This includes Federal, State, County and Municipal Laws and Ordnances relating to excise and license regulations and judicial decisions thereon: Also Federal and State Laws, Regulations, Standards and Decisions relating to pure food, weights and measures, trade-marks and copyrights, industrial insurance and factory regulations.

(5) *Executive Department:* The Executive Department should have the general oversight and direction of the work of all the other departments, except the Political Department. In addition to the matters mentioned above it should perform the work initiated by the Membership Committee, the Advisory Committee and the Crop Improvement Committee.

Under the Executive Department should be included the entire clerical staff, consisting of: Membership Clerk, Librarian and Assistant, Stenographers, Filing Clerks, Mailing and Shipping Clerks, Telephone Operator and Office Boy.

This would require a force of about fifteen employees, in addition to the heads of departments, the field staff and the men employed in the Political Department.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 123.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 123.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

Salary Schedule.

Name.	Per month.
Robert Crain	$2,083.33
Hugh F. Fox	1,250.00
Wilson J. Vance	416.66
E. A. Moffett	333.32
M. Michelson	260.00

	Per month.
G. Myers	$216.66
C. Kessler	216.66
G. Thomann (Pension) Checks to be made to the order of Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co	166.66
C. Morrogh	151.66
G. Franznick	108.33
W. Buggeln	47.66
H. Taylor	43.33
C. E. Bevington	41.66
I. T. Martin	300.00
G. L. Todd	151.66
B. Tighe	150.00
E. M. Donlan	130.00
E. A. Waller	86.66
J. G. Donlan	86.66
K. H. Donlan	78.00
M. A. Waller	69.33
F. Schwarzwaelder	65.00
K. Tighe	65.00
	$6,518.24

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 124, it being a list of the organizations that Hugh F. Fox belonged to.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 124.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

LIST OF ASSOCIATIONS TO WHICH MR. FOX BELONGS.

(Numbers indicate information file.)

American Political Science Association, 2429.
American Museum of Safety.
American Economic Association.
American Association of International Conciliation, 4028.
American Ass'n Prevention of Infant Mortality.
American Statistical Society, 2428.
American Inst. of Criminal Law & Criminology, 2252.
American Historical Association, 2120.
American School Hygiene Association, 2367.
American Public Health Association. 2078.
American Academy of Political & Social Science, 932.
American Association for Labor Legislation (No Membership List Published), 2277.
American Federation of Arts, Wash., D. C.
American Sociological Society, 2124.
American Prison Association, 530.
American Museum of Natural History.
American Association for Advancement of Science (Smithsonian Institute), 2078.
American Civic Association (Don't publish List), 2114.
American Social Hygiene Ass'n, 517.
Efficiency Society, 712.
Industrial Economic Dept. Advisory Council (Civic Fed.)
General Alliance of Workers with Boys (1908, last membership list), 730.
Municipal Art Society of New York, 321.
National Committee on Prison Labor—Columbia Univ., 530.
National Child Welfare Press Service (no list), 802.
National Housing Association, 105 East 22nd, 2369.
National Conference Charities & Correction, 2480.
National Ass'n. for Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 757.
National Child Labor Committee, 802.
National Association for the Prevention of Mendicancy, 2461.
National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, 933.

National Municipal League, 703 N. American Bldg. Phila. Pa., 742.
National Economic League, 441.
National Conservation League (No List Published), 2425.
New Jersey State Charities Aid & Prison Reform Ass'n.
New Jersey Anti-Tuberculosis Ass'n.
Religious Citizenship League.
Berkshire Industrial Farm (New Canaan, N. Y.).
New Jersey Conference Charities & Corrections.
New Jersey Children's Protective Alliance.
New Jersey Child Labor Committee.
New Jersey Charity Organization Society (President).
New York State Charities Aid Association.
New York Peace Society, 2345.
New York Probation Association, 2116.
New York Dept. Health, Advisory Council.
New York State Forestry Association, 2425.
Pilgrims Society.
Prison Association of New York.
Society of the White Cross of Geneva.
Survey Associates.
Sixth International Congress on Social Work (London).
National Security League, 2345.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 125.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 125.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[United States Brewers' Association, 109 & 111 East 15th Street. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. President, and chairman board trustees, Carl J. Hoster; vice presidents—1st. Jacob Ruppert, Jr.; 2d, William Hamm; 3d, Edward A. Schmidt; treasurer, Anton C. G. Hupfel; secretary, Hugh F. Fox; general counsel, Robert Crain; mgr. organization bureau, John A. McDermott; chairman vigilance committee, Albert Lieber; chairman advisory committee and labor committee, Louis B. Schram; chairman publication committee, Rudolph J. Schaefer; chairman finance committee, Jacob Ruppert, Jr.; chairman committee on Federal relations, Julius Liebmann.]

NEW YORK, *Sept. 20, 1909.*

To the Inter-State Executive Association.

GENTLEMEN: With the gradual improvement in the beer business and the great expansion of the trade in bottled beers, there is a more general disposition on the part of brewers to advertise in the newspapers. We have received a number of inquiries recently asking for information as to which papers are fair and reasonable regarding our interests, and which are absolutely antagonistic.

With the change that is taking place in public sentiment, a number of papers that have been inmical to us are now veering round. Of course we must expect that a newspaper will print anything of news value, no matter who is helped or hurt by it, but the fairness of the paper can be easily tested by its editorial utterances and the emphasis which it gives to one view or the other, even in its news columns.

I am writing to ask you to send me, in confidence, a list of the papers in your State that you regard as conspicuously friendly or unfriendly, and shall assume that the papers of any importance that you do not mention may be considered reasonably fair. If you have any papers that refuse to print beer advertisements they should be mentioned.

In any use that may be made of this list, we shall, of course, be very careful not to quote you or anybody connected with our interests, in any way.

Soliciting your co-operation in this important matter I am,

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 128.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 128.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[Interstate Executives' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City. President, John Gardiner; vice-president, William Manchester; secretary, Hugh F. Fox; executive committee, F. W. Zollman, William Austin, Percy Andreae, Stephen B. Fleming, E. C. Crow.]

DECEMBER 6, 1910.

To the Members of the Interstate Executives' Association.

The Interstate Executives' Association will meet at the office of the Brewers' Exchange, No. 1021 Schiller Building, Chicago, Ill., at 10 o'clock a. m., on Wednesday, December 28th, 1910.

The deliberations will take the character of an experience meeting in connection with the recent campaigns, and a survey of the field of action with a view to the work that is to be done in the near future. It is believed that the meeting will prove particularly valuable, and that there will be a large attendance.

Please let me know if you will be present?

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

The following additonal exhibit is also offered in evidence.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 132.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[Interstate Executives' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City. President, John Gardiner; vice-president, William Manchester; secretary, Hugh F. Fox; executive committee, F. W. Zollman, William Austin, Percy Andreae, Stephen B. Fleming, E. C. Crow.]

JANUARY 18, 1911.

To the Members of the Interstate Executives' Association.

GENTLEMEN: I am sending herewith a list of the members of the Interstate Executives' Association. This is supposed to comprise the principal executive officers and attorneys of all State and local brewers' associations, together with the officers and trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association and such other persons as may have applied for membership in the Interstate Association, or who by reason of their special activity in the general conduct of affairs should properly be included in our membership.

This Association is organized to collect and exchange information and literature bearing upon educational and publicity methods, trade problems, court decisions, campaign management, legislation and policy in the various States and such other matters as may be of general interest to the brewing industry.

Hitherto all publications of State and local associations have been sent in bulk to my office and mailed to the members of the Association, which has, naturally, involved some delay. At the last meeting of the Interstate Executives' Association it was decided that hereafter such matter should be sent direct by the local association, etc., to each member of the Interstate Executives' Association. The enclosed list will, therefore, constitute your mailing list for this purpose, and your co-operation is urgently requested in the prompt transmission of all information and publications that accord with our object.

If there are any omissions in the list of members, so far as your State is concerned, will you kindly notify me at once? I beg to inform you that at our recent annual election of officers, Mr. Percy Andreae was elected President, Mr. Oscar Schmidt, Vice-President and Mr. H. F. Fox, Secretary, for the ensuing year.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Enclosure.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 147, which is a confidential letter from Mr. Fox to Mr. Andreae.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 147.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

[Confidential—Publicity.]

MAY 10, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The Atlantic Monthly is going to publish a series of articles on "Alcohol & Society" which will deal with the social, economic, physiological and legislative aspects of the question. Mr. John Koren will have an important part in the matter. Mr. Albert J. Nock will also write several articles.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science has sent a Mr. Florance to this country to investigate industrial accidents, and we have put him in touch with Mr. Koren, who has given him a number of letters to people in Washington and other places. His work is important and he seems to be convinced that there is no close connection between accidents and drink, and he is making a special study of the relation of fatigue to industrial accidents.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF:JD

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 148, it being a report of and correspondence with I. T. Martin relative to the meeting of the Anti-Saloon League in Atlantic City, and of her methods of operation as an employee of the United States Brewers' Association.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 148.

[From U. S. B. A. files. I. T. Martin, July 10—15.]

Report of Anti-Saloon League Convention, Atlantic City N J July 6 to 9, 1915.

The official program, enclosed herewith, gives the list of speakers, etc., so that it will not be necessary to refere to same in this report. The fee paid for admission to the convention, includes a printed copy of the convention proceedings, with the addresses of the principal speakers. That will come, as soon as published.

The convention headquarters—Hotel Chalfonte—offered a very meagre exhibit—the usual startling and sensational posters issued by the League, with the various maps and charts. It created practically no attention, was not mentioned in the press. Literature was sold from this booth—nothing was given away. Under separate cover, I am sending samples of the literature distributed.

An admission fee of one dollar was charged all delegates and visitors. The Million Dollar Pier was taken over by the League for the convention, and judging from the crowds, it must have been a financial success.

Miss Cora Frances Stoddard of Boston—the Scientific Temperance "authority," seated among the delegates during the convention, had her pocket picked, and claimed to have lost a watch, as well as a couple of small purses.

Jonathan K Taylor, President of the Provident Trust Company, of Baltimore, gave a check for one thousand dollars to Rev P A Baker, for the work of the Anti-Saloon League.

The publicity booth gave out advertising material for the manufacturers of the National Calendar—Matt Parrott and Sons Company of Waterloo, Iowa. The sample enclosed herewith, shows the names of some of the firms who use the calendar. It seems that many of them should not be interested in the

League. The fact that the League distributed quantities of advertising pamphlets for the calendar, shows that the manufacturers must be interested in the League. It was the only thing given free during the entire convention!

Rev. Purley A. Baker, in his opening address, said that the religious end of the liquor fight had been won, and that the anti-drink orders of various railroads and corporations, followed on the "conversion of the churches"; that such orders could not be issued, unless the churches would lend their moral support to the movement.

The Chalfonte Hotel owner, I learned, also owns the Atlantic City Review, and that paper put an Anti-Saloon League worker on the staff, or at least, used his articles to cover the convention, as will be seen by clippings sent in from the Atlantic City Review. That paper contained a page adv. July 5th, announcing the convention, the speakers etc. Current gossip had it that the page was the gift of the paper to the League. It contained the statement that "it takes ten beers to make you drunk; one beer will make you one tenth soused." The Review, on July 5th also editorially welcomed the convention, and announced that the services of Rev. Doctor Robert Arthur Elwood had been secured, to cover the convention.

James R. Mann, leader of the House, was roundly scored by almost every convention speaker, and termed a "liquor employee" in some instances.

Mrs. Florence D. Richard, of Columbus, Ohio, president of the Ohio W. C. T. U., one of the convention speakers, started a terrific outburst of applause, when referring to woman suffrage, she said: "When women walk to the polls, good-bye Mr. Booze."

A plan was announced, to secure prohibition in Hawaii, through Congress, as well as to make Washington, D. C., "dry." The claim was made that saloons in Washington, D. C., had been reduced from 1,200 to 300 and that Washington would soon resemble Russia from the prohibition standpoint.

The League announced its intention to wage war upon all candidates who refuse to pledge themselves to the prohibition movement. This will be done by the formation of bible-classes throughout the country. League officials predicted a membership of 20,000 in such "political bible-classes." The League also expressed its determination to keep on with the fight until liquor was not only barred from the mails, but all liquor advs. of any kind or character.

A few prohibition "thrillers" were thrown upon the screen at a couple of moving picture houses.

A defense of Hobson, for his attack upon the president, or for his suggestion that Wilson become a total abstainer, as against the editorial of criticism published in the New York World, was published in the Atlantic City Press, July 10th.

The Mayor of Westerville, Ohio, called on the Mayor of Atlantic City, and during the interview, the latter official was charged with having said that "with no saloons, you haven't much need for a police force." This was alleged to have been said to J. H. Lorimore, editor of the National Daily, also Mayor of Westerville, Ohio. The Atlantic City Union, July 10, printed this story, but I think I succeeded in keeping it off the wire, the statement sent out, so far as I could learn, only quoting the Atlantic City mayor as saying that arrests for drunkenness had increased since the Anti-Saloon League hosts reached the resort. However, on all sides, I heard it expressed that the Mayor of Atlantic City had furnished the "drys" with a choice bit of publicity material.

FINANCES.

The Anti-Saloon League, following its usual custom, made no public announcement of its funds, except to say that six thousand dollars was subscribed at the Business Men's Lunch, one thousand dollars given by J Taylor, (heretofore referred to); twelve thousand dollars collected by J. Taylor; five hundred dollars for the "Railsplitters Quartet"; thirteen hundred dollars from the hotels (from delegates, for literature, and other sources) and four thousand five hundred dollars, registration fees, a total of twenty five thousand three hundred dollars. Most of this sum was in the form of "pledges," however, and represented a very small amount of real cash!

BUSINESS MEN'S LUNCH.

It was announced that a "Business Men's Lunch," was given at the Rudolph, to map out a way to raise a fund of two million dollars, to wage war on the

liquor traffic. Previously, the annual banquet scheduled for the same hotel, had been canceled, on account of the hue and cry raised by the delegates, when they learned that the banquet was to be held in a hotel with a bar attached. Invitations had been sent to business men throughout the country, to attend the luncheon, but it is doubtful if any but Anti-Saloon League officials were in actual attendance. They claimed to have 200 business men present, but that number was not in evidence about the hotel the hour of the luncheon. The invitations were sent out "to consider and promote methods for the elimination of the beverage liquor traffic," and were signed by the following: Governor Arthur Capper, Kansas; William F Cochran, Baltimore; Foster Copeland, President City National Bank, Columbus, Ohio; William M Gordon, of the North Philadelphia Trust Company; John Walton, a manufacturer of Frankford; A. Harbison, of Pittsburg; and Charles L. Huston, of Coatesville; other members of the committee having the matter in charge are: Governor George A. Carlson, of Colorado; B H Fancher of New York City; ex Governor Eugene Foss of Massachusetts; ex Governor Glenn of North Carolina; Henry M Leland of Detroit; Governor Ernest Lister of Washington; ex Governor Mann of Virginia; L B Musgrove, of Birmingham, Alabama; J R Pepper, of Memphis, Tenn; ex Governor Stubbs of Kansas; George D Selby of Portsmouth, Ohio.

The League announced that twenty millionaires were at the luncheon, and that six thousand dollars was subscribed! They claimed that Kellogg of Battle Creek pure food fame was among the number, although other reports had him ill in Alaska. Congressman Mann was attacked again at the dinner and Lynn Haines, Secretary of the National Voters' League said: "James R Mann, so far as I can judge, exerts a wider, a more menacing influence, than any other individual in American politics." Commenting on the delegates to the convention, the Atlantic City Review said that "it is not a prohibition body, it is an abolition movement"; the names of Henry Ford and the DuPont Powder Works were freely used as putting the taboo on liquor for its employees.

Governor Carlson of Colorado gave to woman suffrage, the credit for enacting the State-wide prohibitory law of that State, and blamed the saloon for the Colorado troubles of recent years.

Home Rule, compensation for saloon property and creed prejudice were roundly denounced by almost every speaker at the convention.

Ex Congressman Hobson said that even though he knew it meant political death to him, he intended to give the convention some of the inside secrets of the 1916 Democratic convention; that Wilson plans to be re-nominated, and that he will be supported by Bryan; that the President will write the platform and that he will insert a plank, leaving the question of prohibition entirely to the decision of the States. Hobson also declared that in the fight for national prohibition, the whole influence of the President was used to block the bill.

Rev. Purley Baker, however, made it plain that he did not include President Wilson among the candidates for the Presidency regarded as "friendly to the traffic.' Mr. Baker declared that the message of the convention to the country was:

"Press the battle against the liquor traffic in every town, township, county and State in the Nation, and against every candidate for Congress and the United States Senate who is not in favor of the submission of a joint resolution for national constitutional prohibition; also against any candidate for the Presidency who by sympathy or conduct, past or present, are known to be friendly to the traffic."

Dr. Baker commented rather sarcastically on the fact that "good" business men always gave liberally to churches and charities, but that "big" business men were reluctant to contribute time or labor or money to rid the Nation of the saloon. He said, too, that the cities were against, and the rural districts for prohibition, and that when the business men help finance the fight, a saloonless Nation would result.

It was rumored that Booker Washington did not appear to address convention, because the board walk hotels had refused to accommodate him. The League maintained, that he was "unavoidably detained elsewhere."

THE JOHN L. SULLIVAN EPISODE.

Perhaps the most effective piece of publicity work of the convention was the story of the slight tendered John L. Sullivan at the session of Anti-Saloon League officials, held a day or two prior to the opening of the convention. In discussing and preparing the program, one of the members of the Board re-

ferred to the telegram from General Miles, wherein he refused to appear on the same platform with Sullivan. The telegram was read before Baker put the quietus on any further discussion of the matter. Every possible effort was made to suppress the incident at Atlantic City and it might have succeeded, had not the story been sent out on the wire. This was managed as follows:

I had a letter to a city official, from Mr. James R. Nicholson; the city official told me that he knew of two newspaper men who would suppress as much news as possible, covering the convention, and prevent the Catholic Prohibition League from sending out any general publicity matter from Atlantic City, but that the men would have to be "fixed." He told me he knew one to be absolutely reliable, although the other might sell out to the other side, if he was offered any money. I met the first man; knew him, and while he knew my connections with the Association, no mention or comment was made in regard to that fact. I told him that I did not want to interfere with the League, but explained the status of the Catholic Prohibition League; told him that I had interviewed the Catholic pastors of Atlantic City and learned that they had had a meeting the week previous, to discuss the notification of the Bishop of Trenton, that the Catholic Prohibition League had neither asked nor received the sanction of the church authorities, and decided to ignore the convention. I explained the status of the Catholics making up the prohibition organization and asked that the "drys" be confined to facts and not permitted to exploit the Catholic end of the affair. He told me to write out my story, which I did. After he agreed to look after the matter as suggested, I told him I would square it right with him for his time. That evening, he came to the hotel and I paid him. Later, the John L. incident came up, and it cost only twenty-five dollars to give that story country wide publicity. The "drys" made a great fuss over it and put a couple of innocent and unsuspecting newspaper men out of the committee meetings, as they were considered "friends" of the liquor traffic. The man who was doing the real work was never even suspected! I started the story on its way and whoever got hold of John L in New York and had him send in the two caustic telegrams, finished the job perfectly. The telegrams and the entire incident were the one thorn in the side of the "dry" leaders, during the entire convention. The telegrams from John L. read as follows:

"I have no desire to address convention of bigotry and narrow mindedness which holds sway with a pretense of doing good, and which is presided over by an arrogant, prejudiced, self-centered, strutting old Peacock, now in his dotage. I have never been jealous of any fighter. Why should Miles be jealous of me?

Yours for Temperance,

JOHN L. SULLIVAN"

The second message as printed in the Atlantic City Union July 8, is herewith attached, and parts of it should make an interesting leaflet.

The Atlantic City Union July 6, 15 printed the following from copy furnished:

"The Catholic Prohibition League, an organization that is not supported by the Catholic Church but is composed of a number of individuals of that faith who believe in prohibition, held its first session this morning."

Also the following, which appeared in the New York World and other papers from copy prepared at Atlantic City:

"The Rev. John J. Curran, a Roman Catholic priest of Wilkesbarre, Pa., presided at one morning (A S L) meeting. He urged Catholics to take a part in the League's work and closed with an assertion that may start a controversy.

"This league," he said, "is not Protestant nor Catholic; it is not Republican nor Democratic; it is Christian. It is to the credit of Protestants that they belong to it and it is to the discredit of Catholics that they hold aloof."

Nearly every delegate, if not indeed every one, to the Catholic Prohibition League, was given an office as follows:

Rev. John J. Curran, Wilkesbarre, Pa., President.
Rev. J. C. MacErkain, Jersey City, first Vice-President;
Rev. W. P. Hogarty, New Haven, Ky., second " "
Rev. C. P. Baron, Indianapolis, third " "
Major Dan Morgan Smith of Chicago, General Counsel
Rev. George Zurcher, North Evans, N. Y., Treasurer.
James F. Judge of Scranton, Pa., General Secretary
Executive Committee, Chairman, Major Dan Morgan Smith, Chicago
F. L. Campbell, Coatesville, Pa., John P. Cunneen, Chicago, Miss Alice O'Connor, Chicago and A. J Helfer of Minoa, N. Y. F. L. Campbell of Coatesville, a newspaper publisher, was made chairman of publicity committee.

Major Dan Morgan Smith, Miss A. H. O'Connor, Rev. C. P. Baron, and F. L. Campbell were appointed a committee to co-operate with the Anti-Saloon League. The Catholic Prohibitionists passed the following resolution:

"That we, the members of the Catholic Prohibition League of America, now in session, send hearty greetings to our fellow brothers and sisters of the Anti Saloon League of America, now here in convention assembled and pledge our earnest support and co-operation for the total and irrevocable prohibition of the liquor traffic and all the evils for which that wicked business stands."

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.

The expenses of Miss Alida O'Connor of Chicago were paid by the Anti Saloon League, and it is entirely probable that the expenses of others were borne by the League. While she would not admit being a salaried employee of the Anti Saloon League, Miss O'Connor said she "worked for the League's interests in Chicago, and would work with them in the movement to make Chicago 'dry.'" Miss O'Connor is connected with the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, and looks after subscriptions etc. for the publication of that organization. There is undoubtedly an attempt being made by the Anti Saloon League to use Miss O'Connor for her official connection with the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, which has repeatedly refused to join hands with the prohibition movement in any form.

Some of the Catholic papers, with prohibition leanings, have recently been publishing the story of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union in Chicago. Such a convention has not been held, as the annual convention will be held in Pittsburgh early next month. There may have been a meeting of the Chicago branch with which Miss O'Connor is affiliated. The news report of the Chicago "convention" say that the C. T. A. U. has joined forces with the Dry Chicago Federation. I inclose herewith, a copy of the resolutions passed, as well as the list of officers elected at Atlantic City, by the Anti Saloon League. It will be noticed that Rev. J. C. Curran of Wilkesbarre, President of the Catholic Prohibition League, has been placed on the National Board of the Anti Saloon League as one of its Vice Presidents, also, that there is a very decided accent on the "Father" when referring to Rev. J. C. Curran.

I enclose, too, an advertisement for a book "The Fallacy of Prohibition," which appeared in the Atlantic City papers during the convention. The fact that its author was named "Martin" made the situation very delicate for me, especially in those quarters where I was probably criticized for my failure to turn in the minutes, when made secretary at the last convention of the Catholic Prohibitionists. I think, too, the advertisement, most untimely, as no one at the resort would bother reading it, if presented with a copy during the holiday period!

The Anti Saloon League has evidently decided to play the Catholic Prohibition movement for all that it is worth. The organization was in debt to the extent of two hundred dollars, Father Zurcher told me, and he only accepted the office of treasurer with the organization on a solid footing, with no debts. The debt contracted was in connection with the convention, and Campbell of Coatsville presented the amount and I am morally certain that it came from the Anti Saloon League funds.

A plan of persistent campaign in the leading Catholic papers should be started at once, in my opinion, to prevent the Catholic movement from gaining ground. I would suggest using space in the Angelus here, to combat the Catholic Prohibition publicity, which will be well financed, Mr. Campbell pledging five hundred dollars for a start, and agreeing to furnish printed matter without cost.

We could get space in the Angelus for twenty five dollars each week, sufficient to keep abreast of the movement, and the paper has a general circulation throughout the country, particularly in the Sunday schools. I suggest the Angelus because for the present, at least, we can secure reading matter, with no signs of advertising and with no one knowing who is paying for the space.

Unless some decided action is taken to offset the Catholic Prohibition movement, if necessary calling attention to its existence, to the highest church authority, the movement will be very apt to spread as did the Anti Saloon League. While the few now at the head of the movement are looked upon as bordering upon fanatics by church authorities, Father Zurcher, the treasurer notably so, the general public is not aware of this and there are many who would join the organization.

In this connection, one of the officers of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union is the daughter of a Kansas City man who formerly kept a saloon, and still rents his building for saloon purposes, unless a change has been made since I was in Kansas City last. This might be an important point, if any attempt is made to secure the endorsement of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union at its convention next month, by the Catholic Prohibitionists. Father Curran is a former president of that association.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

53 HARPER AVENUE, DETROIT, MICHIGAN,
August 15, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *New York City.*

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Enclosed you will please find my report of the convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union. It is brief, because I knew, of course, that you would only be interested in such phases of the work as might interest the association. You will find in the clippings referred to at the end of the last page of the report, the resolutions passed, officers named, etc. The convention will meet, next year, just before the International Anti-Alcoholic Congress, at Atlantic City. I think before that time, when the Catholic prohibitionists, the C T A U, the Anti-Saloon League, and the various other "dry" organizations, try to get their share of the $40.000 they say the United States will appropriate for expenses of delegates, there will be some fun in the "dry" zone!

You will note how gracefully Father Curran backed down on his Catholic Prohibition Movement, in his statement to the press, and also to the convention, that the organizers "intend to submit the by laws and constitution to the hierarchy and upon their approval or disapproval, final action for or against would be taken." However, Father Curran also told the convention that with "the passive, if not actual consent (of the Church) the plans will be perfected." He made the former statement after he had been practically thrown out of the convention! I think the Catholic prohibition movement will never get any farther than its first conference, particularly if the attention of Cardinal Gibbons is called to the matter. Cardinal Farley, too, would be interested, and when I return to New York, I will make it a point to see Father Carroll, his secretary, with whom I am personally acquainted, and put the literature etc of the organization in his hands.

I am not at all sure that Father Riley, the Paulist priest whom I met at the convention, will not start something of the kind himself. He took all of the literature I gave him, away with him, and I managed to get him a copy of the Anti-Saloon League pamphlet: "Catholic Temperance," with the cartoon of the priest in his robes, his mouth closed by a hand from a whiskey barrel, as he stands in the pulpit.

It was a lucky piece of business that we looked after the C. T. A. U. convention, I think. I do not think there would have been any objection to the prohibition conference in general, had not the attention been called to their literature and resolutions. The delegation would have been given the floor, the good will of the C. T. A. U. though the movement would not have been endorsed, and the fakirs like Mr. Judge of Scranton would have proceeded to make the most of it, in the press. The literature was the only chance we had to start something and I made the best of it. I met Father Riley in the reading room, while the delegates were presenting their financial reports to the convention proper and asked him what he thought of the prohibition movement: learned that he was opposed and that it would not be endorsed and then I asked him what he thought about the literature. When I told him about it, he asked me to have all the facts in his hands early the next morning, and also to get him copies of the literature—the worst of it had been taken from the table at the C. T. A. U. convention. I had the matter in his hands at eight o'clock the following morning, and he made good use of the material. I do not think the literature would otherwise have been noticed at all. Father Curran, Father Zurcher and Mr. Judge were taken by surprise and could make no excuses for the literature, though Father Zurcher did say to one delegate that they (Cardinal Gibbons and Cardinal Farley) were in politics, and so "we treat them like politicians."

The order for the removal of the literature gave us our only chance for press work. I left the room to phone Buffalo, as I knew it was about time

for the papers to be on the press. I talked to Mr. Clark of the Buffalo Times, and Mr. Reilly just then came in and took the story over the phone, wrote the headline and gave us splendid location. He told me that if I had been two minutes later, it would have been too late for the afternoon papers, and it would be dead news, of course, the next day. I gave the story also to the other Buffalo papers, the Niagara Falls papers and to the Associated Press and also sent it out myself. I saw the Associated Press man earlier in the day, and he told me they would not give the convention much space, unless it came out for prohibition; when I told him of the order to remove the literature and the adjournment of the meeting when an endorsement of the new movement was asked for, he seemed glad to have the story. There were no reporters present when the trouble started, but I gave the story to all of them. The Associated Press man is a reporter on the Niagara Falls Journal, and he used the story in the local paper as you will note by the clippings. I do not think, however, that the Associated Press took the story, as neither of the Detroit papers made any mention of the meeting at all.

I think I see the results of the article in last week's edition of "The Angelus," in editorials in the "Ave Maria" and "The New World" of Chicago, copies of which I enclose, and I think both would make effective pamphlets, in case the "drys" should use the Catholic prohibition movement to any extent.

I enclose a copy of this week's "Angelus," and have sent 200 copies to you to-day, by express. You will note that my original article was toned down a little, but I think you will agree with me that it is all right, anyway. The editor asked my sister, who took the copy in for me, why I did not take a base ball bat at the movement, and be done with it! The people here have never been able to get any thing into "The Angelus," though the editor has never yet refused to print any copy I offered.

Next week, "The Angelus" will get out a political edition or supplement, and the editor told me today that an article would be ready for me Monday, to approve or re-write, on the general prohibition question. This, in addition to the article which I will send in, covering the recent convention. I will send copies of both articles to you, later.

I enclose my Niagara Falls expense account, and will send copy for Irish World, the Baltimore paper, and the advertisement for the Internal Revenue publication, tomorrow.

I am sorry that my work on the moving picture matter did not meet with your approval. I did not intend the criticism to be anything but a plain statement of facts; if you think you can decide which pictures to reject and which to retain, I am willing to try again, if you want me to do so.

I am sending marked copies of "The Angelus," to the editor of the Philadelphia Public Ledger today.

Very Truly Yours,

I. T. MARTIN.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

The Catholic Church and Temperance Editorial.

(The New World, Chicago, August 14, 1914.)

"All reforms must be founded on moral principles. The Church strives first of all to sow in the hearts of individual children her precepts of Christian morality. Time honored wisdom shows that men are not made good by law. For this reason total abstinence in the Catholic Church aims primarily at the good of the individual. In no sense of the word can the Catholic Total Abstinence Society be regarded as a political party. Therefore it will find it very difficult to join hands with the cry of prohibition which, as it is evident to every fair-minded man, has the aim and means of a political party. The Presbyterian general assembly when it advised its members to quit clubs that sold liquor was doubtless quite within its rights and certainly logical in its attitude, but Presbyterian papers which strive to minimize that piece of legislation are certainly not making out a very strong cause for themselves. The virtue of temperance has nothing in common with prohibition. In fact, prohibition is notoriously intemperate. We all know that liquor has been a great evil but the remedying of an evil ought to be not by insincerity and untruth, but by fair dealing and candor."

From Notes and Remarks, The Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, August 15, 1.

"Zeal unto sobriety," it must be admitted, is not always shown by all the advocates of total abstinence. Some of these worthy persons seem to regard failure to employ their language or to adopt their methods as opposition to themselves and indifference or antagonism to the cause they have so much at heart. But we submit that one may be most thoroughly persuaded of the evils which intemperance has wrought, and most strongly in favor of the restriction of the liquor traffic, without feeling obliged to indulge in indiscriminate censure of all who have any connection with it, or called upon to preach total abstinence from the housetops Any one who has ever, even once, been drunk should be exhorted never again to expose himself to the danger of drunkenness; but it is going too far to say that because some men sometimes get intoxicated no man shall at any time drink anything that intoxicates. This is the error of prohibition.

The best intentioned advocates of the most meritorious cause often defeat their own aims by ill-considered speech and ill-advised action. There is no excuse for becoming intemperate while preaching temperance. A total-abstainer, of all men, should be a man of sober mind and sober methods.

A priest from Dubuque diocese, whose name I could not get, but who said he was the President of the Temperance Societies of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, said he had been a priest for 25 years, and always worked for temperance. Said temperance work in the arch-diocese was flourishing, on account of the example of Archbishop Keane; that where the "head is right, the body is right," and the head of the archdiocese of Dubuque is right on the temperance question. He said he had the permission and authority of Archbishop Keane, to go through the diocese this fall, reorganize all the temperance societies that had disbanded and organize new societies throughout Iowa.

Archbishop Canevin of Philadelphia did not attend the conference, and Archbishop Keane of Dubuque was the principal speaker. He declared, at the opening meeting, that much harm was done the temperance cause by exaggeration. Addressing the delegates at St. Mary's Church Wednesday evening, he told of the great field of temperance work, and said the work must be done through education and through moral suasion. He did refer, however, to a visit to Ireland and another visit to Luxemburg, stating that it was necessary for every man to be a total abstainer, if he wanted to avoid the danger of becoming a drunkard! He said he asked the priest of Luxemburg why his parish had dwindled away to a mere nothing, and was told that the Lutheran neighbors were sober and forged ahead, saving their money and practicing thrift, while the Catholics, not wishing to do away with an old custom, drank beer, and so lost out, financially and otherwise; that the priest hoped to revive the parish, via the temperance route.

It was said at the convention that Bishop Colton of Buffalo is also a total abstainer of tea and coffee!

Rev H T Riley, the Paulist priest of New York, in telling of the work of his branch of the C T A U in that city, said that they were making a quiet crusade against the disorderly saloon, and the saloon known to sell liquor to minors; that when such saloons asked to have licenses renewed, they tried to prevent it; that they worked with the Committee of Fourteen, a "voluntary committee, willing and ready to take complaints or statements of facts, from reliable sources." Father Riley said that his organization had 959 members, 707 women and 250 men, an increase in membership over last year, of 306 women and 75 men. He said that as the Paulists house (on W 59 St) was known as a sort of a temperance center, the priest on duty almost any day in the year, would give the pledge to from 6 to 10 people.

Father Riley explained that during the year, a course of lectures covering a period of about six months, were given by the Paulists, with temperance talks sandwiched in, here and there. Four other temperance talks were given during missions, and Father Chidwick, former chaplain of the *Maine*, gave a tem-

perance talk for them, that was followed by a reception of 72 members into the C T A U. Father Riley said he had given a talk on "The Press and Total Abstinence, Viewed from Advertisements and Editorials," and that the pledge had been given to about 6000 people last year. Temperance pamphlets, or one temperance pamphlet, was printed by the Paulist Press, and was found in most of the churches of New York, either in the pews or in the racks at the church doors. That demands for this pamphlet and for a "thirst card" issued by the Paulists, came to them from all over the United States and from Canada.

In discussing the Catholic Prohibition Conference, Father Riley said to me:

"I think there is something back of the new movement, probably politics. Mr Judge of Scranton, Pa., I have known a long time, and I believe he is thoroughly honest and sincere. But somewhere, some one is in the background, trying to "work" the Catholic Church into the prohibition movement. I was approached in New York, and asked to lend my name to the call for the conference, and refused to do so. I think if some one got at the record of Father Zurcher and exposed it, that would settle the Catholic Prohibition movement." (Father Zurcher had been suspended, as previously reported, for "intemperate temperance work," and an attack on the Catholic monks. I think Father Zurcher, an old man, is honest and sincere, but childish, if not quite out of his mind.)

"I was going to make a comparison of these Catholic Prohibition delegates," said Father Riley—"these men are honest and sincere, but their minds are exceedingly narrow. They harp on the one subject constantly, until finally they can think of no other. It becomes the sum total of their existence. They come to believe themselves heroic martyrs, until their mind is affected. The comparison I was going to make, is one of insanity. I believe these men are almost insane, at least on that one particular subject, and I think this the greater reason for the immediate suppression of their activities. Such men hurt the temperance work.

"The trouble with the prohibitionist," said Father Riley, "is that he wants to make the priest a policeman. He wants the priest to take mankind by the neck, put him in harness, throw him in a corner, and order him to stand there, with the threat that he will whip him if he don't. We have evidence that Christ drove people out of the Temple, but never into it. He tried moral persuasion, but never used force. The prohibitionists think they can make men good by machinery. They want to say to mankind: 'Stay in the corner where I have placed you; come into the Temple, and be good, or we will whip you.' It can't be done, and the sooner the prohibitionists find out this truth, the better for the sobriety of the nation."

Rev H T Riley, a Paulist priest of New York City, in concluding his address to the delegates of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union Convention at Niagara Falls, said:

"I had scarcely reached the convention headquarters, when my attention was called to the literature distributed the other day by the members of the "Catholic Prohibition Conference," and delegates from that conference are distributing the same literature during this convention. I ask that it be removed from the tables. Such literature is an insult to Catholic Church and people, and is unfair to this organization. Surely when we come here, we do not come, expecting to be insulted."

Father Riley's words were received with continued applause. Many of the delegates hurried to the tables to get samples of the literature, and as soon as the session adjourned, groups of two and three, here and there, were discussing and denouncing the literature. Rev J J Curran of Wilkes Barre, Pa., the delegate of the Prohibition Conference who later addressed the C T A U convention, was surrounded by a group of indignant delegates:

"You are responsible for the sins of Father Zurcher," said one delegate to Father Curran. "You have no right to permit such pamphlets to be circulated in any meeting, masquerading as Catholic."

Father Curran made no reply to the accusations, and none of the three delegates from the Catholic Prohibition Conference present (Father Curran, Father Zurcher, or James F Judge of Scranton, Pa) attempted to reply to the criticism of Father Riley, but let his charge go unchallenged.

It was the intention of the delegates from the Catholic Prohibition Conference, to secure the endorsement of the movement from the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, or failing in that, to ask that the members of the Conference

be received as "fraternal delegates" to the C T A U. There was some discussion as to whether or not the delegates be given the privilege of the floor, but Father Curran of Wilkes Barre Pa., was finally given the privilege; he read a paper on "The Prohibition Movement," as per attached copy, and then asked permission to read the resolutions passed by the Catholic Prohibition Conference, and his request was granted. As he concluded reading the resolutions, Father Beane of Pittsburg, was on his feet, with a speech in favor of "any men or set of men," opposed to the liquor interests; he said that while the two organizations could not possibly agree on matters of policy, the hand of fellowship should be extended to them, and he made a motion that the Catholic Prohibition Conference or organization be given the good will of the convention, and that success and "God speed the movement," be given to them. Before Father John G. Beane, Pittsburg, concluded his speech, Father Peter S. Kane of Scranton Pa (the birth place of the Catholic Prohibition movement) was on his feet, with his hand raised, to be sure that he would be the first man recognized by the Chair. Father Kane merely said: "I move that this body adjourn." Instantly, another priest was on his feet to second the motion, and before the "drys" knew what had happened, the meeting was voted adjourned. Some one declared that the meeting was not adjourned, and demanded a roll call of the vote. The women, not delegates, were asked to remain seated, and only delegates vote. A rising vote was taken, and it seemed as though every delegate was on his feet. When those opposed to adjournment were asked to stand, they were so few in numbers, that the Chair announced the meeting adjourned. Father Curran and his two fellow delegates from the Catholic prohibition movement, declared the "convention was with them," but the "enemies" were afraid to let the question of endorsement come to a vote. The question of the offensive literature came up again, but Father Curran made no reply to the many criticisms of the matter. He told me, later, that the action of the convention would not interfere with his plans for the Catholic prohibition movement, just as he had told the convention, at the close of his address earlier in the day, that "no matter what became of the Catholic Prohibition Movement, he would still continue to do, as in the past, all in his power against the liquor traffic and the saloon."

Father Curran told me that he could not understand the action of the Philadelphia North American; that the editor asked him to send in a story of the Catholic Prohibition Conference, and that he sent in a "good one"; and that not a line of it had been printed. Mr. Judge told me he was asked to send 250 words to the Philadelphia Ledger, and also told me that he had sent in the story that appeared in that paper, concerning the prohibition conference. So, the exaggerated figures and absolutely false story of the meeting, published in the Public Ledger, came from Mr. Judge himself!

I talked with Father O Callahan, Pdesident of the C T A U, at St Mary's Rectory, Niagara Falls, and he told me that while he was friendly with anti saloon league officials, he could not directly affiliate with them, and assured me that there was no danger of the C T A U coming out for national prohibition, no matter how much pressure might be brought to bear in the matter. He also told me that the C T A U, being a religious body, could not endorse the Catholic prohibition movement,—a political body—but that any individual member of the C T A U could belong to either organization, and that all had his good will.

Father Scully, the pastor of St Mary's, was evidently disgusted with the Catholic prohibitionists:

"Are you a Catholic?" he said to me; "then you know there is no such thing as a Catholic prohibition movement, and never will be. There are cranks in the Catholic Church, as elsewhere, but they have no right to use the name 'Catholic' in connection with their organizations. Father Scully intimated that the Catholic Prohibition Movement would have a short life. The general opinion, expressed openly at the C T A U convention, was that the action of the C T A U meant the death of the Catholic Prohibtion movement.

Copy of Resolutions passed. See Buffalo Courier clippings, Aug. 14/14. Note approval of the Sec'y Daniels "dry" order. Note the election of officers (Buffalo Courier, Aug. 14/14) and statement of Father Curran, Niagara Falls Journal, August 13/14.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit 149, it being correspondence between I. T. Martin and officers of the United States Brewers' Association, relative to her activities at the first conference of Catholics, favoring prohibition, at Niagara Falls, N. Y., on August 4 and 5, 1915.

(The exhibit referred to here is printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 149.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

First Conference of Catholics Favoring Prohibition,

At Niagara Falls, N. Y., August 4th and 5th, 1914.

Conference headquarters.—The International Hotel. This hotel quotes a special low rate to those attending conference.

Sessions of the conference.—The sessions will be held in the Auditorium of the International Hotel. Through the kindness of the proprietor the use of the Auditorium is donated free of charge.

Program.—August 4th, Business Session, 2:30 o'clock p. m. Public Rally, 8 o'clock p. m.

August 5th, Business Session, 8:30 o'clock a. m. From 10:30 o'clock a. m., to 2 o'clock p. m., trip around Niagara Falls and other entertainment.

The speakers.—Among the speakers will be: Fathers Ward and Sperlein, of Wisconsin; Father Martin Mahoney, of Mendota, Minn.; Father George Zurcher, of Marilla, N. Y.; Father J. J. Curran, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Father J. C. McErlain, of Jersey City, N. J.; Hon. Joseph Gray, of Ebensburg, Pa.; James F. Judge, of Scranton, Pa.

Representation.—Every Catholic who is interested in the Great Crusade is invited to attend this conference, and will be equally privileged to participate in the proceedings.

JAMES F. JUDGE, *Secretary.*

Secretary's Office, Dime Bank Building, Scranton, Pa.

[Copy. From U. S. B. A. files.]

NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y., *Aug. 4, 1914.*

Mr. A. G. HUPFEL, Jr.,
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. HUPFEL: The meeting here was a decided "frost" but it is keeping me busy, and I expect to be busy until midnight, for the speakers do not seem to know when to quit! I had to enroll to be admitted, though I told them I was a journalist and not a prohibitionist. They promptly elected me temporary Secretary when the meeting was called to order! Talk about jokes! They won't get any minutes of the meeting, however, if they are expecting me to supply them.

I am taking chances on the enclosed meeting your approval for this week's edition of "The Angelus," Detroit. I will cover the conference properly in next week's paper, when I have time to write it properly, and after the session is concluded.

Also, I will send in report and suggestions on the Chicago moving picture affair within a day or so—as soon as I can get time to prepare it in detail.

I received the approved copy you sent to me here, and will see the editor of the Buffalo Times after this conference adjourns to-morrow.

Very truly yours,

I. T. MARTIN (signed).

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

The first conference of Catholics favoring prohibition, was held at Niagara Falls, August 4 and 5th., with a handful of delegates in attendance. But nine Catholic men answered the call for the conference, eight of them, the leaders

of the movement, and the other, representing a "three day's liquor cure," which he adroitly exploited during his address at the conference. The fact that the Bishop of Buffalo and the Rev. Father Scullen of Niagara Falls declined to attend the conference, threw cold water on the meeting, and may be accountable for the failure of the Catholic people of the Falls to turn out to hear the speakers.

The leaders of the movement will make an effort to perfect a National Prohibition organization, to follow the lines of the Anti-Saloon League. During the conference, a telegram from the Chicago Anti Saloon League, was read as follows: "The Convention of Anti Saloon League Field Workers of Central District, assembled at La Salle Hotel, salute the first convention of Catholic prohibitionists and welcome its constituency into the fight for national prohibition." The telegram was signed by S. E. Nicholson, secretary of the League, and was welcomed by the conference. even though the same Anti-SaloonLeague, through its Texas superintendent, was last week attacking the Catholic Church in that state.

The Presbyterian Church was represented at the Catholic Conference, and Mrs. Anna Helfer of Minoa, New York, told of a prohibition meeting in her town, held in a Methodist Church, and addressed by a Catholic priest, as the local pastor of the Catholic Church would not permit the use of his church for the meeting. She told of organizing the German Catholic children of her town, into a branch of the W C T U and explained that, since the Catholic priest would neither approve the movement, nor permit the organization to be perfected in the church, she was compelled to form the organization in her home. "The Catholic mothers," explained Mrs Helfer, "were willing to have their children join a Protestant organization, as long as I promised to look after them, even though the local priest gave no strength to the movement."

Since she could find no Catholic literature on the prohibition question, she added, she was forced to distribute the literature of the various Protestant sects, to the children.

A copy of "Catholics and Prohibition," edited by Rev Geo Zurcher, and printed in January 1912, was distributed at the conference, the leading article calling attention to the fact that the per capita consumption of liquor in the United States in 1907, was just double what it was when Cardinal Gibbons was elevated to the cardinalate in 1886. The article also called attention to the fact that the venerable Cardinal had attended no convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, except the one held at Wilkesbarre, Pa. some few years ago. and concluded with the statement that "Great men, like the sun, have spots and blemishes."

It is just such intemperate speeches and the radical attitude exhibited by the handful of zealots at the Niagara Conference, that keeps the Catholic Church turned like a stone wall, against prohibition. As Father Rolé said last Sunday, when preaching at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament: "The Church is opposed to prohibition, because it realizes that to all men has been given the blessings of free will. The man who is bound to make an animal of himself, can not be benefited by a prohibitory law. Character can not be formed by the legislative route, and the Catholic Church stands unalterably for temperance in all things,—temperance in the use of liquor, as well as temperance in speech."

In addressing the Niagara Conference, Chas D McShane of Pittsburg, said that his local pastor told him he would be opposed to prohibition as long as he lived. Other priests and prelates, as well as prominent lay men, were quoted as opposed to the movement, because they considered it strictly a Protestant propaganda, with no leanings or inclinations towards Catholicism.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. Answered July 16, 1915: H. F. F.]

53 HARPER AVENUE, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, *July 15, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Enclosed herewith, I am sending you a brief report of the Anti-Saloon League convention, with particular reference to the Catholic Prohibition movement. I have arranged for a copy of the complete proceedings, so do not suppose you want to be bothered with more than a brief resume of the more important points.

I am anxious to know how the plan worked—the effort to keep the League from sending out any considerable publicity. I know it worked as far as the Catholic prohibitionists were concerned, and they came prepared to deluge the country with a tale of the "conversion" of the Catholic Church to the great cause of prohibition. I wish you would let me know how much general publicity the entire convention received. I asked that the clippings be sent to me, but they did not come yet.

The Detroit Free Press gave practically no space to the convention. I hope other papers throughout the country gave it like treatment.

I sent out the John L. Sullivan story, or rather arranged for having it sent out, and it created consternation in the "dry" camp. I had a long talk on two or three occasions with a delegate to the Catholic Prohibition convention, and have arranged to keep in touch with their plans for publicity.

I do not know whether you want me to cover the Catholic Total Abstinence Union convention at Pittsburg early next month, and will await your instructions in the matter.

I have sent the story to the Angelus, for publication Saturday, and will express 200 copies to you Saturday. Am also sending you by express today, a package of literature and clippings which I secured at Atlantic City.

I think the action of John L. Sullivan proved a sad loss to the League. The visitors paid no attention to the gathering, but if John L. had appeared, the gate receipts of the League would undoubtedly have increased and that is probably what the League banked on, with Sullivan on the program.

I "arranged" matters with two newspaper men at Atlantic City, and think we could send out almost any important story at any time, in the same manner. Had it not been for the letter from Mr. James Nicholson, this could not have been accomplished and we are really indebted to him a great deal.

I enclose expense account and will appreciate it if you will send me a check at once, as I will need it for publicity bills Saturday.

Very Truly Yours,

T. T. MARTIN.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 150, it being an unsigned letter written, from the notation written by Mr. Fox, to the members of the committee.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 150.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[Interstate Exect. Com.—New.]

DEAR SIRS:

It is of paramount importance, in view of the efforts now being made by the Anti-Saloon League to procure prohibitory legislation nationally on the floor of Congress, that certain systematic work be undertaken by the Inter-State Executives' Committee through its members in each State, with the object of giving those in charge of our joint interests in Washington as full and complete a knowledge of the political complexion of each Congressional district in the United States, with special reference to the sentiment of the component Counties on the wet and dry question, as most of us possess with reference to the political complexion of the Counties and senatorial districts in relation to their representation in our own particular State.

To this end it becomes necessary that our Committee, which has already outlined this work, should be immediately placed in communication with those to whose charge you have entrusted your interests within your State, so that the details of the policy to be pursued may be made known to them, and their attendance at a future meeting of all the active workers in the industry, to be held within the next two months, may be secured.

We urge you to give this your immediate attention, and to see to it personally that your State is represented without fail at that meeting by the person who actively directs or has directed the Anti-Prohibition campaign in your State. The expense involved consists of no more than the traveling expense incurred in attending the meetings of the Inter-State Committee, and we need hardly point out that such expense to your organization is out of proportion small as compared with the importance of the ends that are to be achieved.

We hope, of course, wherever convenient, to see the executives of the various organizations affiliated with the Inter-State Executives Committee themselves attend that Committee's meetings. But our chief object is to have the actual workers in each State in closest touch with the Committee, so that they may form a compact body within the Committee acting with one purpose and along uniform lines that will place our national representatives in the position of commanding at any moment the local knowledge and experience possessed by them and of utilising the concentrated influence which such a body, acting in unison, cannot fail to wield nationally from one end of the country to the other.

Awaiting your prompt action in this matters, I am,

Very truly yours,

HWJ*

The following additional exhibits are also offered in evidence.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:

EXHIBIT No. 152.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

(These instructions are for the use of the committee only.)

SUGGESTIONS FOR A LOCAL OPTION CAMPAIGN.

1. First of all conduct your campaign from an educational standpoint, impressing strongly morality before business.
2. Do not antagonize the prohibition party, the newspapers, or the public in general.
3. Do not engage in useless debates through the newspapers. Never make statements that can be successfully contradicted by the opposing party. Use facts, and nothing but facts that you can substantiate. If possible, be friendly with the newspapers, so that if anything presents itself on the subject they may be in a position to honestly say a word in your favor.
4. If necessary to exchange views on the subject with anyone, do not call your opponents fanatics or narrow-minded, but instead make a reply along the line that they may be perfectly honest and sincere in their convictions and mean all right, but point out to them in a reasonable way and show them that they are mistaken.
5. Impress upon the people that local option means prohibition and confiscation of property, and that prohibition does not and will not prohibit.

EXHIBIT No. 153.

(These instructions are for the use of the committee only.)

METHODS FOR ORGANIZATION.

1. The first step that you should take in the way of organization should be to appoint a committee of five or less from the members of your county liquor association. This committee should have full power to act and conduct the campaign, and it should be thoroughly understood among the men in the business that each individual in the county should follow out the suggestions of this committee and assist the committee in every way possible and not allow any poster or printed matter to be circulated in the county unless sanctioned by the committee.
2. This committee should take active charge of the campaign, but inasmuch as the members of it are engaged in the liquor business they should not appear too prominently before the public.
3. A business men's organization should be formed, and it should work in co-operation with the chairman of the liquor association. In every community there are influential men standing high in business circles, who realize that regulation is better than prohibition, and every effort should be made to get such men to take as active a part as possible in the campaign.
4. Each township should be organized, and in organizing the townships, endeavor to procure the best men possible, men who are of good moral

character and high standing in the community. In some townships you can get one such man to look after the entire township, and in other townships it will require four or five such men. And these leaders in the townships should have the help of others who are also of good standing, so that they will be able to get a hearing before any party or audience if necessary.

5. Be sure and have the workers in each township take a complete canvass of their respective townships before registration day, and see that every liberal man is gotten to the polls on registration day for registration if he has not registered, and on election day that every man in favor of our cause is gotten to the polls and votes *NO*. Do not neglect to attend to this part of the work thoroughly. This is a point that the Anti-Saloon League is strong on, and the only way to offset their work is to do our work more thoroughly than they do theirs.

6. An extremely important feature at the time of election is to instruct every voter how to vote. All those who wish to vote "wet" should vote *NO*.

7. It is important that you get out instruction slips with the word *NO* marked in proper column by an X. Also get out skeleton tickets and mail to every voter with a facsimile of the original ballot printed on colored paper.

8. When making use of the daily papers and in your arguments be very careful to use only such articles as give a fair, just and honest version of our cause, and arguments that cannot be contradicted, and, as stated before, never enter into a newspaper controversy, as it is liable to lead to a point where you will alienate friends that you might otherwise retain.

9. It would be well for you to have the business men's organization draft up a good article from the moral standpoint with a protest against prohibition, giving among other reasons that it would be detrimental to the welfare of those concerned to carry local option prohibition, and the condition of the state under prohibition when places were run openly without regulation, and have the members of the business men's organization and other prominent business men sign it. Then mail this circular to voters in your county a few days before election, and, if possible, use a full page in your daily paper the day before election and have this circular printed in full with a complete list of the names attached.

10. You will obtain better results if you will always have your workers come in to see the chairman of the committee in making arrangements, rather than have the chairman go to the party whom you wish to represent you in any part of the county.

11. Get a man in each shop or factory to look after the men in such shop or factory.

12. In procuring the services of an attorney, try to get one, if possible, who has not always been identified with the liquor interests. At the same time assure yourselves, however, that he will earnestly and honestly work for your interests.

13. In making arrangements with your workers in townships, give them to understand that they are solicited through the business men's organization.

14. When possible create a fund from business men and property owners for campaign use. Even if not successful in raising a large fund, the very fact that such people have seen fit to contribute to the cause will have its favorable bearing on the campaign.

15. Above all, never allow the matter to enter into politics.

16. Be sure and see that all printed matter which you circulate bears the union label.

17. These instructions are for the use of the committee only.

EXHIBIT No. 158.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

LABOR MEETING.

Acting under instructions from the Organization Committee, at which the President and Secretary of the U. S. Brewers' Association were present, I called together representatives of half a dozen labor unions directly concerned at our office in Chicago, and they issued a call to representatives of the following international unions, directly or indirectly concerned in the economic side of our question:

American Flint Glass Workers.
United Brewery Workmen.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners.

Int'l. Union of Steam Engineers.
Int'l. " of Carriage & Wagon Makers.
Cigar Makers Int'l. Union.
Int'l. Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
Glass Blowers' Ass'n. of U. S.
Int'l. Union of Journeymen Horse-shoers.
Int'l. Ass'n. of Steam & Hot Water Fitters & Helpers of U. S. A.
Hotel & Restaurant Employees' Int'l. Alliance.
Metal Polishers' Int'l. Union.
Coopers' Int'l. Union of N. A.
American Federation of Musicians.
Int'l. Union of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, & Steam Fitters' Helpers of U. S.
National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.
Int'l. Brotherhood of Teamsters.
Wood Workers' Int'l. Union of America.

They called a meeting at Cincinnati, which was held on April 28th. At this meeting were present representatives from the Waiters & Bartenders, Cigar Makers, Brewery Workers, Coopers, wood workers, musicians, Glass Blowers, Firemen, Engineers, Teamsters, and Horseshoers Unions, together with Mr. Geo. J. Thompson, our Labor Bureau man, and your manager. They are going to draw up a proposition, which I submit to you, and which can be changed in any way to meet our approval.

The question of the financing of this is a matter that must be settled at once. The Brewery Workers' Union are taking under consideration the question of furnishing half, or at least one-third, of the cost of maintaining the sub-bureau working from this organization to handle the labor end of it.

EXHIBIT No. 159.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 1st, 1908.*

Mr. JULIUS LIEBMANN,
President, U. S. Brewers' Association,
#109 E. 15th St., New York.

DEAR SIR: Following is report of the Organization Committee of the United States Brewers' Association, as appointed by you under resolution of last annual convention.

The Bureau was organized November 1st, 1907, by the appointment of Mr. John A. McDermott, of St. Paul, Minn., as Manager. Mr. Phil. A. Grau, of Milwaukee, Wis., was appointed as assistant organizer January 1st, 1908, Mr. W. F. Schad, of El Reno, Oklahoma, as assistant organizer February 1st, 1908, and Mr. Edward R. Diederich, of Chicago, Ill., as assistant organizer March 9th, 1908. In addition to the above, we have appointed Mr. Geo. J. Thompson of Chicago as special worker among the labor unions, and the Honorable Geo. W. Peck of Wisconsin as a special writer.

Permanent headquarters of the Organization Bureau were established in the Schiller Bldg., Chicago, Ill., December 1st, 1907.

Since the organization of the Bureau, thirty-six out of the forty-six States of the Union have been visited by representatives of our Bureau. Representatives have been at 14 of the State Brewers' Conventions.

Manufacturers and Dealers Clubs of the Allied Industries are in active working order in Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Boston, St. Louis, Detroit, New Orleans, Omaha, Milwaukee, Louisville, St. Joseph, Mo., Kansas City, Mo., Sedalia, Mo., Peoria, Ill., Burlington, Dubuque and Davenport, Iowa, and Wheeling and Huntington, W. Va., and also M. & D. Clubs in Indiana, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which are State associations.

Traveling Men's Liberty Leagues and Personal Liberty Leagues have been organized and are in working order in Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Louisiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, and New York.

In the State of Florida, the business men have organized an association called the Mercantile Protective Association of the State of Florida, with headquarters at Jacksonville, Florida, and in Washington, D. C., the business men's association is called the Washington Mercantile Association.

Preliminary organizations are in existence in St. Paul, Duluth, and a number of other cities. Traveling Men's Liberty Leagues will be formed in Missouri and a number of other states in the course of the next few months.

We have not been very active in organization work in some of the states because of the fact that they have strong state brewers' associations well able to handle conditions, but we have devoted a good deal of attention to states where the organizations are weak or where they have no organizations, and especially in the southern states.

We have organized State Brewers' Associations in Nebraska Michigan and Louisiana, and a joint organization in Colorado of the brewers and wholesale liquor dealers, and practically every state in the Union will be visited before the end of the year and organization work done in all of them.

The United States Maltsters' Associations have been visited and are working in harmony with us. The barley dealers of the Boards of Trade of Chicago, Milwaukee and Minneapolis have been visited and are helping us in the movement by moral and financial aid.

We have helped state campaigns in Florida and North Carolina, and also local campaigns. Through the work of the Organization Bureau publicity of a good character has been secured in a number of the large cities in the United States through open meetings of Manufacturers and Dealers Clubs and Liberty Leagues, and co-operation of the business men has been effected, so that the education of the business men of the country on this question has been started.

The Manager of our Bureau attended the Southern Brewers' Convention at New Orleans, La., on February 29th, 1908, in company with officers of the U. S. Association, at which conditions in the south were thoroughly discussed. It is our opinion that a hard and energetic fight should be put up in all of the southern states to hold the, if possible, against the present agitation, and if same is stopped there, it is bound to have its effect on the balance of the country.

The Hon. Geo. W. Peck, of Milwaukee, Wis., was engaged as a special writer for the Bureau on April 1st, 1908. He has just returned from a trip through the southern states, and Oklahoma and Kansas, where he has been studying prohibition conditions, and writing a series of weekly letters on the conditions, which are being published in *seventy-eight* of the leading Sunday newspapers all over the United States, and are also appearing in a number of the trade papers and journals. He visited Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas on his trip, writing a letter governing the conditions in each state.

It is recognized by the trade in general and by our Committee that we need the support of the laboring classes in our campaign, and along those lines, we secured the services of Mr. Geo. J. Thompson, formerly connected with the International Cigar Makers' Union, who has been doing very valuable work for us in Nebraska, Florida and North Carolina. At his suggestion we called a meeting of the representatives of the international unions most directly and indirectly interested at Cincinnati, at the Hotel Savoy, on April 28th, 1908, at which time the question of forming as an adjunct to our Bureau a Union Labor Bureau, to take up the question of thoroughly organizing and educating their different unions and trade journals as to what prohibition would mean to the laboring men of the U. S., was discussed. This matter is in its preliminary stages, and we are not committed to the proposition, and it is one that the Association should pass on.

EXHIBIT No 162.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

CHICAGO, ILL., *November 7th, 1908.*

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION BUREAU, U. S. BREWERS' ASS'N. By Mr. JOHN A. McDERMOTT, Manager.

ALABAMA.

At the time our Bureau was organized the statutory prohibition bill had passed in Alabama and nothing has been done so far towards repealing or amending it except that Mr. J. A. McDermott, the Manager of our Bureau, has an engagement to go to Birmingham to meet a gentleman who will have something to say about the administration of the state in the next two years

ARKANSAS.

The fight in Arkansas has been handled by the St. Louis brewers and handled very well. State Prohibition will be defeated in the Legislature the coming winter and in the county option elections in October we gained two counties.

CALIFORNIA.

One of our representatives, Mr. Phil. A. Grau, visited California and has made a thorough report on conditions there. The trade in that state are becoming thoroughly aroused on the prohibition movement and all the wine growers have formed a strong state association under the leadership of Mr. A. Sparboro. California we regard as one of the safest states in the Union on account of its wine growing industry.

COLORADO.

We assisted in the formation of the Colorado Brewers and Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association, and also had Mr. Geo. J. Thompson, of our Labor Bureau, consult with the union labor leaders, and at the municipal elections held in the spring we held our own. A fight will be made for county option at the coming session of the Legislature, but the bill will not be passed, as the Legislature and state administration elected at the general election are favorable to us.

CONNECTICUT.

We assisted, by advice, in the organization of the Connecticut State Brewers' Association, of which Mr. Kendall is President and Mr. Orr, Secretary, and in the municipal elections held this fall for license we gained two towns.

DELAWARE.

As yet we have done nothing in Delaware, as the elections were held before the Bureau was started, but Mr. John G. Hartmann of Hartmann & Fehrenbach Brg. Co. of Wilmington is anxious that we organize a Manufacturers and Dealers Club in that state as soon as possible.

FLORIDA.

In the State of Florida state wide prohibition was made the main issue at the primaries for the nomination of state officers and Legislature held in June. Through the efforts of this Bureau a strong organization was built up in the State of Florida, headed by Hon. H. H. Buckmann, of Jacksonville, Fla., State Senator and Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and as a result of this organization's work a liberal candidate for Governor and the majority of the State Senate were nominated and have just been elected at the general election against state prohibition.

We made several trips to Florida, and Mr. Geo. J. Thompson, of our Labor Bureau, did very effective work in swinging the entire union labor vote of the state towards the liberal side. The parties in charge of the campaign in Florida give us entire credit for having held that state "wet."

GEORGIA.

At the primaries held in June our interests were active in the defeat of Governor Hoke Smith for re-election, and Mr. Reed Carradine, assistant to Mr. Fox in the Publicity Bureau, did very effective work in a publicity way in the Georgia campaign. The brewers of Georgia, assisted by our Association and the wholesale liquor dealers, are formulating plans for the next meeting of the Legislature, which we think can be carried through, to make Georgia a "wet" state.

IDAHO.

County Option has been made the main issue in the Republican platform in that state, but in the general election just held we won the Senate by one vote and the House split even. We assisted in the organization of the Idaho State Brewers' Association, who were called on by Mr. Grau, and Mr. Thompson made a trip to the state and succeeded in interesting the union labor leaders

all over the state, but it is still one of the states that considerable work is necessary to be done in on account of its extreme length.

ILLINOIS.

In the State of Illinois our Bureau has been active, and organized a Traveling Men's Liberty League, which was afterwards merged into the Liberal League of the United Societies. The Manufacturers and Dealers Club, which was ordinarily a trade organization, became active in the work against the prohibition movement at our suggestion, and through their Publicity Committee, consisting of Messrs. Cooper Lyon, H. C. Davenport and George Turner, they have carried on a strong and active campaign in the way of posters, circulars, arguments, etc., and have started a paper called "The Farmers and Manufacturers Alliance" with a large circulation.

We have worked in conjunction with the Illinois State Brewers' Association and local brewers' associations and in the election of members of Legislature a joint committee from the Illinois Brewers and the Distillers' Associations handled the matter, of which our Manager, Mr. McDermott, was a member, and the Legislature is strictly opposed to county option and may possibly amend the present township and local option law on the books. The present township and local option law is a very unfair one and was the cause of many cities and villages located in the townships going "dry" at the last spring elections held in this state.

INDIANA.

We attended the meeting of the Indiana State Brewers' Ass'n. in 1907, at which time we took up the question of organization. They believed at that time they were safe and asked that we do no work in that state until called upon. In September we were called on to organize a Manufacturers and Dealers Association, which we did, composed of fifty of the leading allied trades firms, with Mr. Phil. A. Rappaport as Secretary. As the Republican party declared for County Option and the Democratic party for village and town option our interests united in the support of the Democratic ticket for Governor and Legislature. Governor Hanley seized this opportunity to call a special session of the Legislature and forced the County Option bill through. We were called into conference with Mr. Albert Lieber, President of the Indiana State Brewers' Association, Mr. John Bell, their Attorney, and Mr. Thomas Taggart, and we furnished Mr. George J. Thompson for two weeks to work on the union labor proposition in that state; arranged through Mr. Thompson to have Mr. Gompers make a special trip through that state, secured the support of all of the officers of the State Federation of Labor, and sent Governor Peck in that state for one month at the disposal of their state committee, and Mayor Rose of Milwaukee for one week.

The Manager of our Organization Bureau, Mr. McDermott, also assisted in the formation of the Liberal League of Indiana, which now has a membership of three thousand paid members in the large cities of the state, and which is going to take up active work of organization in the state towards making a fight against county option elections.

IOWA.

We have attended several meetings of the Iowa State Brewers' Association, and have organized a Traveling Men's Liberty League for the state of Iowa at Des Moines, composed of five hundred members, which, however, has not been active because of the fact that their officers are not awake. We have also organized Manufacturers and Merchants Associations in Dubuque and Burlington, and have formed preliminary organizations in half a dozen of the other large cities. The Iowa Legislature is in good shape on matters affecting our interests.

KANSAS.

We have laid preliminary plans for the work of reclaiming Kansas, which will take a year or two to carry out, but we will keep in thorough touch with the situation.

KENTUCKY.

We attended a meeting of the Kentucky Brewers' Association in November, 1907, and in April, 1908, we organized a large Manufacturers and Business Men's Association composed of five hundred of the best business men of Louisville in a public mass meeting, and since then we have assisted in the formation of the Civic Liberty League, and at a large mass meeting of the League held on October 24th, 1908, we furnished the speakers, consisting of Ex-Governor Peck of Wisconsin, Rabbi Samuel Sale of St. Louis and Clarence Darrow of Chicago. The meeting was a grand success and has had its effect in southern Indiana as well as in Kentucky.

The situation in Kentucky is much improved over a year ago, especially with the defeat of Ex-Governor Beckham for the Senate, and through the elegant work of the Kentucky Brewers' Association led by their efficient Secretary, Mr. Chas. D. Goepper, and the active work of Mr. Frank Fehr, of the Frank Fehr Brewing Co., Louisville.

Louisville.—At the request of Mr. Lawrence Fabacher of the Board of Trustees, we sent to the state of Louisiana Mr. W. F. Schad, and ourselves organized the brewers into an association, and also the wholesale liquor dealers and they are working together as a state association. They opened up the Southern Intelligence Bureau, under the management of Mr. Sidney Story, who, however, has since resigned. We also organized a Liberty League for the State of Louisiana and a Manufacturers and Dealers Association, and secured the speakers for their large mass meeting which was held April 2nd, 1908.

The bill for state prohibition was beaten in both Houses of the Legislature and a license bill with new forms of regulation and restriction was passed through the efforts of our people, and the state administration is also liberal in tendencies. Our idea is that the Southern Intelligence Bureau should be continued to look after the parish elections and carry on educational work, as the danger is not over in Louisiana by any means.

MAINE.

The conditions in Maine were investigated by Mr. Miller of Philadelphia, at the request of Mr. Gardiner, and while none of our Bureau did any work in Maine, with the exception of Governor Peck, who made a visit there, their vote at the state election showed that if it were not presidential year Maine would have voted for re-submission. Our opinion is that plans of organization should be carried out in Maine and active work should be started immediately for re-submission in two years.

MARYLAND.

The County Local Option Bill was killed in the Legislature through the active and efficient work of our interests under the leadership of Mr. Robert Crain, General Counsel. We were not called on in the Maryland situation, although Mr. Gottlieb has since asked that as soon as possible arrangements be made for the establishment of a permanent Manufacturers and Business Men's Association.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Manager of our Bureau attended the meeting of the New England Brewers' Association, and would say that as constituted at present this Association does not amount to much. We think that the suggestion made by some of the brewers that permanent state organizations with an efficient secretary and publicity man be formed is a very good one, and we also wish to say that we think considerable work is necessary to be done in Massachusetts, such as reclaiming Worcester and holding Fall River, and an amendment to the present law secured if possible. In our opinion, Massachusetts is one of the states that is going to be attacked by the Anti-Saloon League next year. A preliminary Manufacturers and Dealers Club was formed at Boston, which, however, has not amounted to anything.

MICHIGAN.

We organized the brewers of Michigan in January, 1908, into a permanent association, called the Michigan State Brewers' Association, with Mr. J. J. Hoch as President, and they have selected an able and efficient attorney, Mr. Wm. C. Manchester, as Secretary. This Association has done good work in the Legis-

lature and state elections, but were not thoroughly aroused in the Local Option Elections last spring, with the result that eleven out of the fourteen counties that voted went "dry." We also organized the Manufacturers and Dealers Club of Detroit, containing two hundred of the leading business men of the city, and under the leadership of Mr. Harry Rickel it has done very efficient work. The Michigan Liberty League was also organized, which now has a membership of several thousand, and under the leadership of Mr. Allen Cox has done very good work. Our opinion is that Michigan to-day is one of the most dangerous states in the Union, and as something like thirty-five county option elections will be called for this coming spring we recommend that a special meeting of the Michigan State Brewers' Association be called looking towards the establishment of a permanent publicity bureau to handle the county option elections in that state, otherwise the state will be half dry in a year.

MINNESOTA.

We organized a Traveling Men's Liberty League in Minnesota in December, which has done very efficient work in the campaign for Members of the Legislature and Governorship at the general election just held. We have attended several meetings of the Minnesota State Brewers' Association, which Association, under the able leadership of Mr. Wm. Hamm as President and Mr. F. W. Zollman as Secretary, has handled the situation in Minnesota in such shape that at the general election just held county option was decisively beaten by a vote of two to one in both the Senate and the House.

MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi passed a statutary prohibition law in February and we were not called on to do any work in that state, and in our opinion it will be useless to attempt to do anything there for at least two years.

MISSOURI.

We attended a meeting of the Missouri State Brewers' Ass'n. and urged on them the necessity of organization, especially of the business men, and we organized the St. Louis Manufacturers and Merchants' Association, composed of three hundred of the leading business firms of that city. This Association held a large public meeting on February 25th, 1908, which resulted in a vast amount of publicity and in the creation of public sentiment in our favor. This business men's association has been of immense value to the trade in Missouri and in the local option elections held throughout the state. Preliminary meetings for the organization of Manufacturers and Merchants' Associations have been held in St. Joe and Kansas City, but active work has not yet been undertaken by these clubs, but should be carried on to successful conclusion.

MONTANA.

Our representative, Mr. Phil. A. Grau, called on the Montana brewers and they stated that they had the situation in their state well in hand. Montana has county option at present but expect to have no trouble with the Legislature in the coming year.

NEBRASKA.

We organized the Merchants and Manufacturers Association in Omaha in January and they selected a paid secretary in the person of Mr. J. B. Haynes, who has done very effective organization and publicity work throughout Nebraska. We also assisted in the formation of the Personal Liberty League for the entire state of Nebraska, with headquarters at Omaha, which did very effective work in the legislative elections.

We also attended the meeting of the State Brewers' Ass'n. and thoroughly discussed the situation with the officers and members of the Nebraska Association, and the results of the general election just held in Nebraska are very satisfactory to our people. County Option was the issue in the Legislative elections and has been buried very effectively. The Legislature, as it will be constituted, when it meets, is absolutely opposed to County Option.

NEW JERSEY.

The question of Local Option was one of the main issues in the legislative elections in New Jersey at the late general election and returns show that the Local Option candidates were decisively defeated.

NEW YORK.

We attended the meeting of the New York State Brewers' Association and organized the Manufacturers and Dealers Club of New York, but have not been called on for any work in New York, as the situation is well in hand in that state, being handled by the New York State Brewers' Association.

NORTH CAROLINA.

At the elections in North Carolina on May 26th, our Bureau, including Messrs. Grau, Thompson and myself, assisted the business men's organization in that state, but the odds were all against us, and the results of same are well known. The politicians of the Democratic party who were with us said this would be bound to have its affect on the fall election. This prophesy has come true in the fact that the Republicans have gained thirty members in the Legislature and three members in the House. Hon. S. B. Adams, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, said that if the Legislature was Republican a repeal of the law might be effected.

The North Carolina situation should be looked after and plans should be laid for reclaiming that state.

OHIO.

The election of Judson Harmon for Governor over Andrew Harris in the late general election was the result of months of organized effort on the part of all our interests and of the Ohio Personal Liberty League, assisted by the State Brewers' Association, and the Manufacturers and Dealers Clubs of Cleveland and Cincinnati. Our Manager attended the meeting of the State Brewers' Association of Ohio in October one year ago and also this year. We organized the two Manufacturers and Dealers Clubs mentioned above and also organized the Ohio Traveling Men's Liberty League, which was merged into the Personal Liberty League of Ohio as now constituted and sent into that state Mr. Phil. A. Grau, our ablest speaker, who rendered good service for the past month under the auspices of the Personal Liberty League. The result in Ohio is very gratifying because of the fact that it marks the collapse of the Anti-Saloon League as a factor in Ohio politics and in spite of the fact that the counties are going "dry" if concentrated efforts are made on the others a number of them will be held in the elections to ensue, and with a liberal Legislature an amendment to the law should be passed.

OKLAHOMA.

Mr. W. F. Schad of our Bureau made a trip to Oklahoma and thoroughly investigated conditions and found out that prohibition was a failure and that the business men of the state are ready for a change. It is not advisable, however, to attempt to do anything in that state for two years. The Sons of Washington, a liberal organization, are now starting to organize the state and have asked us for assistance, which is a matter that the Association should take up.

OREGON.

Mr. Phil. A. Grau made extensive investigations of conditions in Oregon and found them very discouraging. There seems to be no life in the Brewers' Association in that state, and 22 out of the 33 counties in the state are "dry." Unless something in the way of organization, publicity and education of the people in Oregon is started at once, our opinion is that Oregon will be dry inside of two years.

PENNSYLVANIA.

We assisted in the formation of the Manufacturers and Dealers Association in Philadelphia for the state of Pennsylvania, which has done very effective work, under the guidance of the Pennsylvania State Brewers Association and their able

President, Mr. John Gardiner. Outside of that we have done no work in Pennsylvania, nor have we been called on for any.

RHODE ISLAND.

The Supreme Court held that under the present license law a general election was necessary every year on the question of license or no license and under this decision a general license election was held for the entire state on November 3rd. Accompanied by Mr. Thompson our Manager, Mr. McDermott, spent ten days in the state of Rhode Island assisting the R. I. Brewers and Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association in making the fight. The results were very satisfactory and were accomplished by the effective work of their trades associations and their publicity man, Mr. Steele. In spite of the fact that the Anti-Saloon League claimed to be going to carry a great many towns we held all that were "wet" and gained seven of the "dry" towns, and the total license vote in our favor was about twenty thousand.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

We have not been called on for any work in the State of South Carolina nor have we gone into that state, but indications are that something should be done in that state at once, as our opinion is that the Anti-Saloon League are going to try to pass statutory prohibition in that state.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Under the Initiative and Referendum a general election was called for November 3rd for a county option law, to be voted on all over the state. The three small breweries doing business in the state formed an Association with the shipping brewers, headed by Mr. Wm. Hamm of St. Paul, and on the death of the manager of the campaign selected our Bureau was put in charge of the fight, with the result that after three month's work we sustained a great victory, defeating county option by seven thousand majority and if it were not for the fact that the ballot was a blanket ballot with other questions on it, we would have had a majority of ten thousand. Credit for the winning of the South Dakota fight should go to Mr. E. R. Diederich of our Bureau, who had practical charge of the campaign under the direction of Mr. Hamm, Mr. Zollman, and Mr. J. A. McDermott, Manager of our Bureau. Mr. Diederich was ably assisted by Mr. W. F. Schad and Mr. Geo. J. Thompson of our Labor Bureau.

TENNESSEE.

At their primary held on June 20th, Governor M. R. Patterson was renominated and has just been re-elected. He was opposed by the Hon. E. S. Carmack, the candidate of the Anti-Saloon League, who had declared for state wide prohibition. We assisted Mr. Patterson in every way possible, through union labor circles, by work of Mr. Schad and Mr. Thompson, through business men's associations, and other assistance furnished by the Association. Mr. Patterson was victorious but the Legislature that is elected is still in doubt, but we think it will be opposed to state wide prohibition. Very effective work in the Tennessee campaign was done by the Tennessee Brewers' Association and the Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association, and by Mr. Chas. M. Lewis of the National Distillers' Association.

TEXAS.

Under the present law as constituted, the Democratic party voted at their primaries by a slight majority of the votes counted for a bill to be passed by the Legislature submitting a constitutional amendment in favor of state wide prohibition. The question now at issue is whether the Legislature will pass it or not. The state Senate is supposed to be Anti-prohibition. The fight was fought under the management of Mr. J. L. Wortham, of Dallas, Texas, a high grade business man, who was assisted by the Texas Brewers' Association, and Mr. Geo. J. Thompson of our Labor Bureau did some very effective work on the union labor and farmers' unions end of the fight. Had we been called into the fight a month or two in advance we feel that we could have won in the state of Texas. Since the primary elections a general convention has been called of all of the business men in the state opposed to state wide prohibition. They

have elected Hon. J. F. Wolters as Chairman of their Executive Committee, and they wish to have a meeting with our Bureau and the brewers doing business in Texas, and also the Texas Brewers' Association, to take up the matter in detail.

UTAH.

The question at issue in the state of Utah at the general election was for a law in favor of local option, which was declared for by the Republican party, and which our people have modified into a local option law. The Utah brewers and wholesale liquor dealers have formed a state association, and Mr. Geo. J. Thompson of our Bureau did some work among the retailers and labor unions in that state, and they feel that they are safe in spite of the declaration of the Mormon Church on this question.

VERMONT.

The question did not enter into the general election in Vermont, but our reports are to the effect that the Anti-Saloon League in that state will try to pass a county option bill at the coming session of the Legislature.

WASHINGTON.

Mr. Phil. A. Grau of our Bureau visited Washington and called on the brewers of the state and met the officers of their association. They expect to have a local option bill passed at the coming session of the Legislature but do not look for anything more than village and township local option. They refused to take up the question of the organization of a business men's association or Liberty League and are depending entirely upon political work.

WEST VIRGINIA.

The result of the general election in West Virginia is not decided as yet. A bill for the submission of a constitutional amendment was defeated by one vote at the last session of the Legislature and inquiries are: "With the election of Republican Governor and Legislature what question will come up at this session of the Legislature?" Mr. E. R. Diederich of our Bureau organized a strong business men's association at Wheeling, W. Va., and also at Huntington, and both are doing good work and will do better as the time for legislative work comes on.

WISCONSIN.

We attended the meeting of the Wisconsin Brewers' Association last December and organized the Wisconsin Liberty League on January 1st, and also the Manufacturers and Dealers Club of Milwaukee, and all of these organizations have done very good work. The Executive Committee of the Wisconsin Brewers' Association, assisted by their general counsel, Mr. W. H. Austin, succeeded in thoroughly defeating the county option candidate at the general election and the German-American Alliance of this state also did effective work.

The work of th's Bureau during the past year has not been devoted to a campaign for membership, but has been devoted to a campaign of organizating and arousing the trade and the business men of the country to the dangers that confront them in the prohibition movement, and as the question that has been asked us in the soliciting of members is: "What has the United States Brewers' Association done to help us?" We now feel in a position to go before the brewers of the United States and show the result of the work that has been accomplished in the past year, and in conjunction with plans to be formulated by our Secretary, Mr. Hugh F. Fox a consistent campaign for membership will be entered upon, and every brewer in the United States should become a member of the National Association.

Among other things that the Bureau has accomplished in the past year is the solidifying of un'on labor in the United States in our cause. The manager of our Bureau, Mr. McDermott, has had several conferences with Mr. Gompers and other officers of the A. F. of L., and while they do not want this matter to come up in a national way they are all willing to help us, and this part of the work of the Bureau has been ably and efficiently handled by our Mr. Geo. J. Thompson.

While we have not done any work in our Bureau towards any publicity we have assisted in the same by the fact of our public meeting of our business men's associations, which has been obtained through regular sources and has been of immense benefit.

There are always a number of other matters constantly coming up in the work and we are called into conference with the officers of the Association, with Mr. Brand and the members of our Committee which can not be reported on in detail. The hotel keepers of the United States are commencing to awaken to this proposition and we have been the means of getting several articles in through our work with the different hotel keepers and members of their associations.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) JOHN A. MCDERMOTT.

There are offered in evidence also exhibits from 167 to 421, they being correspondence between Percy Andreae and Joseph Keller of the German-American Alliance, relating to the activities of the German-American Alliance, and to the financing of the organization work of that alliance by the National Association of Commerce and Labor with the money of the United States Brewers' Association and the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in full in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 167.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union night letter.]

Charge Conrad Selpp Brewing Company.

CHICAGO, *October 27, 1915.*

JOSEPH KELLER,
403 East Morris Street,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Can you come to Chicago at my expense with reference to organization matter I discussed with you and Doctor Hexamer in Philadelphia? I am now in position to proceed along lines indicated at that meeting, and am anxious to confer with you thereon. I expect to be here all the week. Address me at Chicago Athletic Association, twelve Michigan Boulevard.

PERCY ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 175.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Finanz-Ausschuss. John Tjarks, Vorsitzer, Hotel Raleigh, Baltimore, Md. Julius Moersch, 1829 Lincoln Ave., St. Paul, Minn. Joseph Keller, Sekretär, 1255 Wright Str., Indianapolis, Ind. H. C. Bloedel. 1000 Peralta Str., Ewalt Sta., Pittsburgh, Pa. Prof. Leo Stern, 969 Second Str., Milwaukee, Wis. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Hir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *December 10, 1915.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 Michigan Boulevard, Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Moersch and I will go to Philadelphia next week, and I have written Dr. Hexamer to that effect yesterday.

We believe though, that preparations should be made for defraying the expenses we had so far, and for the trip we have to make East. As you know, I was in Chicago twice, and Mr. Moersch came down from St. Paul at your suggestion.

I know that this is in harmony with your ideas, and with the understanding we had previously in Chicago.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I am

Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St.

EXHIBIT No. 176.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[G. A. A.]

DECEMBER 14, 1913.

MR. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright Street,
Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed find check for $300.00 as per telephone conversation today. Kindly acknowledge receipt of same and oblige

Yours very truly,

GMH–L

EXHIBIT No. 178.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

INDIANAPOLIS, *15 December, 1913.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your check for $300.00. Will mail you detailed account after we return from the East.

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 179.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

INDIANAPOLIS, *Dec. 21, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 Michigan Ave. Chicago.

DEAR SIR: I just returned from the conference we had in Philadelphia with the Gentlemen whose names appear in the inclosed newspaper clipping. Our friend in Baltimore is willing, to manage the financial part, expecting, that a stipulated sum be turned over to him every three months.

All the gentlemen present were of the firm opinion, that the agreement, to be in any way effective, should be for three years, and not for one.

If this is suitable to you, please advise me by the return of the mail, and a date can then be arranged, that I can see you in Chicago, when all the final details can be agreed upon.

I have the honor to remain

Yours very respectfully

JOSEPH KELLER
1255 Wright St.

Judge Schwab of Cincinnati and John Gardner of Phil. Present.

EXHIBIT No. 189.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Finanz-Ausschuss.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *January 2, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE. Confirming your favor of to day, I wish to state, that I will be in Chicago on Thursday Jan. 15.

I cannot come on the 13, as on that date a mass meeting of the delegates of all our societies will take place here.

Regarding the letter of Mr. Proebstle. You will readily understand, that the Headquarters of our National Alliance will not be moved from Philadelphia to Indianapolis, but, that only the National bureau of Organisation and Publication will have its seat in the latter city, where I happen to live. To close, and to an intimate relationship with the said bureau in Cincinnaty would not be the proper and wise thing for our alliance. I will have Mr. Moersch come to Chicago, and the Iowa and Texas plans will then be fully mapped out. We believe, we have found the right man in Chicago, to do work for us in Iowa.

Wishing you a good journey

I am very Resp. yours

JOS. KELLER

EXHIBIT No. 193.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 26th, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I have today remitted New York draft for $5000 to Mr. Tjarks in accordance with our understanding.

Owing to the absence of my Treasurer it has taken longer to get this matter arranged than I had anticipated. But I trust matters will now go forward without delay, and I would suggest your visiting Chicago as soon as possible and going into the data gathered in Iowa and Texas with Mr. Gibson and Mr. Hartley.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 194.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer. Pro Bono Publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *28 January, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE. I thank you for your letter of yesterday, and in reply will say, that I will be in Chicago Friday of this week. I will bring the Gentleman with me, who will work among the catholic Societies in Iowa a id in Texas.

We will be in your office in the afternoon.

Very resp. yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 199.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *Feb. 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago,

DEAR MR. ANDREAE. Replying to your favor of Feb. 4. I wish to say, that Mr. Max Heinrici is one of the best German journalists of today, and is the responsible Editor of the monthly Mitteilungen of the National-Alliance.

I believe, that a monthly pressletter sent to the 700 German Newspapers in the country would prove very beneficial to our cause.

Very truly yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 200.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA; *February 6, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE, Mr. P. T. Barth returned early this morning from a trip to Burlington, to see me in a matter, I now lay before you, asking you, to kindly consider this confidentially. I first sent Mr. Barth with a letter of introduction to Dr. Ed. L. Durand, President of the Iowa Alliance, in which I offered him my assistance in building up his organization, asking him of his advice, kind help and co-operation etc. Dr. Durand at once told Mr. Barth, that the Alliance of Iowa was assisted annually by the brewers of that state to the amount of 3000 to 4000 dollars and that Mr. Henry Thuenen jr. of Davenport had advised him that from on, he would have to look to the National Alliance for help. Dr. Durand is now trying to perfect a district or congressional organization, putting one man in each district, which I consider a good plan, if the right man is put in the right place. Mr. Barth will be a close observer and I will look over the territory myself in time. I have sent literature to every city, town and hamlet in Iowa, with the exception of the Catholic congregations which Mr. Barth will visit in person. He will mail me a list of all those priests and societies which he called upon and who are friendly to our cause and then an appeal will be made to them from this buro. I will explain to you later why we are doing this. Now, will you be kind enough and tell me if the amount that Dr. Durand mentioned is correct, so that I will know where I stand and how far I can go? You are aware of the fact, Mr. Andreae, that it is absolutely necessary that I have the help and good will of the Iowa organization, if our work should prove a success. I have sent word to Dr. Durand, that he should not be uneasy and that he would be taken care of.

I write you this, that you will absolutely understand the situation.

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 202.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *Feb. 10, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE. I have been in communication with the Iowa people and received word to-day from our Mr. Barth, who called on Dr. Durand Saturday, after the conference he had with me in Indianapolis, that everything was satisfactory, and that the Dr. had given him letters of introduction to all the district presidents.

At your request I will be in your office on Thursday afternoon. I will leave here early in the morning und bring letters from Philadelphia und Burlington.

Very Respectfully yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 203.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *20. Feb. 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 S. Mich. Ave. Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREA: I have sent the sum of 500.00 Dollars to Mr. John Schnack of Davenport Ia. the Treasurer of the state alliance. Mr. Durand has written

me again, und everything seems to move smoothly. Our Mr. Barth is today at Fort Dodge, where the Alliance is in session.

I will start next week with the distribution of more literature in the interest of Church Societies.

With the kindest regards

yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 205.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *Feb. 24. 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Numbers of the inclosed circulars were sent to protestant ministers in Iowa.

The State Convention there was a Success.

With highest regards

truly yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 207.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH THIRD, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Mr. Charles Wirmel will call upon you either Wednesday or Thursday with a letter from Judge John A. Schwaab, introducing him as an active member of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. Wirmel was formerly Commissioner of Labor of the State of Ohio and is a very capable and influential labor leader. He is now engaged with me in my organization work, and is to go to Texas to take charge of the interests of my organization in that State. It is of importance, however, that he should present himself to the parties in charge of the campaign in that State as coming from the German-American Alliance. I can explain the reasons fully when I see you.

Will you kindly give him such credentials as he may require to introduce himself, and oblige

Yours very truly,

_____,

P. S.—Will you kindly give me your telephone number at both your office and residence.

EXHIBIT No. 208.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *March 6, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have given Mr. Wirmel the necessary information of Texas, and have mailed him a List of our Branches in that state, etc.

On the 22nd of March an executive session will be held in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where we will discuss the issues in Iowa, and the manner of conducting an efficient campagne.

I will go by way of Chicago, and will therefore see you shortly. I had Mr. Barth here for a lengthy conference. He is doing good work.

My office is at #613 The Merchants Bank Building. My Telephone is Prospect 837. With the kindest regards,

Truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 209.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH TENTH, 1914.

Mr. JOS. KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed herewith you will find check for $500.00 to reimburse your account for that amount advanced to the Iowa German Alliance.

Kindly acknowledge receipt, and oblige,

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 210.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *March 11, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Inclosed please find the required receipt, and kindly accept my Thanks for the promptness.

Let me thank you Mr. Andreae for the magazine, containing your speech in New York. It was a delight for me, to read it.

Will see you next week, before I leave for Iowa.

Very Resp. yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 214.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *27 March, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I returned from my trip yesterday, and I originally intended to stop off at Chicago, to see you; but I contracted a severe cold in Iowa and of course took the first train I could get out of Chicago. I am more than pleased with the outlook, and the enthusiasm, that prevailed all through the meeting. Every district of the state was represented, and with no exception, every man understands the gravity of the situation, and will do his utmost in his district to line up his men for the coming election.

The "liberale Buergerbund" of Sioux City since joined the Alliance, also 2 new societies of Davenport, and the Turngemeinde of Burlington. The State Alliance has subscribed for 50 copies of the "national Mittellungen," and will immediately start with the publication of a monthly paper in both languages. Dr. Durand will edit the German part, and Mr. H. Miller of Waterloo the English. Dr. Durand also will visit every district in the state, and will address our people. At my suggestion, an executive of three men was named, to manage the campaigne. This committee consists of a prominent business man of Burlington as Pres. a very prominent business man of Waterloo as Treasurer, and Dr. Durand as Secretary. The Treasurer will handle all funds, but the items

will not go though the books of the reg. treasurer of the Alliance. Every voucher has to be signed by two officers—this will give us a controll of all expenses, and the funds are in the hands of high class men, in whose integrity I have the fullest confidence.

I now understand the fallacies of the Iowa laws thoroughly, and must openly tell you, that shameful conditions exist in that state. The barrooms are made as obnoxious and unsanitary as possible, and the worst of all is, that the classes, who patronize these "drinking barns" are satisfied with the conditions, and I find, that the mulct law, as infamous as it is, is exceedingly popular. Nevertheless, if the legislature should become democratic, and Mr. Hamilton become Governor, an effort will be made, to overthrow prohibition; if this cannot be done, they will try, to change the modus operandi of the present form of petition to the secret ballot, and to repeal the crazy moon law, and the unjust manufacturers law.

The executive board will submit to me a budget of the estimated expenses, which I will mail you immediately upon receipt.

Mr. Thuenen in Davenport, with whom I had a lengthy and interesting talk, told me frankly, to go ahead, and he would see to the right etc. I called on five of the most prominent German Newspapers, subscribed for them, and will from time to time write articles for them. In Davenport I had a conversation with the leading lutheran minister, and arranged a meeting between him and Dr. Radenhausen of the local branch, which will bring these two strong organisations together.

Whenever all your lists of all the candidates are prepared, please send them to me, and I will forward them to Iowa.

On April 22 is the last day for legislative and judicial candidates to file their papers with the secretary of state, and on June 1. is the primary election,—

On June 27, county conventions will take place, and not later than July 29, and not earlier than July 1. all state conventions must be held.

I promised the executive board a check for $500. which will go forth by April 1.

At the request of the state alliance I will deliver several addresses in about 5 of the principal places of Iowa a few weeks before the election. All the datas I have so far collected, will be copied and sent to Dr. Durand for his information.

Our Mr. Barth is now at work in the northern and northwestern part of the state.

With kind regards, Very Respectfully, JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 215.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL THIRD, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I am enclosing you herewith check for $500.00 to reimburse you for funds advanced to the Iowa German-American Alliance.

Trusting you will find this satisfactory, I am

Yours very truly, ——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 216.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL THIRD, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I am enclosing you herewith check for $500.00 to reimburse you for funds advanced to the Iowa German-American Alliance.

Kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige

Yours very truly, ——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 217.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL 8TH, 1914.

MR. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I am in receipt of yours of April 7th enclosing letter to Mr. Wirmel, and beg to state that we have called him to Chicago for a conference and will hand him your communication on his arrival here. He will remain here only a short time, but will get in communication with you before he returns to Texas.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 218.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *7 April, 1914.*

Nat. Association of Commerce and Labor, Chicago.

GENTLEMEN: Not having Mr. Wirmels Address, I most resp. ask you, to kindly forward the inclosed letter to him. Thanking you for this favor, I am with the kindest regards to all the Gentlemen.

Very truly yours,

Jos. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 219.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *April 13, 1914.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I had Mr. Soergel here yesterday and I think it would be well, to start him out at once, that means of course, after he had acquainted himself somewhat with the Texas situation.

Would you not advise me, to bring him to Chicago, to go over the datas you have gathered, and to give him all the information possible? If this should be suitable to you, we will be up at the end of this week.

Kindly advise and oblige

Yours very respectfully

Jos. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 221.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *27 April, 1914.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have sent Check for $1000.00 to Mr. Hermann Miller of Waterloo, Ia., today, have also advised Dr. Durand of the remittance.

With the kindest regards, truly yours,

Jos. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 222.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *April 30, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have received a letter this morning from Mr. H. Miller of Waterloo, wherein he informed me, that he himself had consented, to become a candidate for the legislature.

A man of his caliber will do us a world of good. He inclosed me a copy of a letter sent him by the Iowa Antisaloon League, which I herewith send you for your information.

He also assured me that the outlook was very promising. The monthly paper will make its first appearance next week.

With the kindest regards, very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 224.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 2, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed herewith please find check for $1,000.00 to reimburse your account for this amount sent by you to Mr. Herman Miller, of Waterloo, Iowa.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 227.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Bismarck, Hotel and Restaurant, 173–181 W. Randolph St., Emil Demme, Mgr.]

CHICAGO, *May 5, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Barth is willing to go to Texas. He will see me in Indianapolis at the end of this week, to go over the situation. He will devote his entire time with the German Catholic societies there. Mr. Barth traveled in Texas before and knows every Catholic community. I wired Dr. Durand and Mr. Miller last night, and sent both a letter this morning.

Very Resp. yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 230.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer. Pro Bono Publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!"—*Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *May 11, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I acknowledge with Thanks the receipt of the copies of your Address on Nation-Wide Prohibition, part of which were sent out to-day. I inclose you clippings of a German Newspaper in San-Antonio, stating of a convention of all the large German Organisations in that city, wherein you can see, that the overwhelming sentiment is for Ferguson. Mr. Soergel is hard at

work; he finds the situation within the State Alliance rather perplexed on account of the arrogance of the President Mr. H. Moeller. Through the help of a friend of mine, Mr. E. Schramm, whose Son in law is the owner of the organ of the Sons of Hermann, we will have a complete list of all the lodges and their officers within a week. Mr. Soergel is telling me, that the Brewers were helping both sides financially; that the East and the Northeast of Texas demands most of the work. Captain Schramm was with him for two days, giving him all the necessary information. I have in my possession now a complete list of all the County Organisations of the German Alliance.

With the highest regards, very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 236.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *May 16, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREA: This mornings report tells me, that at a meeting in Fort-Worth a few days ago, it was decided, to submit the question of Prohibition to the people at this primary, but they could not agree, whether the question should be put on the top or on the bottom of the ballot.

On account of the payment of the polltax the antis have gained the right of 70,000 votes, the Prohis only 14,000 over the last election.

Mr. Koehler, President of the City Brewing Co of San-Antonio seems to be a queer character, he seems to be under the impression, that he practically has the state in his pocket, and nobody does any effective work but himself.

With the kindest regards, truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 237.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 19, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I am to-day in receipt, from Mr. Thuenen, of the enclosed list of candidates who are to be supported by the German-American Alliance. which I forward to you for your information.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 240.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *May 19, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Hermann Miller of Waterloo Ia, sent me to-day the following Expense Account:

Travelling Expenses:	
Executive	$225.00
Representation	140.00
Salaries	162.00
Office Expenses	195.00
Campagne-Letters & Postage Acc't	300.00
	1212.00

The State Alliance will not support Mr, Meredith for Senator, as the inclosed clippings show, and the so called working Demokrats in several counties will not support Mr. Conolly, this endangers the position of Mr. Miller, who is a candidate for the legislature.

Very Resp.

JOSEPH KELLER.

The reports from Texas come thick and fast.

EXHIBIT No. 242.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

MAY 23, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I inclose you herewith a few encouraging letters from Iowa.

This Mr. Burzlaff is the Gentleman that has for years opposed the Alliance in Iowa. Nun wir haben aus einem Saulus einen Paulus gemacht.

Texas material is coming in heavy.

Be kind enough and return the letters to me.

The new branch in Clinton counts 1407 members.

With the kindest regards, truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 243.

(From Andreae's files by subœona.)

MAY 15, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Indiana.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I thank you for your letter of the 14th with enclosures.

I am rather surprised to learn of the rumors in Texas relative to the brewers being under the same cover with Ball.

I have taken steps to ascertain if there is anything in this report.

Very truly yours,

——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 244.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *May 14, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Pardon me, if I again ask for some of your valuable time, but two reports I received to-day from Texas are of such a nature, that I consider it my duty to inform you about them.

At a gathering of some prominent men in San Antonio the remarks were made openly, that the Brewers did not care, whether Mr. Ferguson or Mr. Ball were elected, and one Gentleman even made the remark, that he knew, that the Brewers were under same cover with Mr. Ball.

The question of submission would in no way be touched at the next Primary election, but Mr. Ball had declared himself only, that in case he would be elected, he would ask of the legislature, to submit the question to the people at the next election, and if the legislature would refuse this, he would try to

find a way, to close the Saloons. Therefore the people will not vote directly for submission at the next primary election. The question regarding the brewers naturally causes consternation and uneasiness. The German voting strength in Texas is about 50,000 out of a total vote of 400,000.

My call for the Order of the Sons of Hermann went forth this morning.

With the kindest personal regards, very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 245.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *28 May, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Another check for $500. was sent to Mr. H. Miller in Waterloo to-day.

I have made another appeal to the German voters in the Iowa Newspapers. Our Mr. Barth is now in Weimar and Mr. Soergel in Galveston, Texas. Both are doing fine.

With the kindest regards, very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

Get 500 from Theunen.

EXHIBIT No. 246.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *May 29, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Both machines are in use, so I am compelled to reach for the pen.

Mr. Haxthausen has sent a most encouraging letter this morning, where he offered his help and his influence to get his entire organization into our ranks.

He issued an article in the official Organ of the Order, where he addressed all lodges personally and asked them to join hands with our alliance for our common cause.

We are now writing to all secretaries as I told you in my letter yesterday, and inclose to *every* member of his lodge a circular, with the headline "*Warning.*" I ordered the printing of 20,000 of these circulars this morning.

Hoping to hear good news from our Iowa friends next Monday.

I am very truly, yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 247.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 1, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: Thanks for your letter of the 28th in which you go into detail relative to the Texas work.

I have read this with a great deal of interest, and am this morning in receipt of your letter of the 29th in which you refer to the Sons of Hermann very encouragingly. I believe you are whipping the elements of organization into shape and that from now on you will begin to reap the fruits of your hard labor.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 248.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss Fuer Organization und Publication. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *May 28. 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE
3357 S. Michigan Ave, Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Relative to the Texas work, I wish to inform You, that I am now in possession of the names of all the lodges and their secretaries of the Sons of Hermann in Texas, and that we commenced, to send our appeal to them, with other literature. There is all in all about 267 societies with a Membership of about 22000.

The protestant ministers of all synods have received three pamphlets each, they have also sent me the names of the individual members of about a dozen churches, not counting the state alliance of the catholic societies, and the individual membership of the catholic churches, which Mr. Barth has gathered. Last sunday, a new local alliance was formed in Houston, and some of the ministers have called attention to the mass meeting from the pulpit. Mr. Haxthausen went with Mr. Soergel to Galveston, to organize annother branch. Haxthausen has travelled for over 30 days in our cause, and I was asked to reimburse him for his expenses, which I think is not more, than proper. In a letter, I received this morning from Mr. Soergel, he tells me, that Mr. Faust of St. Louis, who was in Houston for a few days, and Mr. R. L. Autrey of the Houston Ice and Brewing Co. were the principal advocators of the conference between yourself, Mr. Haxthausen and myself, "wherein the situation in Texas should have been thoroughly discussed, especially ways and means should have been found, to solve the financial problem, to get the voters out for the primary, etc." Funds should be placed in the hands of Messrs. Moeller and Haxthausen etc. etc.

Now, that is all well and good, but I remember, what you Mr. Andreae once told me in a similar case like this, that where there is more work demanded, the funds must be forthcoming from that side.

The Iowa people are following this plan.

Only when you tell me, that out of our allotment *a certain sum shall go to Texas for political purposes, then the money will go south, and not before. You, as I know, look to me to do constructiv work, organisation-work, that will count, and not to spend the money for election purposes.* Some of these Gentlemen seem to be of the opinion, that I can do with this fund, as I please, and I will let Mr. Soergel know, that it would be better, to ask for more information, before he can make any promises, and put us in a peculiar position with the Texas people. Otherwise Mr. Soergel is working hard, and his reports show thorough training und understanding.

Mr. Barth writes the most encouraging letters, his people all seem to belong to the Antis. He now is going into to more doubtful counties.

With the highest personal regards

Very Resp. yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 248½.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 1, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I have yours of the 28th advising that you have forwarded Mr. Miller of Waterloo, Iowa, check for $500.00.

I will return this to you in the course of a few days.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 249.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 3, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed herewith please find check for $500.00 in payment of this amount which you advanced from your fund to the Iowa German Alliance.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 252.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 6, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I enclose herewith Mr. Durand's letter relative to the results in Iowa, which I have read with a great deal of interest.

I will advise you a little later my opinion as to the donation in Texas.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 253.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro Bono Publico! "Heil Dir, deutsches Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *June 5th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

Would you advise me, to spend about $500.00 in Texas *to get out the German vote for the Primary?*

I intend to send half of this sum to Mr. Haxthausen and the other half to Mr. Hugo Moelier. All my reports indicate, that this would do us a world of good. Of course this money would come from our allotment.

I am awaiting your kind answer, and remain

Resp. yours

JOSEPH KELLER.

The inclosed letter sounds good.

EXHIBIT No. 262.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *July 1st 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am up in the office this morning, and the first letter I wright, shall go to you.

I wish to express to you my sincere thanks for the interest you have shown towards me, during my sickness. Let me assure you Mr. Andreae, that I will always show myself worthy of your confidence and your friendly feeling towards

me. I still have pains on my right side, and the digestive organs still fail to do their duty, but I am able to be up, and with the proper care will no doubt be able soon, to regain my full health.

The things down in Texas look bright; our Friend Soergel is making a hit as speaker, and shows success as an organizer. The German press, some of it antagonistic at first, and dissatisfied with the *brewing interests*, is doing good work, Mr. Barth has lined up his people, letters and literature have been sent broadcast, Mr. Haxthausen personally is on the stump, and I feel, that Mr. Fergusons nomination is assured. Dr. Durand and Mr. Miller plan a meeting of the executive of their alliance, and asked me for another $500, which I will send them tomorrow.

After July 25, Mr. Soergel and Mr. Barth will come north, and then the campagne in Iowa will be started with all, there is in it. Would it not be a good idea Mr. Andreae, to have your speech on "personal liberty" reprinted and distributed? Of course I do not like to do this without your consent.

Just as soon as my health will permit me, I will come up, to see you.

I am with the kindest personal regards

Thankfully yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 263.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 1, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: On the 5th of June you wrote asking our advice on a $500 expenditure in Texas, to get out the German vote for the primary.

I have had this matter up with Mr. Wirmel in Texas, who thinks this would be a good thing, and this will be your authority to advance this amount if you agree that it is a judicial thing to do.

Upon remitting, kindly advise me that the amount may be returned to your fund.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 264.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 2, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
613 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I was delighted to see your handwriting again and to know that you are once more in harness. But be careful. It is false economy to risk a relapse by trying one's strength too early.

I note the remittance of $500 to Mr. Miller, and when Mr. Hartley returns from Ohio, where he went yesterday, I will see that this amount is refunded in the usual way.

Our reports from Texas are very good, as regards Ferguson, but everyone seems to feel doubtful about defeating the submission of prohibition. I wonder whether it would be well for you to emphasize this particular point, when you write Mr. Soergel again.

In regard to the speech on personal liberty, please use your own judgment. I am going to send you an address which I am preparing to deliver in Cleveland, O., on July 22nd, on the occasion of the annual outing of the Personal Liberty League. This outing is usually attended by between forty and fifty thousand people, and I am using the occasion to make a strong appeal for the inauguration of a National Liberty Day, to be observed annually by all liberals in every centre of the country.

You will find that there are some very strong things in this address, possibly too strong for your purposes in Iowa. But, if not, I believe that the distribution of this speech (after it is delivered, of course) will have more effect than that of the personal liberty speech.

With very kind regards,

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 266.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *July 7, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Mich. Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Relative to the short conversation I had with Mr. Hartley over the phone this morning, I wish to reiterate, that I did not intend to send any money to Texas before I had heard from Mr. Soergel, to whom I have written last Friday. The noon mail to-day brought me a letter from him, wherein he strongly advocated, that some means should be sent at once to Mr. Haxthausen, and some to Mr. Hugo Moeller.

I know Mr. Andreae, that the submission question is very doubtful, and I have therefore previously instructed Mr. Soergel and Mr. Barth to emphasize this particularly.

Furthermore, an appeal will be made to all the voters of Texas through the entire German press, to vote against submission, and I have promised the different newspapers, that I would pay them for the space. I have endeavored to get the good will of the German press, and this can only be done if we pay them occasionally for their publications.

I inclose you a letter from a newspaper man in Waco, which will show you the feelings some of these fellows have.

I will have your last speech reprinted and will use the same in the Iowa campagne.

With the kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH KELLER.

Please return the two letters to me.

EXHIBIT No. 267.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *July 8, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I inclose you a copy of a letter, which I have sent today to Texas.

To Mr. Moeller I sent $150.00 and to Mr. Haxthausen $200.00 of which sum $50.00 is for personal expenses, which he used for traveling with Mr. Soergel.

The Balance will go to the Newspapers, after I received their sample Copies.

With the kindest personal regards

Very truly yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 268.

(From Andreae's files by subpoena. Copy.)

[GIBSON—KELLER.]

[This appears to be a carbon copy of a letter taken from the files of Andreae by subpoena July 8th, 1914: To August Haxthausen, Houston. Mr. Soergel has notified the writer that in order to get the German's attention to the ballot box and to defeat the submission it is absolutely necessary to have funds. Writer succeeded in getting help from the National Association of Commerce and Labor of Chicago and encloses a check for $200 requesting that the addressee deduct from this check $50 to recompense him for the expenses which he has already

incurred on behalf of "our cause." The $150 balance the addressee is to use in his judgment to promote our success on the 25th of this month.]

EXHIBIT No. 269.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 9, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I enclose herewith your correspondence sent to me for perusal July 6th, and thank you for your courtesy in this matter.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 271.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt Durch Kongress-Akte. Finanz-Ausschuss. John Tjarks, Vorsitzer, Hotel Raleigh, Baltimore, Md.; Julius Moersch, 1829 Lincoln Ave., St. Paul, Minn.; Joseph Keller, Sekretär 1255 Wright Str., Indianapolis, Ind.; H. C. Bloedel, 1000 Peralta Str., Ewalt Sta., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Prof. Leo Stern, 969 Second Str., Milwaukee, Wis. Pro Bono Publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" Pastorius.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *July 13, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Mich. Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I inclose you a copy of an *advertisement* that will appear in the German Press of Texas before the Primary Election—

In the official paper of the Order of Sons of Hermann we will use a whole page display Ad—

If you are at your office Saturday, Mr. Moersch and I would call on you.

Please wire me,

Very Res'ply.

Jos. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 272.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 13, 1914.

Mr. JOS. KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed herewith please find check for $500.00 which is in payment for a like amount advanced by you to the Iowa German Alliance. Kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 275.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 27, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: Please accept my congratulations for the wonderful work in the state of Texas of the organization under your direction.

This to my mind is indeed a great victory.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 276.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *July 26, 1914*.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREA: Hurrah for Texas!!!
Mr. Haxthausen just telegraphed: "Ferguson elected by at least 50,000."
Submission beaten.
Senate anti.
Germans turned out solidly.
Good news indeed Mr. Andreae.
With the kindest personal regards.
Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 277.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" Pastorius.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *July 29, 1914*.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I will meet *Mr. Schmidt*, the president of the German-American Alliance of Illinois, next Friday in Chicago. I am obliged to take a few days rest up in Wisconsin, as my condition is not, as it ought to be, and as I am growing weaker daily. Will try to see you, when coming back from Wisconsin.

With kindest personal regards.
Truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK.
MD.

Mr. Soergel will be in the office while I am gone.

EXHIBIT No. 283.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" Pastorius.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *August 21th, 1914*.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: We returned from Wisconsin last week and I am happy to say, that I feel considerably stronger.

We have mailed about 1,000 of the N. A. G. U. pamphlets to Texas and will now take up the work again in Iowa. Mr. Soergel will be in Manning on the 29th of this month attending the meeting of the Iowa Executive.

I had a long and interesting talk with Mr. F. Schmidt of the Illinois Alliance, when the preliminary arrangements for the Illinois campaign were made. The Illinois State Convention takes place on September 6th and 7th, and I will go there to address the meeting.

I assure you, my dear Mr. Andreae, that the terrible Europeon crisis causes me much concern and uneasiness, and I only hope, that awful conflict will soon be over.

According to your request in your letter of July 1th I send you herewith a statement of the funds forwarded to Texas:

Mr. A. Haxthausen	$200.00
Mr. H. Moeller	150.00
Texas newspapers for Advertisements and plates	83.40
Total	$433.40

With kindest personal regards to yourself and the gentlemen in the office.

Yours very truly

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 285.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" Pastorius.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *August 28, 1914.*

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON: Replying to your kind favor of today I will state, that I have taken the matter up at once with President Schmidt and the Peoria Alliance.

I will see you most likely Tuesday next.

With the kindest personal regards

I am very truly yours

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT 286.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

AUGUST 27, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright Street,
Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: As you doubtless know, Mr. Andreae was compelled to take a much needed rest, and will be absent from the city for the next ten days or two weeks.

I am enclosing you a copy of a letter from Samuel Woolner, Jr., of Peoria, Illinois. Mr. Woolner is the President of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association, and is one of our sincere friends. You will note what he says in his letter concerning the Congressional fight in his district.

If it is possible for you to assist Mr. Woolner by conveying his wishes to the members of your organization in his district, I am certain that it will be greatly appreciated both by him and Mr. Andreae.

Sincerely yours.

LHG: P

EXHIBIT No. 287.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Day letter.]

GALE M. HARTLEY,
Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio.

Andreae wanted notices sent out today of Finance Committee meeting Friday but left without saying time and place. Lilienthal says Friday at twelve and lunch at twelve thirty and to reserve Directors Room, Chicago Athletic. Kindly advise if this Andreaes wish.

M. I. WINNER.

EXHIBIT No. 288.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

Keller to Hartley.

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller. Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.* Keller letter.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *September 9th, 1914.*

I am sending to day $500.00 to the Iowa State Alliance, of which $250.00 goes to Dr. Durand, of Burlington, and $250 00 to Mr. Hermann Miller, in Waterloo. Including the last $500.00, $3,500.00, so far was sent to the Iowa branch.

On February 18th draft sent to Davenport	$500. 00
April 1st, check sent to Dr. A. L. Durand	500. 00
April 27th, check sent to Mr. H. Miller	1,000. 00
May 28th, check sent to Mr. H. Miller	500. 00
July 7th, check sent to Mr. H. Miller	500. 00
September 9th check sent to Dr. Durand	250. 00
September 9th check sent to Mr. H. Miller	250. 00
Total	$3,500. 00

P. A.—Wrote Thrumen for this amount and sent $500 to Keller to reimburse his account.

G. M. H.

EXHIBIT No. 289.

GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE FORMED.

(Continued from page 1.)

and a polished gentleman, and his remarks in both German and English were carefully listened to and at times were duly applauded as he told of many important achievements of the Germans and paid high tribute to them as American citizens.

"All we Germans want is fair play and impartial rights accorded to any citizen," said Mr. Soergel, "and we also want the truth."

Mr. Soergel spoke upon the subject, "What we need most at the present critical time," and said in part as follows:

"What we need is a better understanding of each other and a more honest, unprejudiced confidence in each other as citizens, patriots, lovers, and admirers of this our great Republic, and last, but not least, we need more honest believers in personal liberty and the individual right given to us by the will of God Almighty and guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country. We always must keep in mind that this country has no nationality of its own, but we just as well might call it the bride and country of all nations, or, as the greatest man of this country, George Washington, so fittingly expressed it, 'All Europe, not England, is the mother of this country,' and in his honest spirit and true patriotism we to-day should aim for a better and for an honest, true, and just government by the people, of the people, and for the people. And I maintain, and history will prove it, that the called imported citizens of this country, and especially the German-Americans with the Irish on their side, always have been loyal to their adopted country and always will believe in the Jeffersonian principle, 'Equal rights for everybody and special privileges for none.' In the latter days, however, it seems that this honest, true American principle is not dominating at all any more, but it is rather a Government of classes for certain classes; therefore the German-American Alliance, which I have the honor to represent, stands especially for the maintenance of human rights, for the freedom of mankind, and its highest development. It glories, and with full right, in the merits of the German forefathers, who since the dawn of civilization in

this country have in time of peace and war done their share to develop this country in such a way that to-day wherever the Stars and Stripes are unfolded America is recognized as the greatest and most powerful Republic the world has ever known and undoubtedly ever will know.

"The Germans and Irish should be found in true comradeship side by side to oppose such undemocratic and un-American doctrines. We certainly believe that under the fundamental laws of this great Republic we shall not only enjoy personal liberty and freedom one day during the year, which we usually celebrate as the Fourth of July, but personal liberty and freedom shall be enjoyed year in and year out, and we, as the lovers and protectors of liberty, should whenever opportunity arises, and so especially you German-American citizens of this beautiful town, should serve notice on those who threaten to deprive you of that liberty that you stand united as one man ready to defend it against all comers.

"And, therefore, our organization always shall and will raise its voice against prohibition, not on account of the drinking question involved, but on account of the moral question. We don't believe that a certain class of men in any community, town, city, county, or State shall have the right to dominate the minds and souls of their fellow men and render them mentally and morally subject to their particular views and notions, and thereby threatening human, God-given right, liberty, and freedom.

"We furthermore are against prohibition because prohibition never prohibits; prohibition, as it has been proven, never makes better men or people; just the contrary. It is an established fact that wherever prohibition apparently did prevail, hypocrisy, intolerance, fanaticism, and nativism are at home. It has made the worst enemies out of the best friends. The prohibition question here of late has become more and more a political question, and for reasons best known to our political friends. Therefore the remark made by a minister in your own State not long ago that the churches as such have no right to take any hand in any political fight, no matter which aim the same has got, and that in his opinion the churches should not interfere with their affairs.

"As I said before, the Constitution requires of every good, honest, liberty-loving, and freedom-seeking citizen to defend this, our great country, not only against all foreign, but also against all domestic enemies. What we need is organization, irrespectively of party affiliation, irrespectively of religion, irrespectively of social or commercial standing.

"We need an honest, true organization of liberty and freedom loving citizens, and therefore you should use all possible means to bring about such an organization which at the opportune time will with the greatest weapon the American citizen has got—the ballot—defeat the biggest domestic enemy this country has got—fanaticism, hypocrisy, and intolerance—and give birth to a new and invincible brotherhood among men—the great brotherhood of American freemen.

"Our organization, which only a few days ago has adjourned its biannual meeting at San Francisco, has adopted strong resolutions in this very respect. So far as the European question is concerned, our organization believes in an honest, fair, square, Christian American neutrality. We condemn the attitude shown by our country in this great European struggle by praying for peace on Sunday and furnishing ammunition during the week days to the European countries, so prolonging this murderous struggle. We also consider it a great insult to doubt for one moment the loyalty of the lately so often criticized and frequently denounced 'hyphenated' citizens of German birth, ancestry, or extraction. The time no doubt will come again when the now denounced 'hyphenated' citizens will show beyond any doubt that they are the most loyal to this our country. Another right which we claim is to have a voice in the decisions as to our national policy. Above all consideration we went to keep this our beloved country out of the war, and we do not propose to have the British diplomacy hurry our national administration to that terrible consequence. We also raise our voice in protest against the barbarous export of ammunition. While the same is not against any international law, we consider it violation of true Christian American principles.

"We hope that a time will come when our Congress will see fit to enact a law which will put true Christian American neutrality over the lust of mammon, and this is what we also need most in this present critical time."

EXHIBIT No. 290.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *September 9, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I acknowledge with thanks to receipt of your esteemed favor of today and the enclosed check for $433.40. I inclose you herewith the requested receipt and remain with the highest personal regards.

Respectfully yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK.
MD.

EXHIBIT No. 291.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

SEPT. 8th, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Upon my return to Chicago, after a much needed rest, I have yours of the 21st ult. relative to the expenditures in the Alliance of the State of Texas.

I enclose herewith check for $433.40 for which kindly acknowledge receipt to the above address.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 292.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

SEPT. 11th, 1941.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
613 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed you will find check for $500.00 to reimburse your account for a like amount advance to the Iowa State Alliance.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 293.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

SEPT 11th, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport Savings Bk. Bldg., Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: Under date of Sept. 9th, Mr. Keller of the G. A. A. advises that he has forwarded on that date $500.00 to the Iowa State Alliance, of which $250 goes to Dr. Durand at Burlington and $250.00 to Herman Miller at Waterloo.

Will you kindly mail me New York draft for this amount and oblige

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 294.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico: Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *September 12, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your check for $500. I inclose you herewith the necessary receipt. Will mail you German copies of your speech next week.

Mr. Soergel and Mr. Barth are in Davenport, today, where they meet with Dr. Durand and our friend, Thuenen. With kindest personal regards.

Respectfully yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK.
MD.

EXHIBIT No. 297.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *September 29, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have just written to Judge Schwaab, in Cincinnati, that I would be willing to issue from this office, a call, to all the German societies of Ohio and the German people in general, similar to the one that has been used so successfully in Texas. Of course I would have to get from Mr. Schwaab, the addresses of all the branches of the Ohio federation. What do you think of it?

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Yours truly,

JK. MD. JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 298.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

SEPT. 30, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1256 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I think your suggestion to issue, from your office, a call to all the German societies of Ohio and the German people generally is most valuable. You know my opinion that outside influence is necessary to awaken effective activity in our Ohio friends. A communication from you will do this, not only because it will be effective in itself, but because it will be something different from the routine matter to which the members of the Alliance have become accustomed.

A man may be lulled to sleep by hearing a favorite melody always played on the same instrument. But give him the melody on a new instrument, and it is likely to awaken him and enthuse him like a new song.

I have great hopes of your personal activity in Ohio.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 299.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 2ND, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I am obliged for your favor of October 1 notifying me that you have sent another check for $500 to Iowa.

I am writing our friends there to that effect, and will in due course reimburse your fund for this outlay.

With kind regards,
Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 300.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" Pastorius.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 1, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have promised our Iowa people another check for $500.00 by October 1st, and I therefore will mail them another remittance to-day.

Mr. Hartley called me up by phone, yesterday, advising me that I should deliver an address in Akron, Ohio, this or next week. I am awaiting his further advise.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,
Yours truly,
JK. JOS. KELLER.
MD.

EXHIBIT No. 301.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 3, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: May I ask you whether some funds have been forwarded lately to Mr. Tjarks "in Baltimore?" Hoping you may not misconstrue my question, I am with the kindest personal regards,
Truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK.
MD.

EXHIBIT No. 302.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 5TH, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: In reply to your enquiry, a check for $5000 was forwarded to Mr. Tjarks on October 1.

With best regards,
Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 304.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer. 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft? Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 7, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Dr. Durand has written me the second letter wherein he begs me to leave Mr. Soergel for another two weeks in Iowa. I have asked Mr. Soergel to come home on Monday next, so he can start the campaign in Ohio. I assured Dr. Durand, that I would be in Iowa on Monday, October 26th, and would stay there for the rest of the week. I think we have done for Iowa all we could.

Mr. Hartley called me up by phone today from Toledo, and told me that some differences existed there between the president of the Alliance and the campaign management. I asked Judge Schwaab in Cincinnati, to call the gentlemen to Cincinnati to straighten up matters, and I would pay all expenses.

With the kindest personal regards,

Yours very truly,

JOS. KELLER.

JK.
MD.

EXHIBIT No. 305.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 10, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I return Mr. Schwab's letter, which I was much interested in reading.

I also read the appeal to the German voters of Ohio. This is just the thing.

I hope you can do somthing personally in Toledo, for I am afraid it will require your personal efforts to accomplish results here.

I only returned from Ohio this morning, hence my delay in replying to your favors.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 306.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" Pastorius.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 5, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: This morning finally I received a letter from our friend, Schwaab. I have prepared a *call to the German voters of Ohio*, which I will send to all the different Alliances of that state and to all individuals whose addresses I can get. I will mail you in time copies of this call and enclose you the letter of Mr. Schwaab, I received today. Kindly return it to me and oblige.

Truly yours,

JOS KELLER.

JK.
MD.

EXHIBIT No. 307.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Finanz-Ausschuss: John Tjarks, Vorsitzer, Hotel Raleigh, Baltimore, Md.; Julius Moersch, 1829 Lincoln Ave., St. Paul, Minn.; Joseph Keller, Sekretär, 1255 Wright Str., Indianapolis, Ind.; H. C. Biodel, 1000 Peralta Str., Ewalt Sta., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Prof. Leo Stern, 969 Second Str., Milwaukee, Wis. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
October 12, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Soergle arrived this afternoon from Iowa and will immediately proceed to Cincinnati. I advised him to have a consultation with Judge Schwaab, regarding the Toledo situation. *Mr. Soergle will then with the consent* of Mr. Schwaab go to Toledo and no doubt will do his very best to clear the situation. Mr. Soergle will meet me at Stattler's Hotel in Cleveland on next Saturday, and if necessary, I will go with Mr. Soergle to Toledo on Monday. As you know I will speak in Akron on Sunday afternoon.

With the kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

Mr. Soergel is thoroughly familiar with the conditions in Toledo and he will report to me on Saturday.

JK.
Md.

EXHIBIT No. 308.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 14, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Your favor of the 13th is to hand this morning, and I return Mr. Christman's letter, as you desire.

I believe you expect to be in Cleveland on Saturday. If so, please see me at the Hollenden Hotel. I arrive there on Friday evening, and remain till Monday morning. I would rather talk over the matter of Illinois with you before deciding the question of Mr. Barth going to Illinois.

Am glad you have arranged for Judge Schwaab to go to Toledo.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 309.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 13, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I had a long distance talk with Judge Schwaab, of Cincinnati. He informed me that Mr. Renz, of Toledo, had laid down his arms entirely and wouldn't bother himself at all with any further work. He frankly told me, not to send Mr. Soergle to Toledo, but that he himself would go at once.

Mr. Soergle will meet me at Sidney, Ohio, next Saturday and will proceed with me to Akron.

Two large shipments of literature were sent to-day to Iowa and to Ohio. I have also prepared an English circular for Dr. Durand, which he will send broadcast over his state. I take the liberty and enclose a copy of same.

Mr. Charles Christmann, of Chicago, the secretary of the Illinois Alliance has written me today, regarding the organization in his state. I inclose you his letter also and beg you to return the same to me again. Shall I send Mr. Barth to Illinois after the Iowa election.

Awaiting your kind answer, I am,

Truly yours, JOS. KELLER.

JK.

MD.

A German circular goes along with the English, instructing the citizens how to vote.

EXHIBIT No. 310.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 21, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I have just returned from Ohio and find your letter of the 20th inst.

If you will send another $500 to Dr. Durand, I will see that your fund is reimbursed in the usual way.

I was aware of the defeat of the liberal congressional candidate for nomination in Shelby and Auglaise counties. It is merely an instance of the importance of letting our organization do the same work in congressional districts that we are doing so successfully in county and senatorial districts.

With best wishes for a successful trip to Iowa,

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 311.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund, der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte! National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation, Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro Bono Publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 20, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I arrived home late last night. I received a letter from Dr. Durand, wherein he asked to send him another $500.00 for printing matter and postage.

Mr. Soergle has arranged meetings in New Breman, Minster and also in Wapakoneta and Sidney. He wrote me, that the men in these towns had told him, that Mr. Windell in Chicago was at the head of the Speakers' Bureau and that he would send them German speakers.

Do you know that in the two counties Shelby and Anglaize, the liberal congressional candidate was beaten by his opponent, a Mr. Cunningham, who voted for the Hobson Bill?

I will meet Dr. Durand and our friend Barth, in Burlington, on Monday next.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Truly yours, JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 312.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 23, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed herewith please find check for $500.00 reimbursement for a like amount advanced to Dr. Durand of Iowa.

Kindly acknowledge receipt, and oblige

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 313.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 24, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I note from yours of Oct. 23rd that check for $500.00 was mailed to Dr. Durand.

When you are in Iowa next week will you kindly arrange to call on Mr. Thuenen, Davenport, as he would be very pleased to receive a call from you.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 314.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund, der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte! National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation, Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 23, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The check of $500.00 was mailed to Dr. Durand in Burlington yesterday.

Will speak in seven Iowa cities next week. Hoping to see you well on my return, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 315.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund, der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte! National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Committee on Organization and Publication: Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 24, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Accept my thanks for the check you have sent me today, and I enclose herewith the required receipt.

Pardon me if I call your attention to the fact, that on October 1st, I have also sent a check of $500.00 to the Iowa people.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 316.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund, der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Inkorporirt durch Kongress-Akte. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation. Joseph Keller, Vorsitzer, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 31, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Mich. Ave., Chicago.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: On my return from Iowa I called at your office yesterday, where I was informed that you were in Ohio. Last Monday night I

spoke in Burlington; from there we went to Cedar Rapids, Davenport, Clinton, Waverly and Waterloo, where I spoke Friday night. Mr. Thuenen sends you his kindest regards. I find the Iowa people more alert and more enthusiastic than at my last visit, and the fight they made this year is in my opinion not a lost one.

Mr. Hamilton has a fair chance to be elected, and the election of Mr. Harding is assured. Conolly's chances are doubtful, as Cummings's strength as a politician is asknowledged. Though some optimists predict Conolly's election. Mr. Salinger for the supreme court will pull through, Seth Thomas's changes are doubtful.

We figure on the house with 62 members on our side, in the senate 28.

McDonald in the second district has a fair chance, though Mr. Hull his opponent is not a crank. Now, Mr. Andreae, may this all become true, and then we have all reason to rejoice. Lets hope for Ohio and Iowa.

With the kindest personal regards.

Truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 318.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram. Theo. N. Vail, President. Form 168. Received at 21–23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Always Open.]

B 835 CH 7 M

BURLINGTON IA *Nov. 4, 1914.*

E JOSEPH KELLER.

613d Merchants Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Legislature senate and whole county ticket elected.

ED. L. DURAND.

EXHIBIT No. 319.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico! National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Ausschuss für Organisation und Publikation, Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *Nov. 5th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,

3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of Nov. 3 and the inclosed check for $500.00. I also wish to thank you for your generous offer to reimburse Mr. Schmidt for his loss.

I could not come to a conclusion as yet, how to approach Mr. Schmidt, but I will let you know soon, how the matter was squared.

I inclose you a dispatch from Dr. Durand regarding the Iowa election, but I am a little bit skeptic about it. Mr. Schwaab and Mr. Soergel wired me also, and a letter of thanks by Mr. Schwaab reached me this morning.

Our constitutional convention scheme here was defeated, so really our work was not wasted.

With the highest regards

I am very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 323.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa State Branch of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. National executives: Dr. J. C. Hexamer, president, Philadelphia, Pa.; Joseph Keller, vice president, Indianapolis, Ind.; Adolph Timm, secretary, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hans Weniger, treasurer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hermann Weder, financial secretary, Philadelphia, Pa. State executives: Dr. Ed. L. Durand, president, Burlington, Iowa; Hermann Miller, vice president, Waterloo, Iowa; Paul Krueger, secretary, Denison, Iowa; John Schnaack, treasurer, Davenport, Iowa. District committee: H. C. Fimmen, Burlington, Iowa; Joseph Nicolay, Postville, Iowa; Phil. Andres, Council Bluffs, Iowa; J. F. Grant, Davenport, Iowa; Heinrich Gruemmer, Durant, Iowa; Christ. Otto, Denison, Iowa; C. W. Katz, Dubuque, Iowa; Richard Guenther, Des Moines, Iowa; J. W. Hauschild, Holstein, Iowa.]

WATERLOO, IOWA, *November 20, 1914.*

Mr. JOE KELLER, *Indianapolis, Ind.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: In accordance with my promise, I beg to enclose herewith a complete statement of moneys received and expended. The Doctor tells me that there are still a few more bills coming in, and the shortage will be in the neighborhood of $600.

I am a little sorry that the shortage occurred at all, but did not know just what obligations Doctor Durant had placed himself under.

I have attached itemized statements so that you may fully understand how the money has been spent.

It should be kept in mind of course that $500 of this had been furnished sometime during 1913, and that this money should really not be charged up to present expenses.

Inasmuch as these bills will have to be paid, I join the Doctor in the request that you kindly arrange to have a draft go to us so that we may start in with a clean sheet.

With kindest of personal regards, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

HERMANN MILLER.

HM-M Regis.

EXHIBIT No. 324.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 4, 1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
613 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed herewith find our check for $600, to clean up the shortage in Iowa. This is in conformity with our talk yesterday.

Very truly yours,

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

No. 2476. CHICAGO, *Dec. 5th, 1914.*

UNION TRUST COMPANY (2-9)

Tribune Building.

Pay to the order of Joseph Keller six hundred dollars. $600.00

GALE MC. HARTLEY, *Secty.*

(Indorsed:) Joseph Keller. Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial Nat'l Bank of Chicago, Ill. All Prior Endorsements Guaranteed. Merchants National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., O. F. Frenzel, Cashier. 20-6. Paid through Chicago Clearing House, Dec. 8, 1914. Continental and Commercial National Bank. Mail 3.

EXHIBIT No. 325.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *December 7, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your check for $600.00, a sum which was sent to the Iowa people. The arrangements with Mr. C. F. Lentz and the chief editor of the "Westliche Post", in St. Louis, were made properly and they will do the best they can. Mr. Soergle will arrive in Cleveland this afternoon and I shall report to you promptly, about the success he made in Cleveland.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Truly yours, JOS. KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 326.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *December 23, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The battle in Washington is over and we have all reason to rejoice.

I am especially proud of our Indiana delegation, who voted solidly against the "Hobson measure."

Allow me Mr. Andreae to offer you my sincerest wishes for the coming holidays.

May the New Year bring you health and happiness; may it bring you success in your tremendous undertaking.

I am as ever,

Yours very truly, JOS. KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 327.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 5, 1915.

Mr. JOS. KELLER,
613 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of January 2nd, in which you give me a resume of the receipts and expenses of the first year's work.

I note that you have arranged a conference with the Illinois people.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly, ——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 328.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *January 2, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: At the beginning of the Newyear, I deem it my duty, to give you a Resume of the Receipts and Expenses of our first years work. The same is hereby inclosed.

You will note, that Mr. Tjarks has still 2500.00 in his hands, which will give us a chance, to do still more effective work in the year 1915.

I have been at work to outline the campaign for Illinois; a big field Mr Andreae, but a hard one to plow.

I have arranged a conference with the Illinois people, and will let you know the exact date in a few days.

With the kindest personal regards

Very truly yours

Jos KELLER

P. S.—Under the item Salaries are the Expenses of the Extra help included employed during the rush season.

EXHIBIT No. 329.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

Resume for the year 1914.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
John Tjarks	15000.00	Iowa Alliance	5100.00
Iowa Alliance	5100.00	Texas Alliance	433.40
Texas Alliance	433.40	Salaries	7016.[illegible]
		Traveling Expenses	3176.[illegible]
		Office Rent	275.[illegible]
		Office Help	4[illegible]
		Printing	496.[illegible]
		Printing G. A. A	108.[illegible]
		Postage	216.[illegible]
		Supplies	191.14
		Newspapers	123.47
		Teleph. Telegrams and Express	77.[illegible]
		Incidentals	95.[illegible]
			$17712.[illegible]
		On hand	320.[illegible]
		John Tjarks	2500.00
	$20533.40		$20533.40

P. S.—Under the item "Salaries" are the expenses of the extra help included, employed during the rush season.

J. K.

EXHIBIT No. 334.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *January 21, 191[illegible]*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR SIR: Dr. Stern of Milwaukee, and Dr. Moersch of St. Paul, will meet me in Chicago for conference on Saturday, January 30th. We would like very much to call on you and kindly let me know if we can meet you at your office on Sunday between ten and eleven A. M.

Yours very respectfully,

Jos. KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 328.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *January 28, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1132–1138 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Have just received dispatch from Mr. Moersch that he cannot come to Chicago, Saturday. Will write later when we will see you. Mr. Soergel and Mr. Barth are both working in Illinois and we are getting the affairs in our hands very satisfactory.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 339.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *February 10, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1.32–1138 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Permit me to thank you for the last articles you have sent me, and I would be very much obliged to you, if you could let me have a few more of them. The work in Illinois is progressing smoothly. Mr. Soergel speaks in Rockford, Freeport, Ottawa, Bloomington, Aurora, Bellevue, Moline, Rock Island, Kankakee, Kewanee, and Elmhurst and our Mr. Barth has so far organized three new branches.

The meeting with Professor Stern and Mr. Moersch had to be called off on account of Mr. Moersch's inability to attend. I will let you know in time when I can get these gentlemen together in Chicago.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Truly yours, JOS. KELLER.

JK. MD.

P. S.—I have sent a check for $500.00 to the Iowa people yesterday.

EXHIBIT No. 340.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY 26, 1915.

Mr. JOS. KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I have yours of February 20th, and beg to advise that I have to-day forwarded to Mr. Tjarks draft for $5000.00.

Relative to the questions which you ask concerning Michigan, I beg to ask that this matter be held in abeyance until your next visit to Chicago, at which time we can discuss the situation in detail.

With kind personal regards,

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 341.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Alliance of German Societies of the State of Indiana (Incorporated). President, Joseph Keller 1255 Wright St., Indianapolis; first vice president, Herman Mackwitz, Fort Wayne; second vice President, Fred W. Lauenstein, Evansville; third vice president, Heinrich Steinmetz, Logansport; fourth vice president, Henry Schaal, Michigan City; fifth vice president, A. L. Marowsky, South Bend; sixth vice president, F. C. Miller, Hammond; financial secretary, Franz Schaefer, 1838 N. Meridan St., Indianapolis; treasurer, Ernst F. Knodel, 712 Russell Ave., Indianapolis; recording and corresponding secretary, Carl Dreisch, 1902 Fulton Ave., Evansville.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *February 20, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The funds in the hands of Mr. Tjarks are about exhausted and I would most respectfully ask you, to kindly have some forwarded to him, so I am able, to pay the men by the first of the month.

Have you heard anything from Iowa of late, or can I do anything? Our Senate has yesterday passed a womens suffrage bill; Tuesday evening is the public hearing on the state wide prohibition question. Will see Mr. Lieber to-morrow. The work in Illinois is progressing nicely? Do you wish me to start gathering information in Michigan? I had Mr. Barth here Tuesday for a conference; he is now in the central part of the state, & Soergel is down in Belleville and Alton and from their he has to go north to Moline and Rock Island.

With the kindest personal regards

Very truly yours JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 342.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *March 17, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Pres. of National Association of Commerce and Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Pardon me, that I submit to you today a letter of Dr. A. L. Durand of Iowa. The same will show you how urgent they need help, and according to your instruction as given me last Saturday, I will mail him a remittance today. May I ask you to again return his letter back to me?

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Truly yours, JOS. KELLER.

JK. MD.

Glad to know you have remitted.

EXHIBIT No. 344.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *March 26, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1132 to 1137 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I herewith submit to you a report showing you Mr. Soergel's activities in the state of Illinois. Next week I will mail you a similar report of our Mr. Barth, who has visited in southwestern and southeastern Illinois the last few weeks. Altogether eleven new branches have been formed and I am positive that before the year is up we will have doubled the membership in the state of Illinois.

I am with the kindest personal regards,

Yours very respectfully, JOS KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 345.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, *March 26, 1915.*

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
Chairman of the Propaganda Committee of the
National German-American Alliance, Indianapolis, Indiana.

MY DEAR SIR: I herewith beg leave to submit to you my report about the situation and conditions I have found in the different cities of the state of Illinois visited by me.

Before doing so I would like to call your attention to the fact, that the state of Illinois, according to the official census of 1910, shows a total population of 5,638,591, of which 1,014,408 are born in Germany and 208,844 in Austria, whose direct descendants number 813,050. There is no doubt in my opinion, that with a proper educational campaign work, the influence of this foreign element can be made a mighty and powerful one in the state of Illinois; but where-ever I went I found lack of interest on account of the small attention having been paid to that element in the past. Where-ever and when-ever, however, the interest of these sleepy Germans and Austrians has once been aroused by personal agitation or by mass-meetings, it was distinctly shown that they are only too glad and too willing, true to the traditions of their fore-fathers, to take up the German cultural work in the sense, spirit and aim of our organization. To give you a striking and certainly convincing example of the possibility of organizing the foreign element in the state of Illinois, especially the German speaking class, upon a solid foundation, I would like to refer you to the experience I personally made in the city of Alton. There the German speaking citizens were in many instances total strangers among themselves, until the bugle call for concentration and organization was sounded by the representative of the National German American Alliance. The result was that a branch was founded which to-day shows a membership of over 500 American citizens, while the census of 1910 for the city of Alton shows 685 Germans and 48 Austrians immigrated. Similar results no doubt, can be accomplished in all other cities of the state, where strong German speaking population exists. The official census of 1910 certainly shows quite a number of such cities. Especially gratifying and promising is the fact, that our organization has made an inroad, which can not be estimated highly enough into the circles of German American churches, whose ministers with very few exceptions now have taken up the call of our organization to maintain and transplant the higher German ideals. I consider it a great importance to bring the German Society and German Church element nearer to each other, which has already been accomplished in a number of cities in the state where the National German American Alliance has furnished the only and proper basis for the concentration of these two most influential elements, which has been recognized as such, as you have seen from the reports and newspaper clippings I did send you from time to time.

In connection herewith I would like to call your attention to one fact, which in the past has been a great obstacle in affiliating the German Societies and Churches and this fact has been the dominating attitude of the brewers, distillers, and saloon-keepers in those different German Societies, who have for revenue only, in most cases, supported these societies, and who did not seem to care a continental for the maintenance of German ideals.

I can assure you Mr. Keller, that the German speaking element in the state of Illinois can be and is only too willing to be united into one big strong influential organization and is at any time ready to join the cause of the German American Alliance to uphold the principles of the same, which must be dear to every liberty, freedom, justice and truth loving citizen. It is only a question of time and of educational campaign work to accomplish this. Coming down to plain facts I would like to make this statement that the German speaking element in the state of Illinois, by proper care at the hands of our organization can be made a great factor of influence, whenever the welfare of the state of Illinois is at stake.

Now kindly allow me to give you a short resume of the work I have done in the state of Illinois until now. I visited the cities of Alton, Aurora, Belleville, Bloomington, Danville, Edwardsville, Elmhurst, Freeport, Kankakee, Moline, Mt. Olive, Ottawa, Rockford, Rock Island and Staunton. In most of these cities I found German Societies working independently of each other

unaware of their power and influence if concentrated and united. The church and society element in most cities I found directly diagonal to each other. Mass-meetings were arranged in all of these cities with the exception of two and addresses delivered by myself made a change in the sentiment of the people with most gratifying results. Most of these meetings were not only attended by the societies, but also by the church element and the ministers themselves, who in the past very rarely could be persuaded to attend such meetings. New branches we organized in the following cities: Alton, Aurora, Freeport, Bloomington, Elmhurst, Kankakee, Mt. Olive, Ottawa, Rockford and Rock Island.

Yours very respectfully, ROBERT L. SAERGEL.

RS. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 347.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL 6, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I have been thinking a great deal about our conversation yesterday afternoon, and the more I have weighed the matter the stronger my feeling has grown that as President of the National Alliance your possibilities of achievement are almost incalculable.

Of course, as a friend I could not wish to see you accept an office which might prove a serious strain upon your health, no matter how great interests were at stake. But this has occurred to me in thinking over all that you said to me. You have, I understand, practically agreed to relieve the Doctor of the greater burden of the work now devolving upon him as President. Does this not, therefore, already commit you to that portion of the Presidential responsibilities which are most wearing upon the health? The title itself cannot add to those responsibilities, or to the work they involve.

I cannot help writing you this, and I hope that in doing so, I am not unconsciously trying to represent matters to suit my own wishes. I don't want to conceal from you my very ardent conviction that, if you accept this office, it will mean a new era for the German American Alliance, but, on the other hand, I am equally anxious that you should believe that my feelings of personal friendship for you would not permit of my urging you to do what might in any respect prove detrimental to your health and well-being. No one who knows you can doubt that, with your conscientiousness, the burden of so important an office will be very great, and for this reason no one ought to urge you to accept it against your own better judgment. I am simply reasoning from the fact that you *have* already to all intents and purposes offered to take that burden upon yourself, without the title which will largely increase the possibilities of accomplishment that it involves. So, why not take the title too?

EXHIBIT No. 348.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

(Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.)

INDIANAPOLIS, *April 9, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1132–1137 Transporation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: As promised I enclose you herewith a map showing the German population of the state of Illinois. The blue ring indicates Catholic church societies. The large red ring, old branches of the German Alliance. The large red ring with the blue spot, newly formed branches, and the small red ring indicates a weak German population.

I also enclose you a list of cities Mr. Barth has visited the last few months This list shows you places organized, and those where new organizations will be formed within a short while.

Permit me to thank you heartily for your last letter and let me assure you, that I appreciate everything mentioned therein. I will in due time notify you of everything of interest to you, and remain with the kindest personal regards,

Yours very truly,

JK/MD

JOS. KELLER.

EXHIBIT No. 349.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

STATE ALLIANCE OF ILLINOIS.

Activities of Mr. Barth. *April 1, 1915.*

	City.	
1.	Breese	Singing Society will join.
2.	Cairo	Will form new Alliance.
3.	Centralia	Ladies' Society will join.
4.	Champaign	One Singing Society and German Odd Fellows will join.
5.	*Columbia*	*Turning Society joined the Alliance.*
6.	*Crystal Lake*	*New branch formed here.*
7.	*Decatur*	*Aid society joined the Alliance.*
8.	Duquoin	Benevolent society promised to join.
9.	*Elgin*	*5 societies joined,* 4 promised.
10.	Freeburg	Singing society will join.
11.	Joliet, ×	3 societies may join.
12.	La Salle	3 societies may join.
13.	Lebanon	1 society promised.
14.	*Lincoln*	*Singing society joined.*
15.	Lenzburg	1 Benevolent society may join.
16.	Marissa	1 Benevolent society may join.
17.	Mascoutah	Turning society will join.
18.	Millstadt	Singing society may join.
19.	New Athens	Singing society may join.
20.	North Chicago	Singing society may join.
21.	Pana	3 societies promised to join.
22.	*Peru*	*1 society joined.*
23.	*Streator,* 2 joined 1/4, 1915	2 societies promised to join.
24.	Waukegan, ×	3 societies promised to join.

EXHIBIT No. 351.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *April 23rd, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,

1132–1137 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Our work in Ohio is progessing very satisfactory. Crystal Lake, Arlington Heights, Decatur, Waterloo, Joliet and Quincy were organized within the last few weeks. The Decatur branch already numbers over six-hundred (600) members. I received another letter from our friend Judge Schwaab, in Cincinnati. Everything seems to turn out exactly as we expected. Our activities in Ohio will start May the first. Will write you more very soon.

With the kindest personal regards, I remain,

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 352.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL 26, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I have yours of the 23rd and am glad to note your progress in Illinois, together with the information that affairs seem to be working very nicely in connection with our friend Judge Schwaab. I am interested to know you are beginning your activities in Ohio May first, and will be glad to hear from you relative to this from time to time.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 353.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Executive committee of the Alliance of German Societies of Indiana. Office, 613 Merchants Bank Building. Joseph Keller, president; F. C. Miller, secretary; Hermann Madwitz, treasurer.]

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, *May 4, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1132–1137 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Judge Schwaab will be in Indianapolis, most likely next week, to arrange definite plans with us for the future activities in Ohio. At a meeting of the Presidents of the different state branches of Ohio, which took place in Columbus lately, a resolution was passed to employ a special organizer for the state alliance. The Judge wrote me, that the Liberal League would not make any allowance for such a purpose, and he personally had no funds to carry it out. He told me, that he had six applicants for this place, but of course he wants Mr. Soergel under all circumstances. He intimidated, that it would cause a little trouble as he could not use anyone of the six men on account of shortage on funds, and that he would unload his trouble upon my shoulders.

I believe, Mr. Andreae, a little diplomacy here might help the cause and I believe it would be a good move to let the Judge pick one of the applicants and employ him about six months.

In this way we would satisfy the hungry one, and comply at the same time with the wish of the Columbus meeting and of Judge Schwaab. What is your opinion regarding this, and can it be possible, to arrange for this special expense?

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain with the kindest personal regards,

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 354.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 5, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I am in receipt of your communication of the 4th inst., and in reply beg to say that Mr. Gibson will be in Cincinnati Wednesday of next week, and will take up with those in charge of the Ohio campaign the matter of the selection by Judge Schwaab of an organizer to work under his direction, as suggested by the Columbus meeting.

I feel that it will be an impossibility for me to bear the expense of this additional organizer at this time, and I think that the Ohio people can be induced to see the wisdom of the employment of such an organizer, especially in view of the fact that your Bureau is to supply other workers for the Ohio campaign.

I would suggest that Mr. Gibson be given the opportunity of discussing this plan with our Ohio friends before you have your meeting with Judge Schwaab in Indianapolis.

Mr. Gibson will report to me immediately after he has had his talk with the Ohio manager.

Hoping that this suggestion meets with your approval, I beg to remain

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 355.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 17, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Instead of going to Cincinnati, I have arranged today for Mr. Hunt to be in Chicago, Friday, May 21st.

Unless you hear to the contrary, will you kindly arrange your affairs to be present that day.

Kindly advise if this is satisfactory to you.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 359.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *May 29th, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: After some more correspondence with Cincinnati, we have earnestly begun the work in Ohio. I had the pleasure to meet Mr. Hunt, and I am now thoroughly informed about the existing conditions between Mr. Hunt's organization and our mutual friend.

It will be rather hard, though, to remove the existing friction entirely, but we will do our utmost to conclude the work successfully in Ohio.

Mr. Barth is still in southern Illinois, and is doing good work. A meeting of the Illinois Executive will be held today, in Chicago, and I am informed, that Mr. Soergel's letter, which he wrote to me in March, regarding the existing conditions in Illinois, and wherein he complained of the indifference of certain brewers and liquor people, will be the cause of unfriendly comment. I am informed, that said letter has been distributed broadcast in Illinois.

Can I ask you at this time to be kind enough, and to have some of the necessary funds forwarded to our friend in Baltimore? With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Respectfully yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 360.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 3, 1915.

JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I have yours of May 29th and am glad to note that the work has started in Ohio.

I am today mailing Mr. Tjarks a draft, as per your request.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 361.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 8, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I am sending you 30 typewritten copies of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State of Texas, which is to be submitted to the voters of that State on July 24 next.

The enclosed draft of a letter which is going to the foreign language press on this subject will explain fully the serious nature of this amendment, and I would greatly appreciate it if you would address a letter in the same or any other terms you may prefer to the editor of each of the 26 German newspapers in Texas urging prompt and energetic action to thwart this insidious attack upon the rights hitherto enjoyed by the foreign-born citizen in Texas.

I am sending you 30 copies of this amendment under separate cover, so that you may not have the trouble of preparing same.

Trusting that you are much better again and are taking good care of yourself, believe me

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 362.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

German Newspapers in Texas.

Texas Vorwarts, Austin.
Galveston Journal, Galveston.
Giddings Deutsches Volksblatt, Giddings.
Taylor Herold, Taylor.
Seguiner Zeitung, Box 189, Seguin.
Waco Post, Waco.
Nord Texas Presse, Dallas.
Texas Volksfreund, Schulenberg.
Anzeiger, 109 E. Oleander St., Fort Worth.
La Grange Deutsche Zeitung, La Grange.
Texas Deutsche Zeitung, P. O. Box 1740, Houston.
Wockenblatt, Fredericksburg.
Texas Volksbote, Brenham.
Deutsche Rundschau, 20 Church St., Ceuro.
Lavaca Co., Nachrichten, Hallettsville.
Katholische-Rundschau, San Antonio.
Feld und Flur, Dallas.
Zeitung, New Branfels.
Hermanns Sohn in Texas, San Antonio.
Texas Staats Zeitung, San Antonio.
Deutsche Zeitung fur Texas, Victoria.
Freie Presse, San Antonio.
Das Wockenblatt, Austin.
Anzeiger, Gainesville.
Hab Acht, Hallettsville.
Trene-Zenge, Hallettsville.

EXHIBIT No. 363.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *June 10th, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Pres. of National Ass'n of Commerce & Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I acknowledge herewith the receipt of your esteemed letter of June 8th, and also the enclosed draft of a letter to the newspapers in Texas, which will be sent forward immediately. I will write each paper separately and ask them to give us the widest publicity possible. I will speak in Cincinnati, at the gathering of all of the German societies, next Saturday afternoon.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Very respectfully yours,

Jos. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 365.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *June 17th, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1132–1138 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Enclosed please find a copy of the circular which we are sending broadcast over the State of Ohio.

Hoping this letter will reach you in the best of health.

Yours very respectfully,

JOS. KELLER.

RS. MD

EXHIBIT No. 367.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *June 22, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of June 19th; at the same time I inclose you a letter which we sent to every newspaper, to every branch of the State Alliance and to the Sons of Hermann in Texas.

Within a week or two I will make another address to a mass-meeting in Hammond and Mr. Soergel will work in the northern part of Ohio.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK.MD.

EXHIBIT No. 368.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[A manifold letter on the letter head of the National German-American Alliance Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, Indianapolis, 1915. It calls attention to an appeal enclosed and requests the recipient to publish the appeal in the columns of his paper. It is signed "With true German greeting, Joseph Keller."]

EXHIBIT No. 377.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *July 13, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Before leaving for the National Convention in San Francisco, I deem it my duty to inform you, that all our work, as originally planned, is progressing to our entire satisfaction. The Texas literature is all mailed out, and Mr. Barth has twice gone over the entire territory in Illinois. Mr. Soergel is at work in the northeastern part of Ohio, having arranged meetings in Alliance, Salem, Youngstown, Canton, etc. I intend to start Mr. Barth in Ohio about the 15th of August.

Mr. Soergel was instructed to look after the German newspapers especially, and to pay attention to the church organizations in the country towns. I find out that plenty of good work is awaiting us in Ohio. While I am away the same will go on as usual, as I prepared everything beforehand. Mr. Berg, the man I have in the office is entirely familiar with his duties and all the reports will be filed properly and the literature mailed out. I hope it will be possible to see you in Chicago about the middle of next month. It was a great pleasure to me indeed to read that beautiful address delivered by you in San Francisco.

With the kindest personal regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

JOS. KELLER.

JK MD

EXHIBIT No. 378.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *July 14, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I take pleasure in sending to you a copy of my report, which I will submit to the National Convention in San Francisco.

I am with the kindest personal regards,

Very respectfully yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 384.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *August 16, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR ANDREAE: The strenuous days of the convention in San Francisco are behind us.

What has happened there principally, you most likely have read, and some other things, that may interest you, I will tell you when I have the pleasure to see you personally. With great pleasure I have read the splendid address you have delivered before the International Press Congress in San Francisco.

The work in our office is progressing, as I have mapped it out before I left.

Mr. Soergel was able to revive five of the old branches, which formerly belonged to the Ohio State Alliance, with a membership of about 2,000. Of late he has visited and has sent reports from Akron, Lorain and Sandusky.

Previous to these places he spoke and organized in Norwood, Salem, Canton, Youngstown, Massillion, Alliance, Canal-Dover and New Philadelphia. In the last four weeks at least 5,000 pieces of literature were mailed out from our office to these branches: they related to the present conditions, the Prohibition Issue, The National Alliance, its aims, purposes and results, etc., etc.

Mr. Barth has returned from Illinois. I had a talk with him and Mr. Schmidt, the state president of Illinois.

Mr. Barth is ready to start to work in Ohio at once. He attended the National Convention of the German Catholic Societies in St. Paul, Minn., to get in touch with the heads of that great organization.

Mr. Soergel has sent me a copy of a letter, which he wrote to Mr. Hunt, in Cincinnati, but not knowing the full facts of his conference with that gentle-

man, I am unable to judge fairly and precisely, until I have talked with him personally.

Mr. Andreae, will you be kind enough and replete the nearly empty purse of our friend in Baltimore? If you have any wishes regarding the campaign in Ohio, then kindly let me know and I will see that they are fulfilled promptly. I am with the kindest personal regards,

Very respectfully yours,

Jos. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 386.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, chairman, 618 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *Sept. 10, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Soergel and myself met at 2:00 P. M. yesterday, with Messrs. Hauck and Renner at the Hotel Havlin. Our friend Judge Schwaab came an hour later on account of a law-suit which detained him in court. The whole situation was thrashed over and over and Mr. Hauck as well as Mr. Renner are thoroughly familiar with the existing conditions in Ohio. They know the attitude of the gentleman in question entirely and they also told me frankly, that if Mr. Andreae and his organization and his friends should lay down their work, Ohio would be absolutely helpless. Mr. Hauck told me, that he would consult with Mr. Renner again this morning and that he would see Mr. Freiberg and have him to call on Mr. Schantz. Judge Schwaab in all probabilities will now get his organizers for which we asked some time ago, but were turned down by Mr. H. I assure you though, this gentleman was not handled with "kid gloves" during our conversation, but I still wonder and I asked several times yesterday, why it was, or how it could be, that an organization with such tremendous interests at stake could not keep in control a man whom they directly employ and who certainly could be made to "dance to their whistle." When I left I felt, that things may take a better turn in a short time. In fact I was told so, but I assured the gentlemen also, that no time should be lost as every day will count. Mr. Soergel and Mr. Barth have their trunks packed and are ready to start out, but I cannot send them before I have heard from Mr. Tjarks in reference to the question I brought before your attention when in this city. I would be thankful to you if you would wire me when such has been done, so the two men can start to work at once.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Truly yours,

Jos. KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT 388.

[Printed circular headed "A Last Word to the German Voters of Ohio in this Severe and Critical Time! To Be German Means to Be Free—To Be German Means To Fight! Propaganda Committee of the National German American Alliance, Indianapolis, Joseph Keller, Chairman. Forever shall those pictures live that have given this land heart and spirit! Branch Society of Ohio, John Schwaab, Pres." The circular refers to the campaign of the liberal element as one against darkness, a campaign of truth against falsehood and deception, a fight of freedom against tyranny and despotism, which the citizenship of German descent is forced to go through during this severe and critical time. It calls upon all citizens of German descent to fight for their liberty. "The same dark puritanical spirit which is seeking in this country to root our liberty has sprung from the same people which has forced the weapon into the hands of our old

Fatherland. Here English hypocritical and puritanical baseness, in the Fatherland English jealousy, covetousness, hatred and the damnable spirit of the shopkeeper. We fight against prohibition because we know that prohibition poisons the people and conjures up hypocricy and lawlessness * * * The advocates of prohibition tell us that they represent the Churches and that their views are founded on keeping to the Bible, but every reasonable person knows that the drinking question is not a religious question but a social and political one and that highly placed and serious leaders of the Church, as for example Cardinal Gibbons, damned the teaching of prohibition. If these people speak of the Church in general then they have left out of their account the German churches, who have again and again refused as all truly religious people have refused to place their activities in the service of climbing politicians. Wherever we look, wherever prohibition has been, there has been a decadence, a decline financially and commercially a retrogression in commerce and industry and what is much more important a very marked lowering of the moral standard. * * * The time has come in Ohio also when we must realize that if we would not lose everything, that we must throw off our aloofness and strike in mightily in the politicians of the country. If you wish to break a path for German customs, then you must first speak German at the ballot box." The circular contains much more of the same kind of denunciatory matter.]

EXHIBIT No. 389.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Pro bono publico!—National German-American Alliance of the United States of America Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 5, 1915.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Things begin to hum in Ohio. Almost every day new meetings are arranged especially in the smaller places, such as Ottoville, Cloverdale, Glendorf, Delphos, Steubenville, Massillon etc., also in Cleveland, Akron, Dayton and Springfield. Judge Schwaab and Mr. Barth were in Lima and Bucyrus yesterday and today. Mr. Soergel will be in New Bremen, Celina and Wapakoneta the next few days.

Mr. Barth will be in Fostoria, Tiffin, Upper-Sandusky and Marion this week and will reach Columbus next Sunday where he will work for a big meeting. Akron today telegraphed for 2,000 phamplets (Ein ernstes Wort in ernster Zeit) which were forwarded this evening. The German Reformed Church in Ohio is openly favoring our opponents and Mr. Soergel suggests to send each minister "Rev. Sellinger's" phamplet, a copy of which I have mailed you last week. The German voters in the country seem to be very indifferent and should be appealed to in the strongest possible terms by postal or letter, to go to the polls on the 2nd of November.

The German Newspapers should be helped along and special articles should be written for them.

You know, Mr. Andreae, that such a propaganda takes more money than I feel to spend, especially after I learned the true conditions of affairs, of which you informed me in Cincinnati.

Our expenses the last month were very large as I had to pay the salaries and running expenses for two months—$1,853.04—and you know, what it takes, when three men are in the field, and when thousands and thousands of pamphlets and printed matter have to be mailed out. I feel that should not contract for large amounts without your knowledge and your consent, and as the maintenance of this bureau until the first of the year will naturally consume some money, I should like to know, what I shall do and what your advise to me would be. By the first of next month our funds with our friend in Baltimore will be exhausted and I feel that you will not think hard of me if I inform you of these facts.

Awaiting your kind reply, believe me to be,
Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK MD.

EXHIBIT No. 390.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 11, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
% Kimball House, Springfield, Mass.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Replying to your telegram of October 9th from Chicago, I beg to say, that the balance of the allotment of 1916 should be more than sufficient to pay all expenses of the Ohio campaign and keep us going here to the end of this year.

You may feel assured, Mr. Andreae, that not a dollar will be spent unnecessarily.

I start on my speaking tour next Saturday, have an invitation also to make an address in Davenport, Iowa, on November 6th, and if I should decide to go I shall stop over in Chicago to see you. In all probability Mr. Moersch will meet me there.

I am with kindest personal regards,
Yours very truly,

JOS. KELLER.

JK. MD.

EXHIBIT No. 391.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 18, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I received your letter at Springfield, and as soon as the Ohio campaign is over, I would be glad to see you and discuss future possibilities.

Will you kindly furnish me with a statement of the total amount you have drawn from the fund held by Mr. Tjarks since we started. I merely want this to verify our own accounts here, which have just been audited.

With best regards,
Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 392.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 20th, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have just returned from Springfield, Ohio, where I spoke before a very large and representative gathering in the new High School auditorium.

Professors of the Wittenberg College, Clergymen and Three Hundred students from the High School and the upper German classes were on the stage. The High School Orchestra furnished the music. The meeting was very impressive and will do a lot of good.

I will leave at 3:00 P. M. today, for Dayton, where Mr. Soergel and myself will speak in the auditorium.

Mr. Barth is in Tuscarawas county and Judge Schwaab was in Crestline yesterday. Mr. Soergel had three or four good meetings at the end of last week.

Today and tomorrow about 10,000 pamphlets will be mailed out and another 10,000 will come from the press in a few days.

Regarding your inquiry in your letter I will tell you that Mr. Tjarks sent me in the year *1914—$12,500.00* and in 1915, *$11,750.00*, which will make a total of $24,250.00.

I will see you in Chicago, the beginning of November, as I was asked to speak in Davenport on the 6th. Things are looking bright in Ohio and I am now entirely confident that our cause will triumph.

With the kindest personal regards, I am, Yours Respectfully,

Jos. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 394.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication: Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *October 27, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: At the end of last week I came back from my speaking tour in Ohio and after I was done in Dayton, I suffered another attack of my nerves. Mr. Soergel will speak this week in Norwalk, Bellevue, Sandusky. New Washington Massillon and will meet Judge Schwaab, next Sunday in Akron. I would have gone to Akron myself, but my physician absolutely forbid me to go out another time. Of the circular I enclose you herewith another 10,000 will go out this week and this will finish our work in Ohio.

I enclose you a letter from our mutual friend and would kindly ask you to return the same to me again. This will show you that everything ended O. K. I will see you at the end of next week in Chicago. Would it be asking to much. if you would let me know what you can do with Mr. Tjarks, in Baltimore?

With the kindest personal regards, I am, truly yours,

Jos. KELLER.

JK/MD.

(Received Oct. 27, 1915. N. A. of C. & L.)

EXHIBIT No. 396.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication: Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *November 2, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I will leave for Chicago early Friday morning of this week and would be pleased to see you in the afternoon.

Shall I come out to the office or could I see you at the Kaiserhof? The campaign in Ohio is now over and I assure you that we have done all we could do for that state and we sincerely hope that our labors will not prove futile.

Mr. Andreae, the October bills are becoming due and I kindly ask you. not to forget our friend Tjarks. in Baltimore. I am with the kindest personal regards,

Yours very truly,

Jos. KELLER.

JK/MD.

(Received Nov. 3. 1915. N. A. of C. & L.)

EXHIBIT No. 399.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication: Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *November 29, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE:—

I enclose you herewith a letter and table of statistics of the last election in Ohio, which were sent to Mr. Schwaab, the German Press, and interested parties in the state of Ohio and the National Executive in Philadelphia. It is a very interesting document and I know the contents of the letter to Mr. Schwaab will be in harmony with your ideas and thoughts.

Regarding the conference I had with Mr. Moersch in St. Paul and Indianapolis, I wish to tell you, that I will talk the matter over with you when in Chicago the next time.

I am, with the kindest personal regards, yours very respectfully,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD.

Received Nov. 30, 1915. N. A. of C. & L.

EXHIBIT #400.

A multigraphed letter on the letter head of the National German American Alliance, Committee for Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller Chairman, dated Indianapolis, November 1915 and addressed to the President of the German American State Alliance of Ohio. Circular calls attention to the "victory" which the organized Germanism of Ohio has won in the last election under your fearless leadership. The liberal cause in Ohio would have been lost had it not been for the close organization of the National German American Alliance at the head of which the State Alliance of Ohio has stood for many years. The result of the election is the more gratifying, due to the fact that the addressee during the last campaign has accepted the help offered by the National Committee in such a gratifying manner. A table of statistics is enclosed which indicates that in those counties where any Germanism had been organized and has accepted the help of the State Alliance and the National Alliance the result has been far more favorable to the liberal cause than in those counties where such assistance was refused. The fact remains that the only hope of the liberal element in the State of Ohio and in the entire election is in the support of the foreign speaking citizenship, and in the organization of that citizenship, with the German citizenship at the head and in support of the foreign language press, particularly the German. The question remains whether this support is being recognized in the "quarters interested" in a proper manner. It appears that in this respect, particularly with regard to the German language press, a great deal remains to be done, for it is evident that the crumbs that fall from the table of the Lord are often very indigestible. The German press should certainly in times of peace be better supported by the interested circle. Let us make our people understand that the cause of Germanism in this country does not fall with a beer glass, nor can it be rescued by the beer glass, but that Germanism must be organized in order that it may take the part which is justly due it in the development of this republic. We must fight more with the weapon of the spirit than with the beer glass. We often hear from certain quarters: "Why should we pay any particular attention to the Germans or to the German press, in view of the fact that 95% of them vote with us anyway?" This very question calls upon us to assert ourselves and our position. As chairman of the Propaganda Committee of the National German American Alliance, the undersigned trusts that he can co-operate with the addressee in the future in order to bring a change in conditions in order to maintain German-Americanism on the highest plane and in order to preserve it from the scandal and slander of American materialism.

EXHIBIT No. 401.

(From Andrews's files by subpœna.)

TABLE No. 1.—*Official vote of the dry and wet elections in the State of Ohio, 1914 and 1915.*

Counties.	Election of 1914.				Election of 1915.				Gain over 1914.		Totals.		Loss over 1914.
	Dry.	Wet.	Majority.		Dry.	Wet.	Majority.		Dry.	Wet.	1914	1915	
			Dry.	Wet.			Dry.	Wet.					
Adams	3,070	1,507	1,563	.....	2,645	1,578	1,067	.....	.....	496	4,577	4,223	354
Allen	7,959	5,913	2,046	.....	7,449	5,417	2,032	.....	.....	14	13,872	12,870	1,002
Ashland	3,652	2,771	881	.....	3,552	2,414	1,138	.....	257	.....	6,423	5,970	453
Ashtabula	6,661	5,377	1,284	.....	6,874	4,033	2,841	.....	1,557	.....	12,038	10,907	1,131
Athens	6,101	4,266	1,835	.....	5,372	3,595	1,777	.....	.....	58	10,367	8,967	1,400
Auglaize	2,961	3,914	.....	953	2,764	3,430	.....	666	287	.....	6,875	6,194	681
Belmont	9,259	7,253	2,006	.....	8,244	6,529	1,715	.....	.....	291	16,512	14,773	1,739
Brown	2,776	2,775	1	.....	2,814	2,472	342	.....	341	.....	5,551	5,286	265
Butler	5,785	11,403	.....	5,618	5,896	10,546	.....	4,660	958	.....	17,188	16,432	756
Carroll	2,650	1,127	1,523	.....	2,391	1,061	1,330	.....	.....	193	3,777	3,452	325
Champaign	3,737	2,971	766	.....	3,698	2,575	1,123	.....	357	.....	6,708	6,273	435
Clark	8,768	8,505	263	.....	8,050	7,862	188	.....	.....	75	17,273	15,912	1,361
Clermont	3,351	3,893	.....	542	3,410	3,339	71	.....	613	.....	7,244	6,749	495
Clinton	3,324	2,520	804	.....	3,191	2,144	1,047	.....	243	.....	5,844	5,335	509
Columbiana	10,284	7,289	2,995	.....	9,458	6,823	2,635	.....	.....	360	17,573	16,281	1,292
Coshocton	3,936	3,393	543	.....	4,192	2,902	1,290	.....	741	.....	7,329	7,094	235
Crawford	4,757	4,066	691	.....	4,561	3,801	760	.....	69	.....	8,823	8,362	461
Cuyahoga	36,203	80,913	44,710	.....	30,467	77,741	.....	38,274	6,436	.....	117,116	117,208	(Gain) 92
Darke	5,376	4,755	621	.....	5,296	4,431	865	.....	244	.....	10,131	9,727	404
Defiance	3,097	2,961	136	.....	3,016	2,827	189	.....	53	.....	6,058	5,833	225
Delaware	4,124	3,003	1,121	.....	4,156	2,443	1,713	.....	592	.....	7,127	6,599	528
Erie	3,001	6,417	.....	3,416	2,723	5,697	.....	2,974	455	.....	9,418	8,420	998
Fairfield	5,476	3,759	1,717	.....	5,202	3,700	1,502	.....	215	.....	9,235	8,902	333
Fayette	2,982	2,227	755	.....	2,842	1,878	964	.....	209	.....	5,209	4,720	489
Franklin	26,205	28,744	.....	3,539	23,548	25,857	.....	2,309	1,230	.....	54,949	49,405	5,544
Fulton	3,073	2,357	716	.....	3,020	1,944	1,076	.....	360	.....	5,430	4,974	456
Gallia	2,855	2,173	682	.....	2,789	1,666	1,123	.....	441	.....	5,028	4,455	573
Geauga	1,702	1,342	316	.....	1,402	968	434	.....	118	.....	3,044	2,370	674
Greene	4,041	3,179	862	.....	3,829	2,641	1,188	.....	326	.....	7,220	6,470	750
Guernsey	5,921	3,548	2,373	.....	5,084	2,981	2,103	.....	.....	270	9,469	8,065	1,404
Hamilton	17,457	93,153	.....	75,696	20,647	89,091	.....	68,444	7,252	.....	110,610	109,738	872
Hancock	5,789	3,948	1,871	.....	5,706	3,442	2,264	.....	393	.....	9,737	9,148	589
Hardin	4,116	4,060	56	.....	1,140	3,472	668	.....	612	.....	8,176	7,612	564

Harrison	3,754	899	2,855		3,409	858	2,551			304	4,653	4,267	386
Henry	2,999	2,916	83		2,954	2,684	270		187		5,915	5,638	277
Highland	4,175	2,975	1,200		4,020	2,529	1,491		291		7,150	6,549	601
Hocking	3,098	2,301	797		2,725	1,919	806		9		5,399	4,644	755
Holmes	2,072	1,601	471		1,841	1,421	420			51	3,673	3,262	411
Huron	4,283	4,080	203		3,950	3,732	218		15		8,363	7,682	681
Jackson	2,907	3,131		224	2,841	2,297	544		768		6,038	5,138	900
Jefferson	7,546	4,850	2,796		7,069	4,692	2,377			419	12,496	11,761	735
Knox	4,666	3,171	1,495		4,143	2,911	1,232			263	7,837	7,054	783
Lake	2,450	2,505	55		2,284	2,051	233		178		4,955	4,335	620
Lawrence	3,933	2,840	1,093		3,338	2,700	638			455	6,773	6,038	735
Licking	7,074	6,799	275		6,720	6,057	653		378		13,873	12,787	1,086
Logan	4,580	3,061	1,519		4,763	2,250	2,513		994		7,641	7,013	628
Lorain	7,218	6,750	468		6,259	6,057	202			266	13,968	12,316	1,652
Lucas	17,919	28,499		10,580	17,032	25,957		8,925	1,655		46,418	42,989	3,429
Madison	2,559	2,541	18		2,690	2,062	628		610		5,100	4,752	348
Mahoning	12,343	12,150	193		11,456	11,584		128		321	24,493	23,040	1,453
Marion	5,353	3,974	1,379		4,726	3,583	1,138			241	9,327	8,314	1,013
Medina	3,356	2,439	917		3,059	2,000	1,059		142		5,795	5,059	736
Meigs	3,314	2,622	692		3,604	2,169	1,435		743		5,936	5,773	163
Mercer	3,276	2,992	284		2,963	2,838	125			159	6,268	5,801	467
Miami	5,695	5,918		223	6,068	4,911	1,157		1,390		11,613	10,979	634
Monroe	2,544	2,122	422		2,481	1,973	508		86		4,666	4,454	212
Montgomery	16,661	24,115		7,454	15,860	21,933		6,073	1,381		40,776	37,793	2,983
Morgan	2,815	1,158	1,657		2,558	1,141	1,417			240	3,973	3,699	274
Morrow	3,086	1,421	1,665		2,746	1,290	1,456			209	4,507	4,036	471
Muskingum	7,549	6,669	880		7,084	6,255	829			51	14,218	13,339	879
Noble	2,973	1,428	1,545		2,533	1,295	1,238			307	4,221	3,828	393
Ottawa	2,185	2,942		757	2,115	2,762		647	110		5,127	4,877	250
Paulding	2,552	2,202	350		2,414	1,871	543			7	4,754	4,285	469
Perry	4,773	3,288	1,485		4,510	2,916	1,594		109		8,061	7,426	635
Pickaway	3,424	2,686	738		3,607	2,311	1,296		548		6,110	5,918	192
Pike	1,578	1,569	9		1,597	1,276	321		330		3,147	2,873	274
Portage	4,011	3,457	554		3,730	2,950	780		226		7,468	6,680	788
Preble	3,063	2,935	128		3,252	2,472		220		348	5,988	5,724	274
Putnam	3,512	3,281	231		3,104	3,175		71		302	6,793	6,279	514
Richland	6,287	5,382	905		6,193	5,061	1,132		227		11,669	11,209	460
Ross	4,672	4,298	374		4,696	3,906	780		406		8,970	8,592	378
Sandusky	4,197	4,831		634	3,557	4,585		1,028		394	9,028	8,142	886
Scioto	5,286	5,881		595	5,215	5,486		271	324		11,167	10,701	466
Seneca	5,188	5,466		278	5,187	5,114	73		351		10,654	10,301	353
Shelby	2,850	3,210		360	2,782	3,074		292	68		6,060	5,856	204
Stark	14,820	13,776	1,044		13,449	13,694		245		1,289	28,596	27,143	1,453
Summit	14,720	12,252	2,468		13,317	12,405	912			1,556	26,972	25,722	1,250
Trumbull	7,545	4,948	2,597		7,407	4,343	3,064		467		12,493	11,750	743
Tuscarawas	7,251	6,074	1,177		6,659	5,595	1,064			113	13,325	12,254	1,071
Union	3,453	2,481	972		3,109	1,997	1,112		140		5,934	5,106	828
Van Wert	3,920	3,295	625		3,504	3,022	432			193	7,215	6,526	689
Vinton	1,600	1,136	464		1,429	985	444			20	2,736	2,414	322
Warren	2,913	3,433		520	3,044	2,663	381		901		6,346	5,707	639
Washington	5,423	4,239	1,184		5,002	2,982	1,020		164		9,662	8,984	678

TABLE No. 1.—*Official vote of the dry and wet elections in the State of Ohio, 1914 and 1915*—Continued.

Counties.	Election of 1914.				Election of 1915.				Gain over 1914.		Totals.		Loss over 1914.
	Dry.	Wet.	Majority.		Dry.	Wet.	Majority.		Dry.	Wet.	1914	1915	
			Dry.	Wet.			Dry.	Wet.					
Wayne	5,593	3,832	1,761		5,581	3,474	2,107		346		9,425	9,055	370
Williams	3,813	2,654	1,159		3,517	2,529	988			171	6,467	6,046	421
Wood	6,045	4,861	1,184		5,717	3,927	1,790		606		10,906	9,644	1,262
Wyandot	2,936	2,511	425		2,697	2,379	381			44	5,447	5,076	371
Total	504,177	588,329			484,969	540,377					1,092,506	1,025,346	67,160
Majority		84,152				55,408							

With compliments of the Committee on Organization and Publication of the National German-American Alliance.

JOSEPH KELLER, *Chairman.*

613 MERCHANTS BANK BUILDING, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

EXHIBIT No. 402.

TABLE No. 2.—*Male Population, Voters, Germans and Austrians in the State of Ohio according to the last Census.*

Counties.	Males.	Voters.	Naturalized.	Germans.		Austrians.	
				Born in Germany.	Both parents born in Germany.	Born in Austria.	Both parents born in Austria.
Adams	12,728	7,090	45	58	166	.....	.....
Allen	28,542	16,816	697	863	1,875	62	19
Ashland	11,474	7,329	232	231	592	33	7
Ashtabula	30,386	18,485	2,064	443	844	453	290
Athens	24,725	13,646	586	395	605	184	152
Auglaize	15,910	9,029	405	1,028	3,106	11	1
Belmont	40,209	23,133	1,538	1,275	2,095	3,143	1,684
Brown	12,514	7,410	208	257	796	11	20
Butler	35,911	22,239	1,777	3,334	7,055	175	43
Carroll	8,048	4,783	176	102	241	76	32
Champaign	13,242	8,348	170	99	250	6	1
Clark	33,855	21,330	1,048	1,277	2,643	86	45
Clermont	14,803	9,040	417	648	1,397	12	12
Clinton	11,803	7,203	94	56	198	.....	1
Columbiana	38,947	23,307	1,696	990	1,644	534	249
Coshocton	15,102	8,790	1,695	288	952	20	4
Crawford	17,447	10,868	832	1,364	3,288	75	46
Cuyahoga	328,538	201,734	45,166	46,285	66,800	44,934	33,873
Dark	21,971	12,604	233	477	1,333	15	.....
Defiance	12,365	7,179	577	1,010	2,259	54	56
Delaware	13,399	8,212	235	237	523	14	8
Erie	19,968	13,276	2,396	3,495	6,844	270	183
Fairfield	20,154	11,427	245	364	1,206	19	15
Fayette	11,033	6,541	39	48	146	.....	.....
Franklin	112,443	73,366	5,099	6,571	13,066	847	268
Fulton	12,253	7,306	350	454	983	50	1
Gallia	13,090	7,356	112	127	336	4	.....
Geauga	7,610	4,812	408	300	389	229	180
Green	14,854	9,074	224	221	444	3	1
Guernsey	22,141	12,618	528	153	249	894	682
Hamilton	226,350	143,692	20,951	34,166	73,071	1,803	746
Hancock	18,758	11,289	315	674	1,305	9	1
Harding	15,505	9,155	214	346	942	6	2
Harrison	9,484	5,788	61	30	58	63	42
Henry	12,846	7,174	575	1,556	3,035	5	4
Highland	14,298	8,599	120	89	204	7	7
Hocking	12,224	6,505	192	171	448	75	61
Holmes	9,104	5,129	174	235	555	7	.....
Huron	17,309	11,018	944	1,006	2,384	103	13
Jackson	15,616	8,272	235	175	550	11	2
Jefferson	35,512	21,268	1,538	818	1,323	2,718	1,201
Knox	15,073	9,406	309	101	318	25	6
Lake	11,522	7,194	858	443	689	125	92
Lawrence	19,799	10,214	183	339	1,015	51	15
Licking	28,447	17,130	467	560	1,214	214	38
Logan	15,218	9,305	123	9	263	3	.....
Lorain	40,658	25,293	3,440	3,741	6,349	2,567	1,311
Lucas	97,384	59,920	9,746	16,847	28,542	907	426
Madison	10,244	6,049	132	102	219	3	2
Mahoning	64,389	41,202	5,321	2,732	4,038	5,229	1,914
Marion	17,348	10,509	458	635	1,523	8	1
Medina	12,040	7,466	455	420	881	146	70
Meigs	12,837	7,290	195	268	855	.....	.....
Mercer	14,121	7,454	336	964	2,309	11	2
Miami	22,468	13,962	431	858	2,060	21	9
Monroe	12,189	6,497	186	296	944	1	.....
Montgomery	85,099	56,003	5,059	7,354	13,594	699	216
Morgan	8,010	4,803	43	33	94	.....	.....
Morrow	8,538	5,210	100	87	260	1	2
Muskingum	28,466	17,653	462	781	1,813	81	35
Noble	9,481	5,346	77	87	317	28	11
Ottawa	11,678	6,983	1,344	2,646	4,352	437	387
Paulding	11,809	6,289	222	361	739	22	8
Perry	18,380	10,159	779	393	574	102	68
Pickaway	13,575	8,189	111	191	395	40	.....
Pike	8,263	4,460	57	130	493	.....	.....
Portage	15,506	9,789	626	584	1,219	161	113
Preble	12,003	7,489	197	317	600	5	2
Putnam	15,199	8,159	332	657	1,532	44	27
Richland	24,192	15,045	943	1,307	2,562	149	54
Ross	20,042	11,526	274	627	1,738	2	7

TABLE No. 2.—*Male Population, Voters, Germans and Austrians, etc.*—Continued.

Counties.	Males.	Voters.	Naturalized.	Germans.		Austrians.	
				Born in Germany.	Both parents born in Germany.	Born in Austria.	Both parents born in Austria.
Sandusky	17,785	10,878	1,111	1,735	3,429	70	21
Scioto	24,744	13,791	446	770	2,249	46	8
Seneca	21,399	13,151	851	1,400	3,229	35	14
Shelby	12,522	7,230	256	508	1,811	7	2
Stark	64,132	40,273	3,961	4,699	7,951	1,143	322
Summit	57,609	36,930	3,340	4,055	6,318	2,067	614
Trumbull	27,178	17,007	1,653	657	1,152	359	122
Tuscarawas	29,273	17,051	1,265	1,090	2,560	520	309
Union	11,033	6,666	99	175	552	1	.....
Van Wert	14,842	8,416	252	402	1,192	6	1
Vinton	5,753	3,688	27	32	107	1	1
Warren	12,281	7,625	264	345	661	8	.....
Washington	22,634	12,936	320	685	2,272	9	9
Wayne	19,168	11,705	624	477	1,081	129	17
Williams	12,837	7,870	204	411	1,045	17	12
Wood	23,981	14,009	982	1,482	2,893	325	132
Wyandott	10,566	6,345	352	480	1,223	5	1
Total	2,434,186	1,483,705	143,884	175,009	327,726	72,851	46,353

EXHIBIT No. 408.

[Letter on the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance, Committee for Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman.]

[Translation.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., 1915.

MONONA, IOWA, *December 1, 1915.*

HONORED SIR: At the request of the worthy Wartburg Pastoral, Conference of the German Lutheran Synod of Iowa, I turn to you with a heartfelt request. As German pastors we desire no longer to stand as silent spectators around the arena of political truth and social justice, but we desire in view of friend and enemy alike to step into the arena, and with the talent and powers which have been given to us, to aid the brave champions of the German cause to the best of our ability.

We pastors—at least the most of us German Lutheran Pastors—have lain altogether too long in well covered and protected trenches, and we have been more or less merely passive participants in the tumult of battle. But, thank God, we have been shaken out of our indifference, and have decided to go into the open battle line and to take part in the forum of the people in the fight for truth and righteousness. Until now our activity as reformers has been limited to the quiet precincts of the Church and the small circle of the congregation. From now on we desire to help in carrying the light of German truthfulness, the German sense of honor, and German faithfulness into the wide masses of the people, in so far as we can accomplish this. And to that end I request your valued counsel and your active help.

With special esteem, your,

OTTO WAPPLER, *Pastor.*

EXHIBIT 403½.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico. File under Keller.]

MONONA, IA., *den 1 Dezember 1915.*

SEHR GEEHRTER HERR: Im Aufrage der ehrw. Wartburg-Pastoral Konferenz der deutschen lutherischen Iowa Synode wende ich mich an Sie mit einer herzlichen Bitte. Als deutsche Pastoren wollen wir nicht laenger als stille Zuschaper auf

dem Kampfplatze politischer Wahrheit und sozialer Gerechtigkeit im Hintergrund stehen, sondern im Angesicht von Freund und Feind in die Arena eintreten und mit den Gaben und Kraeften, die uns verliehen sind, den wackeren Vorkaempfern der deutschen Sahce dienen, so gut wir es vermoegen.

Allzulaneg haben wir Pastoren—wenigstens die meisten von uns deutschlutherischen Pastoren—in wohl verdeckten und geschuetzten Schutzengraeben giegen und sind mehr oder weniger nur passive Teilnehmer am Kampfgetuemmel gewesen. Doch, Gott lo, wir sind aufgeruettelt aus unserer Saumseligkeit und haben uns entschlossen, an die offene Front zu treten und aktiv an dem Kampfe fuer Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit vor dem Forum des Volkes teilzunehmen. Bisher war unsere reformatorische Taetigkeit auf den stillen Ort der Kirch und den kleinen Kreis der Germeinde beschraenkt. Von jetzt an wollen wir das Licht deutscher Wahrhaftigkeit, deutscher Ehrlichkeit und deutscher Treue hineintragen helfen in die breiten Massen des Volkes, soweit wir sie nur erreichen koennen. Und dazu erbitte ich mir eben Ihren werten geschaezten Rat unde Ihre tatkraeftige Mithilfe.

Mit vorzueglicher Hochachtung Ihr,

OTTO WAPPLER, *Pastor.*

EXHIBIT No. 404.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 4, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: This is to inform you that I am to-day mailing Mr. Tjarks a check for $1,500.

I go to St. Louis to-morrow for a conference on our matters and the future of the organization. I speak there before the Business Men's League on Wednesday, and shall be back here by Thursday evening, when I shall get in touch with you.

Meanwhile take care of yourself and nurse your health.

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 406.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 14, 1915.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Will you kindly communicate through the usual channels with the German Press of Texas and also the Sons of Hermann and the branches of the German-American Alliance urging the importance of every foreign born voter in that State paying his poll tax before February 1st. In view of expected legislation inimical to all that which this element of the citizenship holds sacred and precious, every man with any love of his race and that which his race stands for should without fail place himself in the position to defend his interests as a voter by paying the poll tax and thus enabling himself to exercise the right of franchise.

Matters here are progressing steadily but somewhat slowly, and as soon as I am able to talk definitely regarding future work I will call on you.

Mr. Lieber was here a few days ago, and mentioned having had a little talk with you relative to your seeing Mr. Daussmann of Evansville.

Would you go with me to see Mr. Daussmann? I am very desirous of laying certain matters before him of which you know, and your support would be very helpful to me. We could at the same time see the Cook people.

Are you taking a rest? You really ought to, not only for your own sake, but for others', and now would be an excellent time. Why not make up your mind to go away for two or three weeks and forget all work and worry? It did wonders for you when you tried it once before, and you would greatly please me if you would try it again right now.

Kindest regards,

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 409.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication. Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *December 23, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR SIR: I was compelled to stay at home for a few days. The old trouble you know, hence the delay of answering your letter.

Regarding the trip to Evansville, I wish to say that I am willing at any time to go down with you to see Messrs. Daussmann and Hartmotz, but don't you believe it would be just as well for us to see them here in Indianapolis, as they are coming up here almost every month.

As it is only a short time to January 1st, I believe it is necessary for me to know in which states we have to start our organization work next year, as I like to prepare everything before hand and get Messrs. Soergel and Barth to work at once. Texas, Ohio, Iowa and Illinois have all written to me for help in the coming year, but of course I am not in a position to answer them properly.

When and where would you like to see me so we can discuss and arrange the program for our future work?

I enclose you herewith a letter that goes forward to Texas, to the Newspapers and the different branches of the Alliance and to the lodges of the Sons of Hermann.

Wishing you and yours a Merry Christmas and A Happy and Prosperous New Year, I am, as ever,

Truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

Received Dec. 24, 1915. N. A. of C. & L.

EXHIBIT No. 411.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *Jan. 3rd, 1916.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I take pleasure in submitting to you herewith our report of receipts and expenditures for the year 1915. Also an itemized statement of the different accounts. As I told you when you was here, that I would be in Chicago very soon to have a meeting with Messrs. Stern and Moersch, I would like to ask you herewith whether I could see you some time Saturday afternoon.

Awaiting your kind reply, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

Received Jan. 4, 1916. N. A. of C. & L.

EXHIBIT No. 412.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

Financial report for the year 1915.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Jan. 1th, Jos. Keller, on hand	320.69	Jan	838.07
Jan. Rec. by J. Tjarks	1000.00		
Febr. " "	1750.00	Febr	1446.25
Mrch. " "	500.00	Mrch	1064.33
Aprl. " " etc	1018.00	April	1095.79
May. " " etc	1505.80	May	1529.57
June. " "	1500.00	June	1121.39
July. " "	1000.00	July	1318.86
Aug. " "	1000.00	Aug	210.21
Sept. " "	1500.00	Sept	1853.04
Oct. " " etc	1007.10	Oct	1126.08
Nov. " "	1500.00	Nov	1108.44
Dec. " "	1000.00	Dec	1527.86
			14239.89
		Bal. on hand: 12/31	361.70
Total	14601.59	Total	14601.59

ITEMIZED EXPENDITURES.

Salaries (Four men)		8105.00
Stenographer		277.30
Office Rent		273.00
Traveling Expenses		2345.63
Printing total		1034.58
Postage etc		281.29
Newspapers		81.58
Telephone (Local & Long Distance) Telegraph		135.11
Supplies & Desk etc		198.82
Light		12.58
Jowa Alliance		1115.00
Incidentals (John Tjarks)		250.00
Incidentals (Office)		130.00
Total		14239.89
Received by J. Keller through J. Tjarks:		
1914		12.500
1915		14.250
Total		26.750
On hand J. Tjarks		1.250
Total		28.000
Received by J. Tjarks through the National Association of Commerce & Labor:		
1914	15.000	
1915	13.000	
Total	28.000	28.000
Total allotment by the N. A. of Commerce & Labor		30.000
Balance		2.000

EXHIBIT No. 413.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Deutschamerikanischer Nationalbund, der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Inkorporirt durch Kongress Akte. Finanz-Ausschuss—John Tjarks, Vorsitzer, Hotel Raleigh, Baltimore, Md.; Julius Moersch, 1829 Lincoln Ave., St. Paul, Minn.; Prof. Leo Stern, 969 Second Str., Milwaukee, Wis. Finanz-Ausschuss—Joseph Keller, Sekretär, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; H. C. Bloedel, 1000 Peralta Str., Ewalt Sta., Pittsburgh, Pa. Pro bono publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!"—*Pastorius.*]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *Jan. 11, 1916.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: First I must ask your pardon for not seeing you last Saturday as it was originally intended, but circumstances arose which could not be controlled previously.

I informed you when you were here, that I had called the officers of our State Alliance for a meeting here early in January to discuss the political out-look in Indiana. Secretary Dreisch, of Evansville, informed me last Thursday that he had received word from the members of the Executive Committee, that on the 10th and 11th of January the gentlemen could come here and that he had called the meeting for that time.

I believe that our work in Chicago would not last longer than two hours or so and that we would have sufficient time to see you. The death of Bloedel in Pennsylvania, one of the members of the Financial Board, The proposed Conference with the four large German Church Organizations of America and the Officers of the National German American Alliance, The National Prohibition Question etc., kept us busy until 5:00 o'clock in the evening and we had only time to rush to the depot to make my train. I instructed Mr. Barth to go up to see you Monday and explain the matter.

Mr. Barth will work in Illinois, until I hear from you and we will take up the work in Ohio as soon as possible, that means after we have a thorough understanding with our friend Schwaab.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Yours very respectfully,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 416.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 31, 1916.

Mr. JOS. KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Upon my return from the East today, I have your letter of the 21st.

I have written the Treasurer for some money, and same will be forwarded to Mr. Tjarks in the course of a few days.

With kind personal regards,

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 417.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico.]

INDIANAPOLIS, *Jan. 21st, 1916.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3375 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: For the last ten days our Mr. Barth has worked in Illinois, mostly in the northern part of the state. He returned from Rock

Island, Wednesday, has also organized a new branch in Crystal Lake, has done effective work in Elgin, Carpenterville, Dundee and other places. Our arrangements for Ohio are now complete and Mr. Soergel will start to work in that state as soon as I return from Decatur, where I will address a mass meeting next week. We will devote most of our time with the church organizations in the country; we secured the addresses of the ministers of all the German denominations. Our friend, Mr. Schwaab, seems to be entirely satisfied with the plans, we have made so far.

We have just finished the preparation of a new pamphlet, which will be sent broadcast, and of which we have ten-thousand in print. The same does not deal with the prohibition question, *but is a strong appeal to every society in the country standing outside of our national organization* as yet. I shall mail you several copies of the same early next week. *Of course you understand, that we could not evade the all absorbing topic of the present murderous struggle across the seas.*

Pardon me, if I must ask you, to kindly replenish our fund with Mr. Tjarks, *as I need money for the first of the month*, and do not like to draw too close on the bank in Baltimore. I am with the kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

JOS. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 418.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY 3, 1916.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
1255 Wright St., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of February 2nd, is received.

Mr. Andreae just left for St. Louis this morning and will be there until the end of the week.

Relative to the remittance to Mr. Tjarks same went forward February 1st in the form of a New York draft for $1500.00.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 419.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *February 2, 1916.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: It was quite a relief when I received your letter yesterday, as I did not hear from you for several weeks. Late Monday night I came back from my Illinois trip where we have had several successful meetings.

Mr. Barth now works in central and southern Illinois and will go clear down to Cairo.

Whenever a remittance to Mr. Tjarks is made, kindly let me know the amount so I can make the entrance in my books. What are you thinking about Texas?

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Yours very respectfully,

Jos. KELLER.

JK/MD

EXHIBIT No. 421.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Committee on Organization and Publication, Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants Bank Bldg. Pro bono publico!]

INDIANAPOLIS, *im Dezember 1915*

A multigraphed letter on the letter head of the National German American Alliance, Committee for Organization and Publication, dated Indianapolis, December 1915, to the members of the German American State Alliance of Texas: "Valued friends and companions in arms for justice and righteousness!" Circular calls attention to the tendency throughout the United States to force restrictive laws upon German Americans, and to undermine the influence of German Americans in every respect. Circular calls attention also to the fact that the poll tax must be paid on or before February 1, 1916 and urges everyone to pay this tax in order that they may be able to vote and take part in preserving those things which are dear to every German American. The circular asks the addressee to call attention to the payment of the poll tax in their societies and in the circles of their friends for "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." "With genuine German greeting, the Committee for Propaganda of the National German American Alliance.

"JOSEPH KELLER, *Chairman*."

Maj. HUMES. I also offer in evidence Exhibits 443 to 479, they being correspondence between Andreae and Hexamer, and related matter, relative to the alliance between the United States Brewers' Association and the German-American Alliance, and their joint political activities.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in record, as follows:)

[File No. 17. Foreign. Andreae-Hexamer correspondence. German-American Alliance. Exhibits 443 to 479.]

EXHIBIT No. 443.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 17, 1913.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: You have doubtless learned through the newspaper press of the demonstration recently made in Washington by the United Anti-liquor forces of the country on the occasion of the introduction in Congress of the Hobson, Shepard, and Works resolutions providing for the nation-wide prohibition of the manufacture, sale and importation of alcoholic beverages, copies of which I herein enclose.

Huge petitions praying for the adoption of these resolutions by the Congress were presented on this occasion, and they are being followed up by floods of letters and telegrams from all parts of the country insisting upon the passage of the resolutions.

Unless, therefore, those opposed to nation-wide prohibition make their sentiments and opinions promptly known to Congress, it is clearly evident that those resolutions will be passed.

May I suggest that you issue a general call to all your local German-American Alliances, requesting them *with the utmost promptness* to pass strong resolutions protesting against the passage of these resolutions and to forward these protests (giving the total membership of the Alliances) to the respective members of Congress from their districts, to the United States Senators from their State, and also to Hon. Henry D. Clayton, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, and Senator Charles A. Culberson, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, which Committees have these resolutions under their consideration.

May I also ask you to let me know when you have done this and what I may figure the bulk and extent of the protests to be that will go forth from the Alliances. You will readily understand that this knowledge will be of considerable value to me in the general progress of the campaign.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 444.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *December 20th, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 17th inst., I beg leave to state that your wishes will be promptly carried out.

Yours very truly,

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 445.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *December 24, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The enclosed literature has gone to everyone of the seven hundred German newspapers with regard to repeatedly publishing this matter in their news columns and to also call attention to it in special editorials. Furthermore, it will be sent to everyone of our State Branches and their sub-branches, and if possible, to any German Society of any kind throughout the United States. Judging by the results I obtained by a similar agitation for a petition in favor of the Boers at the time, we should have at least four millions of protests entered in Congress against these obnoxious measures.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 446.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

Letter on the letterhead of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America, incorporated by act of Congress, Philadelphia, Pa. "To thirty-four Presidents of the State Alliances." Three enclosures. The

enclosures are sent for further necessary action. Central Office of the National German-American Alliance The letter has reference no doubt to Exhibits # 447 and # 448, which are blank forms of petitions to the executor by the President of the Society protesting against S. J. R. 168, S. J. R. 88 and S. J. R. 50 or any similar prohibition measure.

EXHIBIT No. 447.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

["National German-American Alliance, Main office, 419 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa." Präsident, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Sekretär, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; Erster Vize-Präsident, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; Zweiter Vize-Präsident, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; Dritter Vize-Präsident, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; Vierter Vize-Präsident, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; Fünfter Vize-Präsident, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; Sechster Vize-Präsident, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; Siebenter Vize-Präsident, Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; Achter Vize-Präsident, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Schatzmeister, Hans Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Finanz-Sekretär, Hermann Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vorsteher des Zentralbüreaus, A. Godsho; Pressagent and Schriftleiter der "Mittellungen," Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico! "Heil Dir, deutsche Nachkommenschaft! Heil Dir, deutsches Brudervolk! Heil Dir, auf immer!" *Pastorius.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *December, 1913.*

In behalf of the ——— representing ——— American citizens, we vigorously protest against H. J. R. 168; S. J. R. 88; and S. J. R. 50, or any similar prohibition measures.

——— ———, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 448.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

This is a circular in multigraph in the German language, sent "for your attention and for publication and comment in such a manner as to attract attention in the next issues of your valued paper." The circular is headed "National German American Alliance, Central Office, 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., December, 1913." The body of the circular is addressed to "The President of every State Alliance with an Appeal to the Presidents of all of our Subordinate Alliances, To all Organizations standing on our Side, To the Branches and Subordinate Alliances of these Organizations, as well as to all Citizens and Women Voters Sympathizing with us and Friendly to our Cause." The circular calls attention to H. J. R. 168, S. J. R. 88 and S. J. R. 50, and to the petitions that are being sent in by the prohibitionists for the passage of these resolutions. The circular calls upon the persons addressed to obtain signatures for the petition enclosed, Exhibits 447 and 448 and to address these petitions to their respective Congressmen, to every Senator representing their respective States and further to send a copy to the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House and another copy to the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. The circular further calls upon the addressees to get individuals to write letters of protest against these measures. The circular is over the signature in multigraph of C. J. Hexamer, President.

EXHIBIT No. 449.

Petition of the same character for signature by individual citizens.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER, 1913.

I, the undersigned, an American Citizen, vigorously protest against H. J. R. 168; S. J. R. 88; and S. J. R. 50, or any similar prohibition measures.

——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 450.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 26, 1913.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
National German-American Alliance, 419 Walnut Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I am very much obliged for your letter of the 24th inst., and your prompt response to my suggestion to have protests sent to Washington against the Hobson, Works, and Shepard resolutions.

I anticipate the very best results from your appeal.

With kindest regards,

Very truly yours, ——— ———.

PROHIBITION—FLAYED BY ALLIANCE—GERMAN-AMERICANS WILL GIVE AID TO LIBERALS—VICTORY FOR KAISER, IS PRAYER OF EXECUTIVE—POSITION OF SOCIETY WILL BE APPRECIATED FULLY AFTER WAR ENDS, SAYS DR. HEXAMER—FRIENDLINESS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND BERLIN SOUGHT.

SAN FRANCISCO, *August 2.*

Dr. C. J. Hexamer, of Philadelphia, speaking at a dinner to-night of the German-American Alliance, said that while the war lasted it was not to be expected that the German-American position would be fully appreciated.

"Germany is fighting to-day for the principle which will bring world peace nearer to us than all the efforts of pacifists and dreamers," Dr. Hexamer said. "Germany is fighting for the principle of the open door on the oceans as well as on land. If this principle was to receive general recognition many of the causes for future wars would be eliminated.

"Therefore, hail and victory to German and Austrian arms on the seas, on land and in the air.

"The purpose of this alliance, especially since August, 1914, has been to promote friendly relations between Germany and the United States, and it is the hope of German-Americans that these friendly relations never may be disturbed."

"MOST HUMAN OF NEUTRALS."

"I do not want to be prophetic," he added, "but I believe you can take this message from here that the future will prove us right. The time will and must come when the American, even the boldest Anglo-American, will admit that the German-American is the most Americanized and therefore the most human of all neutral American citizens. They will then praise us as much as fellow citizens as we are now being condemned by a small minority."

Among other speakers was Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee; Prof. Kuno Meyer, Dublin, Ireland; Dr. Philip Applemann, Burlington, Vt., and Representative Julius Kahn, of San Francisco.

To-day the alliance began a three days' convention here, more than 500 delegates having seats. In the first business session Dr. Hexamer emphasized that the organization stands for the perpetuation of friendly relations between the United States and Germany. The convention adopted the Secretary's report, embodying the recommendation that nation-wide prohibition be opposed.

The eighth biennial convention of the National German-American Alliance of the United States organized to-day for three days of business sessions.

After the task of assembling in committees the business for the next two days the delegates sought relaxation to-night at a banquet given by the California branch of the Sons of Hermann.

The report of Secretary Adolph Timm, of Philadelphia, called attention to the plan of campaign of the Prohibitionists as outlined at Atlantic City recently, and expressed the belief that "strong agitation by the liberal element is absolutely necessary." The report added a recommendation that German-Americans obtain from their representatives copies of the Congressional Record as a reminder that they are following the doings of Congress.

President Hexamer said to-night that it was expected resolutions dealing with the prohibition question would be introduced before the convention during the session. The German-Americans, he said, were rather opposed to the

method of prohibition than the result sought, and felt that education was a better means of controlling the drink habit.

Reports from various state leagues showed a membership of 2,500,000 and the existence of more than 10,000 German-American societies affiliated with the alliance.

While the contest for the 1917 convention was not formally opened, Milwaukee and Omaha and Atlantic City have been proposed.

EXHIBIT No. 451.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Schcurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *December 29, 1913.*

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have just returned from Washington, and things look rather blue; our friends are badly depressed. I have done everything to cheer them, and infused new hope. I have appointed a number of prominent residents, who are members of our District of Columbia Branch, to form a standing Legislative Committee of the National German American Alliance in Washington, and I have been fortunate in securing the Hon. Simon Wolf as Chairman of that Committee. Mr. Wolf is not only one of the most respectable Citizens of Washington, a great orator, Ex-President, and now Hon. President of our Washington Branch, but he is also—which is very important for our purposes—one of, if not the most influential of Jews in the United States. He will therefore, bring in a vigorous and persistent element of our population to work for us. He suggests that the Alliance should have a permanent office in Washington so that matters could be more quickly and more efficaciously disposed of. The Alliance has no money for this purpose, and I beg leave to inquire whether you will advance the $600.00 a year the amount necessary. Mr. Wolf will take no compensation whatever, and the expense will be simply for office rent and incidental expenses.

Kindly let me know at your earliest convenience what you think of the project. If you are not favorable to it, I will drop it.

With kindest regards, and wishing you a prosperous and happy New Year 1914, I am

Yours sincerely

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 452.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 31st, 1913.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I have read your letter of December 29th with great interest, and hasten to say that I shall be very glad to contribute the $600.00 required for the purpose you mention.

If you will let me know to whom this sum is to be sent, I will see that it is remitted by New York draft.

I shall be absent from Chicago all next week, but will attend to this matter the moment I return and receive your advices.

My best wishes for the coming year.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 453.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 2nd, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In reply to your favor of the 31st ult., I wish to thank you for your promptness in attending to this matter. If you will kindly mail me a check made out to the order of Mr. John Tjarks, Chairman Committee on Finance, I will see that $50.00 are sent regularly every month to the Hon. Simon Wolf to carry on our Washington Bureau for one year.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 454.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 12TH, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I have just returned from the East, and hasten to send you draft for $600 in favor of Mr. John Tjarks for the purposes you wrote me about ten days ago.

Very truly yours,

———.

EXHIBIT No. 455.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 28TH, 1914.

Doctor C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: Returned on Sunday from the West where I made a number of addresses. I made use of the German American Alliance in all addresses, as an advocate of personal liberty, of unrestricted immigration, and against national legislation restricting liquor traffic, all of which was received with great applause.

I have been under the weather for three or four days, but hope to be all right in a day or two. I shall see the gentleman from Baltimore to-morrow.

I have been in constant touch with our friends in Congress, and am thoroughly posted as to the prospects. While the Immigration Bill may pass as submitted by the Committee on Immigration, there is now serious doubt as to the passage of any legislation affecting the liquor traffic; at least this session. There are other measures, however, pending, of which I have ordered copies that may interest our Association, and will keep you advised.

Very sincerely

(Sig.) S. WOLF.

EXHIBIT No. 456.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro bono publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 29, 1914.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Inclosed please find a copy of the letter I received to-day from the Hon. Simon Wolf, Chairman of our "Lobbying Committee" at Washington, which may be of interest to you.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 457.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY SECOND, 1914.

DR. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I am much obliged for your favor of the 29th ult. enclosing copy of a letter from Hon. Simon Wolf of Washington, which I have read with much interest.

I think your move of establishing an office in Washington an excellent one.

Very truly yours,

——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 458.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 7, 1914.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Inclosed please find copy of a letter I received to-day. I was utterly dumfounded when a few days ago, at Baltimore, I was told by a stranger that the National German American Alliance was receiving large sums of money from the Brewers. Now I get this letter, which seems to indicate that some fools are castrating the strength of the Alliance in its fight against Prohibition. This must be stopped at once, or else we might as well give up the fight, as we will have no standing.

With kindest regards, yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 459.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

Copy of a letter addressed to Dr. C. J. Hexamer Philadelphia, Pa., by E. L. Durand and dated February 4, 1914 (The letter encloses a draft for $78.07 representing the poll tax of the State Alliance of Ohio). The writer states that it is well that the beer barrel should not stand in the foreground of the National German American Alliance, but that in view of the unscrupulous practices of the prohibitionists the good citizens must enter the fight. "The brewers of Iowa formerly have given us some material support but this year they indicated to us that the National Association of Brewers had the matter in hand, and that it would give to the National Alliance such means, of which a good part would come to Iowa, for the campaign. Up to the present time, however, nothing whatever has occurred in this respect and I therefore commit myself to put the question whether out of those sources money has already been appropriated for us. We must have sufficient means at hand for organization, circulars, etc., or our entire fight in the state of Iowa is hopeless. Hoping for an early reply, I sign myself with genuine German greeting, yours, E. L. Durand."

EXHIBIT No. 460.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

[Wolf & Cohen, Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.]

FEB. 12, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut St., Phila. Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I enclose you copy from the Evening Star of yesterday which speaks for itself.

I am hard at work along all the lines for which we, as American citizens, of sane mind are contending. I am in constant touch with our friends in Congress, and shall watch every step. In the meantime, I am delighted at what you and the Executive Committee of your organization are doing. I am doing the same for the other organization.

Yours very sincerely,

S. WOLF.

EXHIBIT No. 461.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 13th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The inclosures, which kindly return for my file, will show you that we are working in the right direction, and are getting the Hebrew Societies in the United States with us.

With kindest regards, I am, yours, sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

"ORGANIC LAW UPHELD BY HEBREW SOCIETIES—THREE GREAT ORGANIZATIONS FAVOR CONTINUING PRESENT GOVERNMENT PLAN IN DISTRICT.

"Three great organizations, with members having more than 3,000,000 votes in the United States, represented in Washington by Simon Wolf, are in favor

of the present plan of taxation and relationship between the District of Columbia and the nation, according to a statement made by Mr. Wolf today.

"These organizations are the National German-American Alliance, with headquarters in Philadelphia; the Order of B'nai B'rith, with headquarters in Chicago, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, with headquarters in Cincinnati.

"MEMBERS ARE A UNIT.

"Mr. Wolf said the members of these organizations are a unit in believing in the proper development of the National Capital along the lines followed since the adoption of the organic act, and in the fair treatment of the District by the rest of the country, acting through Congress.

"Mr. Wolf declared that there is danger of Washington being greatly harmed if the present policy of some members of Congress is continued very long, and that care should be taken to spread accurate information concerning the situation here in order that there be no misunderstanding of the facts.

"CIVIC FEDERATION APPROVES.

"Richard B. Watrous, secretary of the National Civic Federation, announced some time ago that that organization would stand back of the present partnership between the District and the federal government, and therefore Mr. Wolf's statement makes it certain that four great associations with members in all parts of the country will take the same stand.

"Mr. Wolf also said today that a great deal of injury is being done through the way in which some property in the District is being assessed. He cited several cases of property which he said is overassessed. He declared that undoubtedly there are some properties in the District which increased in value between the last assessment and the one before that, but added that additional values were placed on a number of properties which actually decreased in value.

"FAVORS PERSONAL LIBERTY.

"Commenting on what the organizations which he represents in Washington stand for, Mr. Wolf decried the tendency to restrict the personal liberty of the residents of Washington. He said that the city will never be made better through legislation, and that the churches and similar organizations should be utilized for improving the morals of the people.

"He referred to the Jones-Works excise law and the Kenyon 'red light' bill as evidences of the increasing tendency to an effort to reform the city through laws. He declared that laws are made to punish wrongdoing. Efforts to make people better through legislation have been made almost since the world began, said Mr. Wolf, and have always proved fruitless."

EXHIBIT No. 462.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY 25TH, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I trust you have heard by this time from Mr. Keller that the incident concerning the relations of the Alliance and the trade in Iowa was not as serious as it appeared to you.

I communicated with Mr. Keller the moment I received your letter.

Regarding the Washington incident I can say nothing. It is, I suppose, unavoidable that some people should draw certain conclusions, but without knowing the source of the remark you mentioned I should find it difficult to judge of the motive that prompted it.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 463.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 27th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I thank you very much for sending me your excellent address, which I read with great pleasure. I have just returned from Washington, and I am pleased with the way things are running there.

Notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary, throughout our American Press, we have not been losing ground within the last weeks, but our persistent work is beginning to tell.

With kindest regards, I am, Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 464.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH 4TH, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR DR. HEXAMER: I return herewith your enclosures to me of February 13th, which shows that the Hebrew Societies of the United States are lining up with us.

I am very much obliged to you for this information.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 465.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH NINTH, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I was greatly pleased, on my return this morning from New York, to receive your letter of February 27th and to learn that you feel so much more hopeful regarding the situation in Washington. If it is gratifying to me to know this, it must be all the more pleasing to you to feel that your splendid work is meeting with the success it so well deserves.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 467.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

MARCH 11, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Last evening there was a conference held at the Arion Hall, at which there were fifty gentlemen present. At my suggestion the Chairman of the evening was Mr. Wiegand, the President of the Central German

Association. I made a motion that a committee of five be appointed to secure the names of one hundred men of this city, whose liberal ideas are well known, and that there was to be no saloon keepers or any one interested in the saloon or beer business in that list. The said committee to be appointed was to meet and select an executive committee of nine or twelve to call a public mass meeting whenever, in their judgment, it was deemed important and essential, to the end of combating the nation-wide prohibition—all of which was unanimously carried, and a great deal of enthusiasm shown. It seems to me that something like this ought to be done in every city and town of the country. There were representatives at this meeting of the Italian Society, Labor Unions, German Associations, of course, Catholic and Jewish Organizations; and independent of these Organizations, we will secure leading men of leading spirit who are simply fighting for a principle and not for self or business purposes. Think this matter over and put it in motion all over the country if you think well of it.

Very sincerely,

S. WOLF.

EXHIBIT No. 468.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed.) President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono publico.]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 12th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Inclosed please find a copy of an appeal, which I have just given to our Press Agent, to slip to all newspapers. Afterward it will be distributed to all our subdivisions in every city, town, borough, or hamlet with the special appeal to them to take the initiative in their respective districts.

With kindest regards, I am, yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

"*An appeal to Liberal Minded Citizens throughout the United States, and to all Organizations of every National Extraction, to Labor Unions, Clerical and Political Associations of all Parties:*

"We are fighting for a principle and not for any selfish interests in opposing certain bills in Congress proposing a nation-wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Our call, therefore, goes forth to every liberal minded American Citizen of every national extraction, creed or political faith, who is opposed to coercive measures and is in favor of true temperance. For prohibition, like the forbidden fruit, engenders the lust for strong drink.

"We call upon liberal minded American Citizens in every city, town, borough, or hamlet, to form committees and to confer with other committees of the district or neighborhood to select an Executive Committee in a central place, with the understanding that there be no saloon keepers, or anyone interested in the liquor traffic, connected with that committee. The Executive Committee to call a public mass meeting whenever in their judgment it is deemed important and essential, to the end of combating the nation-wide prohibition idea. Nation-wide prohibition and the principle of prohibition in general is an injudicious attack upon the freedom and the personal right of the individual to seek happiness in his own way. It is a vicious, retrogressive movement, that wherever introduced hampers the respect for law, causes endless friction, and tends to

lower the ethical standard of our citizenship through hypocrisy and blackmail, causing that which is prohibited by law to be done on the sly.

"C. J. HEXAMER,
"*President of the National German American Alliance.*"

EXHIBIT No. 470.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 12th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg leave to acknowledge your letter of the 9th inst., and to-day I inclose a copy of a letter just received by the Chairman of our Standing Legislative Committee in Washington, which explains itself. We have been doing this in a number of cities, but now, with the example of Washington before us, we will send out a call all over the country to do likewise. You see by this that nothing will be left undone to the end of combating the nation-wide prohibition movement, and that our Committee in Washington is working excellently, and in the right direction.

With kindest regards, I am, Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 471.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH 14, 1914.

Dr. C. J. HEXAMER,
419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: I was greatly interested in your letter of the 12th inst., enclosing copy of the letter you have received from Mr. L. Wolf, of Washington.

The idea is excellent. There is, in fact, a movement in contemplation to call for gigantic demonstrations in the shape of parades and mass meetings in about one hundred of the chief centers of the country, the meetings to be addressed by the most prominent speakers obtainable.

I would suggest, for your consideration, whether it would not be well to time these meetings in such wise that they occur together, by which I mean not on any given day or week, all over the country, but locally at the same time.

There is some difference of opinion among certain large organizations which are interested as to when such demonstrations are likely to be of the greatest effect, and had you not written me on the subject I would very shortly have consulted you in this regard.

What is your opinion? The Press is doing splendid work in stirring up the liberal elements and educating them to the necessity of taking some drastic action. The question is whether that work has progressed to the point at which a really enthusiastic response can be expected. The German Press, of course, has, as always, been first and foremost in the field, but a very vast campaign of the same kind is now going on in the so-called foreign language press, and it may take a little longer before the fruits of this campaign will become ripe.

I shall much appreciate any advice you may be able to give me on this subject.

Very truly yours,

PA/P.

EXHIBIT No. 472.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 16th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In rply to your favor of the 14th inst., I beg leave to state, that I do not think it would be wise to have any public demonstrations during this session of Congress.

From all that I can learn, the Democratic Party will not dare to do anything until after the November elections, and in all probability, not then, during the present administration. Wilson is anxious for a second term, and cannot get it without the German vote.

My idea is, that it would be better to keep our powder dry until actual need arises to shoot off our heaviest guns. If we should do so at the present time, we will, no doubt, weaken any effect we would want to produce later on.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

EXHIBIT No. 479.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[National German American Alliance of the United States of America. Incorporated by act of Congress. Main office: 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (To which all communications should be addressed). President, Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Secretary, Adolph Timm, Philadelphia, Pa.; 1st Vice President, Joseph Keller, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2d Vice President, John Tjarks, Baltimore, Md.; 3d Vice President, Julius Moersch, St. Paul, Minn.; 4th Vice President, John Hermann, San Francisco, Cal.; 5th Vice President, John Schwaab, Cincinnati, O.; 6th Vice President, A. P. Scheurman, Kansas City, Mo.; 7th Vice President, Dr. Leo Stern, Milwaukee, Wis.; 8th Vice President, Dr. F. H. Dammasch, Portland, Ore.; Treasurer, H. Weniger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Financial Secretary, Herman Weder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Office Manager, A. Godsho; Editor of the "Bulletin" and Press Agent, Max Heinrici. Pro Bono Publico!]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 14th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg leave to acknowledge receipt of your draft for $600.00 in favor of Mr. John Tjarks, Treas.; which I have to-day forwarded to Mr. Tjarks, Chairman of our Committee on Finance, with instructions to remit $50.00 on the first of each month for the next twelve months to the Honorable Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

Should you think it desirable to continue this arrangement after that time we can then arrange further.

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely,

C. J. HEXAMER.

Maj. HUMES. We also offer in evidence Exhibits 433 to 442, inclusive, they being correspondence of Andreae and Moersch, of Minnesota, and related matters, showing the further relations of the German-American Alliance to the Brewers' Association.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 443.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Julius Moersch, Representative of German Manufacturers and Trade. European Correspondence and Collections. Steamship Agency. Customhouse Settlements. Insurance. Legal Matters. References: The Imperial German Consulate. The Merchants National Bank, St. Paul. 607 Commerce Building. Telephone—T. S. 3927.]

ST. PAUL, MINN., *January 18, 1914.*

In re: *Mr. Kellers work in Iowa:*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: After a mental revue of my conference of yesterday with Mr. Joseph Keller and later with Mr. Peter J. Barth, Mr. Kellers employee, I come to see, that we have been talking about all sorts of topics, but have failed in a thorough discussion of the issues which are up in Iowa, and which are to be determined by the fall election.

I consider it however very important that both Mr. Keller and Mr. Barth should be thoroughly conversant with that subject.

Since Mr. Keller is to return to Chicago, some time in the near future, I thought it best to call your attention to our oversight of yesterday.

May I suggest that some one from your office take the trouble to go over the entire subject with both gentlemen mentioned?

Truly yours,

JULIUS MOERSCH.

EXHIBIT No. 434.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Julius Moersch, Representative of German Manufacturers and Trade. European Correspondence and Collections. Steamship Agency. Customhouse Settlements. Insurance. Legal Matters. References: The Imperial German Consulate. The Merchants National Bank, St. Paul. 607 Commerce Building. Telephone—T. S. 3927.]

ST. PAUL, MINN., *January 18, 1914.*

In re: Protests from Minnesota to Congress.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: The following German organizations of our State have thus far send protest resolutions against the Prohibition measures before Congress to Washington:

State Alliance, Germ. Am. Natl. Alliance,
Branch of St. Paul and 43 separate societies and lodges,
" " Minneapolis. Number of local societies protesting not known,
" " Duluth and 2 societies,
" " Winona and several societies,
" " Red Wing,
" " Hastings,
" " Stillwater and 3 societies,
" " Mankato,
" " Elmore,
" " New Ulm and several societies,
" " St. Cloud,
" " Brainerd,
" " Crookston and several societies,
" " Lester Prairie,
" " Fairmont and county organizations.

The protests in every instance set forth the reason why protest has been made.

Several of the members of the Minnesota Congressional Delegation and the chairmen of the Judiciary Committees have acknowledged receipt of the protest resolutions.

Respectfully yours,

JULIUS MOERSCH.

EXHIBIT No. 435.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 27TH, 1914.

Mr. JULIUS MOERSCH,
607 Commerce Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.

DEAR MR. MOERSCH: I have to-day sent Mr. John Tjarks a New York draft for $5000 in conformity with the understanding arrived at during your and Mr. Keller's last visit to Chicago.

I think it was quite understood that Mr. Keller would return to Chicago in order to familiarize himself in detail with the important data we have gathered in Iowa and Texas. But to make sure that there was no misunderstanding about this, I have to-day written Mr. Keller recalling the fact to his notice and asking him, as soon as convenient, to pay us a visit for this purpose.

I am much obliged for the information you were kind enough to send me in your letter of January 18th.

Very truly, yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 438.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[German American Alliance of Minnesota, Branch of the National German-American Alliance of the United States of America. Julius Moersch, President, 607 Commerce Building, St. Paul, Minn. Telephone: T. S. 3927. Hugo O. Hanin, Secretary, 82 Courthouse, St. Paul, Minn.]

ST. PAUL, MINN., *June 9, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am very thankful to you for having favored me with copy of your addresses which you held recently before the National Hotel Keepers Association and before the Brewers of the State of New York.

Flattery is out of place you know, but permit me to say that I consider both addresses most valuable and dealing with the problem of National Prohibition in a manner of which I highly approve. It is something different from the dope handed out by some of the offices which are supposed to be fighting the battles of the Liquor Interests. I like particularly that part of your speech before the New York Brewers in which you open their eyes to their own shortcomings. Such are conditions which I experience all along. Last Sunday I was called to Duluth to address a large gathering (mostly Germans) together with Congressman Miller from Minnesota and a representative of Governor Eberhard. Both gentlemen being candidates for re-election, spoke on general subjects and it was left to me to discuss the National Prohibition question and to urge the voters to action. But what do you suppose, after the meeting one of the prominent brewers came to me and said: "Mr. Moersch your address was very fine, but permit me to say that you talked to much of prohibition". It is this cowardice and "Leisetreterei" (laying down) which is disgusting.

I do think if these gentlemen feel that if they had a just cause to defend they should have the courage to come out in the open.

I will appreciate it very much if you will put my name on your mailing list for any literature that may be sent out in the future from your office. Thanking you in advance, I remain

Very truly yours,

JULIUS MOERSCH.

JM–HM

EXHIBIT No. 440.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 18TH, 1914.

Mr. JULIUS MOERSCH,
801 Commerce Bldg.. St. Paul, Minn.

DEAR MR. MOERSCH: I enclose herewith a copy of a form of protest against the Hobson constitutional amendment which we talked of to-day.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 442.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

Received at 21 East 31st St., Chicago. 'Phone Douglas 4321.
35CHCL 9.

ST. PAUL MINN., *July 28, 14.*

PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

Congratulations to splendid results of your work in Texas.

JULIUS MOERSCH.

215–p.m.

EXHIBIT No. 441.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 29, 1914.

Mr. JULIUS MOERSCH,
801 Commerce Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.

MY DEAR MR. MOERSCH: Thanks for your telegram of yesterday. I appreciate the sentiment contained in the message, but at the same time I am not unmindful of the fact that the results achieved could not have been obtained without the wonderful work of a wonderful organization—the German American Alliance.

I think you will agree with me that this is one fine example of what can be accomplished with complete organization.

I appreciated your recent visit to Chicago very much, and I trust that every time you come to the city you will give me the advantage of a little consultation with you.

With very kind personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Maj. HUMES. We also offer in evidence Exhibits 480 to 508, they being correspondence between Percy Andreae and Henry , relative to activities in Iowa and showing several payments of money.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 480.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Jan. 27, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: It is getting high time for a start to be made with the German-American Alliance in this state. Our state organization is constantly on my back, and I am having difficulty in holding them off. Have you made arrangements with the National Organization to move in this state? All that would be necessary at this time, would be to perfect organizations, and to urge upon each organization the necessity of unity of action so that when we get word to them as to who should have support on the different tickets for the nomination, we can wield some influence in favor of our candidate.

As soon as you have time, I wish you would kindly take this matter up and see that Dr. E. G. Durand, of Burlington, Iowa, President of the State Alliance, hears from the National Association.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly, HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 481.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY FOURTH, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: The volume of my correspondence has been such that it has been impossible to get to your letter of January 27th before now.

Mr. Barth, Mr. Keller and Mr. Moersch were here last week going over the Iowa situation, and you will hear from them in the very near future, as they are ready to start work in your state. I am assured by them that they will get in communication with Mr. E. G. Durand, of Burlington, the President of the Iowa State Alliance.

With kindest regards, I am

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 482.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH SECOND, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: I am advised by Mr. Keller of the German-American Alliance that on February 20th he sent the sum of $500.00 to John Schnack of Davenport, Iowa, Treasurer of the State Alliance, stating that Mr. Durand advises everything seems to be moving smoothly and to his entire satisfaction.

In pursuance of our agreement that the contribution to the Iowa Alliance should come direct from the headquarters of the German-American Alliance and not from you, I will ask that you kindly forward me your check for $500.00 to cover this.

With kind personal regards, I am
Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 483.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Mar. 6, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your favor of the 2nd inst., and in reply to same am enclosing herewith Chicago draft for $500.00, to reimburse you for contribution made by you to Mr. Keller, of the German-American Alliance, in pursuance with our agreement.

With kind personal regards, I am
Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 484.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH NINTH, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

DEAR MR. THUENEN: I have yours of March 6th enclosing Chicago draft for $550.00 in compliance with my request to you of March 2nd.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I am
Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 485.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *April 2, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3354 So. Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.,

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In pursuance to our conversation, I am enclosing herewith check for $500.00 to reimburse you for funds advanced to the National German-American Alliance. I trust you will find this satisfactory.

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

(Enc.)

EXHIBIT No. 486.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL THIRD, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

DEAR MR. THUENEN: Beg to acknowledge receipt this morning of yours of April 2nd, enclosing check for $500.00 to reimburse us for funds advanced to the National German-American Alliance.

Thanking you for your prompt attention to this matter, I am

Very truly yours.

EXHIBIT No. 487.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL 28, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

DEAR MR. THUENEN: I am advised this morning by Mr. Keller that on April 27th he forwarded check for $1000.00 to Mr. Herman Miller of Waterloo, Iowa., advising Mr. Durand of this remittance.

In pursuance of our agreement that the contribution to the Iowa Association should come direct from the headquarters of the German American Alliance, and not from you, I will ask that you kindly forward me check for $1000.00 to cover this.

With kind personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 488.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *May 1, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.,

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing herewith my check for $1,000.00, to reimburse you on account of amount sent by Mr. Keller to Mr. Herman Miller, of Waterloo, in re German American Alliance.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

(Enc.)

EXHIBIT No. 489.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 2, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: I beg to acknowledge receipt this morning of your check for $1000.00 in response to my request of April 28th.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I am

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 490.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *May 18, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing herewith lists of candidates which are to be supported by the German-American Alliance. These lists were agreed upon by Dr. Durand and Mr. Miller (of Waterloo) over a week ago. I neglected to send you these copies. It was understood that I was to send them to you, and then you would in turn send them to Mr. Keller.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

(Enc.)

EXHIBIT No. 491.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 19, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: I am today in receipt of yours of the 18th enclosing a list of the candidates which are to be supported by the German-American Alliance of Iowa.

I will have copies made of this list and then forward same to Mr. Keller.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 492.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 1, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: Mr. Keller advises that he has forwarded Mr. H. Miller of Waterloo, Iowa, check for $500.00 to be used in connection with the Iowa German Alliance.

Will you therefore kindly let me have your check for $500.00 to replace this amount. I will ask you to forward this by a Chicago draft in order that there will be no collection charges at this end.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 493.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 3, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: I am in receipt of yours of June 2nd enclosing Chicago draft for $500.00 the amount sent by us to Mr. Herman Miller of Waterloo, Iowa.

Thanking you for your promptness in this matter, I am

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 494.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *June 2, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In accordance with your favor of the 1st. inst., I am enclosing herewith Chicago draft for $500, being the amount sent by you to Mr. Herman Miller, of Waterloo, Iowa, to be used by the German American Alliance.

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 495.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 7th, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: Mr. Keller advises, under date of July 3rd, that he has advanced the Iowa German Alliance $500. Will you kindly send New York draft, payable to myself, for this amount, that we may reimburse Mr. Keller.

With kind personal regards, I beg to remain,

Very truly, yours,

EXHIBIT No. 496.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JULY 10th, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: I am much obliged for your favor of the 9th enclosing check for $500 to reimburse our exchequer for advance made by it to the G. A. A.

With kind regards

Yours, very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 497.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *July 9. 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In accordance with your letter, I am enclosing herewith New York Draft for $500 to reimburse you for advancements made to the German American Alliance.

Trusting you are enjoying good health, and with kind personal regards, I am,
Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 498.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Sept. 12, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In reply to your favor of the 11th. inst., I am enclosing herewith New York draft for $500 to cover items mentioned in your favor.
Yours, very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

Enc.
Hansel (bookkeeper).

EXHIBIT No. 499.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 2ND, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: Mr. Keller has made a further remittance of $500 to the organization in Iowa, and I shall be obliged if, at your convenience, you will forward me check for this amount, so that I may reimburse the Keller fund for the outlay.
Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 500.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 5, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

DEAR MR. THUENEN: This will acknowledge receipt of yours of October 3rd enclosing New York Draft for $500.00, reimbursement on a like amount remitted through Mr. Keller to the Iowa German-American Alliance.
Thanking you, I am
Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 501.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Oct. 3, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your favor of 2nd. inst. advising me that Mr. Keller has made another remittance to the Iowa German-American Alliance of $500.00, and I am enclosing herewith New York Draft for said amount to reimburse your fund.

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

Enc.
Handed Mrs. Ahern check Oct. 5.

EXHIBIT No. 502.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 21, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: Mr. Keller is sending another $500 to Dr. Durand. Will you please let me have the usual reimbursement for this outlay.

Mr. Keller will be in Burlington on Monday next.

Yours very truly,

———.

EXHIBIT No. 503.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 24, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: I am in receipt of yours of the 23rd enclosing Chicago draft for $500.00, reimbursement for advancement made to Dr. Durand.

I have a letter from Mr. Keller, under date of Oct. 23rd, in which he advises that he will speak in seven Iowa cities next week, and I have to-day written him asking that he call on you if he possibly can.

Very truly yours,

———.

EXHIBIT No. 504.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Oct. 23, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing herewith Chicago draft for $500.00 to reimburse you for advancement made by Mr. Keller to Dr. Durand.

I note that Mr. Keller expects to be in Burlington on Monday of next week. I trust that if Mr. Keller passes through my city he will not fail to call on me.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 505.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 4, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport Savings Bank Bldg., Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THEUNEN: At your request I beg to remind you that I have today forwarded to Mr. Joseph Keller, a check for $600.00 for the Iowa German Alliance.

Will you kindly let me have New York draft for this amount, and oblige,

Very truly yours,

_____.

Maj. HUMES. We also offer in evidence Exhibits 509 to 530, inclusive, they being correspondence between Percy and Henry Joernan relative to the Thuenen—relative to the financial transactions between them.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record, as follows:)

[File No. 4.—Financial.—Andreae-Thuenen Correspond.—Exhibits 509 to 530.]

EXHIBIT No. 509.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Office of the General Counsel, 23, 24, 25, 26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Davenport, Iowa. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone, Davenport 526.]

DEC. 18, 1913.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
No. 3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: We have the organization in Iowa moving fairly well. The investigations have all been completed, and I have had four men in the field for several months, and after January first I will have the entire intended force operating.

The expense is running quite heavy, as was expected of course, and I find that in order to keep our own funds in safe condition, it will be necessary to have some of the help agreed upon.

I have analyzed the situation carefully, and this is what I would like, if it is agreeable to you and Mr. Gardiner. The understanding was that you and Mr. Gardiner were to aid us to the extent of $37,500.00, which was one-half of the estimated cost of the campaign.

I would like one-third of the amount you were to let us have, on or shortly after January 1st, 1914. This would be $12,500. Then one-third on March 1, 1914; and one-third on May 1, 1914.

Our Association has made complete arrangements for more than their share of the expense, as agreed between us; but our funds come in installments, and I would not like to deplete our treasury and then get the last half from you. I think it would be much more satisfactory all around if you could let us have this money in installments, as suggested, and then we would always be in a reasonably satisfactory financial condition.

Trusting this arrangement will meet with your approval, and that I may hear from you in the very near future, and wishing you great success in your work, and a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

P. S.—I have sent an identical letter to Mr. Gardiner in this mail.

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 510.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 6, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst. and in reply would say, that I regret very much indeed that it will not be possible for me at attend the meeting to be held in your office on the 15th inst. I have a very important matter occurring in this City which will require my personal attention on that day.

I can send Mr. McDermott to the meeting, however, who is very well informed on the principal subject you propose to discuss and consider.

Very truly yours

JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 511.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Jan. 19, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
No. 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I do not want to seem either hasty, or in any way anxious about the contribution which you and Mr. Gardiner agreed to make toward the Iowa campaign; but at our recent meeting in Chicago I saw Mr. Sunstein, and he told me he had paid his portion of this fund.

I suppose of course that you have overlooked the matter, and for that reason I am calling your attention to it again. We have sufficient funds to carry the campaign at its present gait, but I am enlarging the expense now and within a few weeks will be spending more money than I am getting in. Naturally, I would feel much easier when I have a little surplus. I would thank you very much for giving the matter your attention.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 512.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

PHIADELPHIA, PA., *January 23, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Thuenen, as you know, has asked that the appropriation for Iowa which you and I jointly agreed upon, shall be paid to him in three equal installments of $12,500 each and he likewise has asked that the first installment be paid at once.

Upon the receipt of his request to this effect, I communicated with Mr. Sunstein and he remitted to me his proportion of the first installment which amounted to $4,166.66. As you and I agreed with one another that the amount to be contributed by the brewers should come equally from your fund and mine, I have accordingly had a check made out for the amount of Mr. Sunstein's proportion, $4,166.66 plus one-half of the balance of $12,500 or $4,166.67.

I accordingly enclose the check referred to drawn to the order of Henry Thuenen, Secretary for $8,333.33 and would ask that you kindly forward it to Mr. Thuenen along with your check for the difference between its amount and the sum of $12,500 or $4,166.67 which is the equivalent of the amount which has been paid by my fund.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

(Enclosure.)

EXHIBIT No. 513.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 28th, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: Enclosed herewith find checks amounting to $12,500.00, $8333.33 of which is Mr. Gardiner's contribution.

This is in compliance with your request of January 19th, and represents the first payment on the contribution to your state.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 515.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY 28th, 1914.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co., 2100 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. GARDINER: I am in receipt of yours of the 23rd enclosing Mr. Schmidt's check for $8333.33, which represents the proportion from your fund and Mr. Sunstein's proportion to the contribution to the state of Iowa.

I have today, in accordance with our agreement, forwarded this check to Mr. Henry Thuenen together with a check for $4166.67, my proportion to this fund.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, and with kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 516.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Jan. 29, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
 # 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.,

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I received to day your favor of the 28th, inst., enclosing checks amounting to $12,500.00, being the first payment of the contribution to be made towards the Iowa campaign.

I desire to thank you very much for your kind attention to this matter.

With kind personal regards to yourself, Mr. Gibson and Mr. Hartley, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 517.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *March 13, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
 # 3354 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg to suggest that we have received one-third of the contribution which it was understood you and Mr. Gardiner were to make toward the Iowa campaign, leaving a balance of $25,000.00 which we are still to receive.

In my former letter, I suggested that this contribution be made in three installments. You will understand that we have our Primaries on June 2, 1914, and the bulk of the expense comes before that time. I would therefore like

to have the last of this money not later than May 15th., if you and Mr. Gardiner could make it convenient. This will leave our treasury in a reasonably safe condition, so that we will be in a position to proceed with our work without fear of financial disaster.

Under these circumstances, it would not come at all amiss to have another contribution at this time, and I suggest that you take the matter up with Mr. Gardiner and send me $12,500.00 at as early a date as you find it convenient. I will write you again about May 1st., for the third and last installment.

Trusting you will find this satisfactory, and wishing you success in your work, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

P. S. An identical letter to this I am sending today to Mr. Gardiner.

EXHIBIT No. 518.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH 17, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
23 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: I have your favor of the 13th, and note contents. Mr. Gardiner has been in Virginia, but probably returned to Philadelphia today, and I shall await advices from him in regard to the matter you mention.

I am ready with my proportion of the contribution, but I presume it will be best to remit the total, when received.

Very truly yours,

PA:P ———.

EXHIBIT No. 519.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 31, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Thuenen having requested some few days ago the payment of the second installment of $12,500. of the Iowa appropriation. I am enclosing herein our check to the order of Henry Thuenen, Secretary, for $8,333.33, which includes Mr. Sunstein's proportion of the installment amounting to $4,166.66 and one-half of the balance chargeable to our bureau amounting to $4,166.67. If you will forward the enclosed check and your own check for an amount equal to our proportion or $4,166.67, to Mr. Thuenen, I will be very much obliged.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

(Enclosure.)

EXHIBIT No. 520.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL SECOND, 1914.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. GARDINER: I am in receipt this morning of yours of March 31st enclosing check for $8333.33.

I will immediately mail this to Mr. Henry Thuenen, Davenport, Iowa, together with my check for $4166.67, which will complete the second installment of $12,500.00 of the Iowa appropriation.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

———.

EXHIBIT No. 521.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

APRIL 9, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: Enclosed herewith find checks for $8333.33 and $4166.67, which completes the second installment of $12,500.00 of the Iowa appropriation.

Kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 522.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, office of the General Counsel, 23, 24, 25, 26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone, Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *April 10, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I have received your two checks for $8333.33 and $4166.67 respectively, which constitutes the second installment of the Iowa Appropriation. I thank you very kindly indeed for giving this matter your attention and trust that the investment may bring rich returns.

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 523.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *May 6, 1914.*

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
No. 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In accordance with my previous agreement, I am calling your attention to the balance of the amount which you and Mr. Gardiner agreed to contribute towards the Iowa campaign.

You have already contributed $25,000.00, in two installments, and the third and last installment, amounting to $12,500.00, is still unpaid.

As I wrote you, I would like this money by the middle of May, at the latest, if you can possibly make it convenient. The primary campaign is the big end of the battle, and we are right in the midst of it now. It will last until June 1st, when the primaries will be held. I would like to have this fund a little in advance of that date, so that when the primaries are over, our treasury will not be completely depleted.

I trust you will pardon me for my persistance in asking for these controbution, but it seems that it takes a large amount of money to keep an organization likes ours, working so extensively, going.

Thanking you in advance for giving this matter your attention, I am

Yours, very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

P. S. I have sent a letter identical to this to Mr. Gardiner.

Yours, truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 525.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association; office of the general counsel, 23 24, 25, 26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa. Telephone 3075, 526. Henry Thuenen, general counsel.]

MAY 17, 1913.

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
C/o C. Schipp Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: In accordance with your request, I am calling your attention to the matter of a conference between yourself and the Board of Trustees of the Iowa Brewers Assn. This conference was to take place in Chicago at a time to be fixed by you.

Will you kindly advise me what time it would be convenient and agreeable to you, setting it far enough in advance so that I can notify the members of the Board in time to have them in Chicago.

Would it be convenient for you to arrange for a place to meet? If not, I could probably arrange for a room at some hotel; but I presume the Chicago brewers have headquarters where we could conveniently have our meeting.

Thanking you in advance for this courtesy, I am,

Yours, very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 527.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 1, 1914.

MR. HENRY THUENEN, *Davenport, Iowa.*

DEAR MR. THUENEN: Enclosed herewith please find checks for $8,333.33 which represents the eastern contribution, and $4,166.67 which represents my contribution.

This completes the last installment of the Iowa account.

Kindly acknowledge receipt, and oblige,

Yours, very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 528.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association; office of the general counsel, 23 24, 25, 26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa. Telephone, Davenport 526. Henry Thuenen, general counsel.]

JUNE 2, 1914.

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
No. 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt to-day of your checks for:

Eastern contribution	$8,333.33
Your contribution	4,166.67
	12,500.00

balance of amount of the contribution to the Iowa account. I thank you most sincerely for this remittance.

We are waiting results of the primaries held yesterday, and as soon as I have a report which is entirely complete, I will send same to you.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Yours, very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 529.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association; office of the general counsel, 23, 24, 25, 26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa. Telephone, Davenport 526. Henry Thuenen, general counsel.]

JUNE 8, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
No. 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Now that the first engagement of the battle is over, I presume you will be glad to hear something of the results.

I am not in a position to give exact details, as the votes have not been canvassed by the different Boards of Supervisors, and their findings sent to the Secretary of State. I can report however as to the more important offices.

You will remember that we had practically no contest for the republican nomination for Governor. While there were three candidates, the present incumbent was entitled to re-nomination by precedent, and we made no fight on his nomination since he would probably be as satisfactory as either of his opponents.

On the contest for the republican nomination for lieutenant governor, we had a clear-cut fight. One of the two candidates is the Superintendant of the Anti-Saloon League, while the other candidate is an avowed liberal, with a record in the legislature as well as in the office of lieutenant governor distinctly wet. We were successful in nominating our man by a very satisfactory margin, his majority probably ranging from between 20,000 to 30,000.

In the democratic contest for governor, you have no doubt been advised that we had the satisfaction of nominating our man by an overwhelming majority.

The contest for lieutenant governor on the democratic ticket is still in doubt, with the indications pointing to the nomination of Mr. Sheldon, whom we supported.

These are the big state offices in which we interested ourselves, and as you see, we have won in every instance.

You will remember that our greatest fight was on the contest for the democratic nomination for United States Senator. Our opponent was a trained politician, with the most perfect organization ever developed in Iowa, and with funds without limit, it being estimated that he spent in the neighborhood of $100,000. Our candidate was comparatively poor, and I am informed that his total expenditure will be under $10,000. And yet we won this contest by a majority of at least 20,000 votes. *Mr. Connolly's manager leaned entirely upon us, and depended upon us for practically all the work that was done.*

Under the circumstances, I feel that we are to be congratulated on the result. When you consider that we had a contest in nearly every senatorial and legislative district in the state to look after, and did practically all the work for Mr. Connolly, against the most aggressive kind of a campaign, behind which was an unlimited amount of money, you can see that it was something of a triumph to win.

I am free to say that in my judgment, this contest could not have possibly been successful had it not been for the effectiveness of the organization created by us under your directions. Generally after a contest of this character one can figure a great many things which were neglected, or which should have been done; but as I look back upon this contest, I feel that every element of organization possible in the state was developed to its best and greatest strength, and that without this organization we must have met with a humiliating defeat.

I have already sent to Mr. Gibson a report of the results of the Primaries in the Senate and House, which is, to say the least, very gratifying. With the exception of only a very few instances, we were successful in our many contests.

This being the first time that the so-called Andreae system of organization was put into practise in Iowa, I feel that you are to be congratulated upon the results obtained in this state. We still have the election before us, which will be the final engagement of this particular battle, and no one can forecast the result; but I am as certain as I ever can be of anything, that with the continued application of the system of organization we have commenced in Iowa, it cannot be more than one or two battles until we will find ourselves in possession of the fort. I am sure that if we can continue this work through

another, or at least two more campaigns we will be practically in a position to dictate legislation on the liquor question, within such reasonable bounds at least, as both you and I would freely accede.

Trusting that your work in other states may be as successful and satisfactory as it has thus far proven itself to be in Iowa, and with kind personal regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 530.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 17, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: I received your most welcome letter just before starting for a trip to Kentucky and Ohio, which is the cause of my delay in answering and thanking you for it.

Nothing has so much gratified me for a long time as the facts mentioned in this letter and the expressions with which you state them. To know that you so thoroughly approve of our methods after having tried them means infinitely more than it did to know that you believed in those methods before you tried them.

I want to be very frank with you, however, and say that the methods themselves form the easiest part of the achievement. The real test is the manner of their application, and we here are all agreed, and have been for some time, that in this respect the work performed in Iowa has been simply ideal. In other words, to use a theatrical simile, if we wrote the play, we also know that it would have been a complete failure but for the excellence of the Company that produced it.

Let us hope that when the last curtain is rung down, it will be amid the applause of the audience, and that author and actor will, as they should, go before the curtain together to share in such laurels as may be accorded them.

With kindest regards, Yours very truly,

——— ———.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibits 531 to 551, they being correspondence, office records, etc., relative to the financial transactions of the National Association of Commerce and Labor and the United States Brewers' Association.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 531.

[File No. 3. Financial. Andreae, U. S. B. A.]

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 22/13.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX
United States Brewers Assn 109 E. 15th Street New York

DEAR MR. FOX: I have been absent, in conference with the gentlemen of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, hence my belated reply to your favor of the 16th inst.

Of course, any plan that will give us additional publicity is worth pursuing. You are aware, I presume, that all large advertisers in our business have arrangements with the newspapers by which a certain amount of reading matter is accepted from them editorially for publication. As an instance, about a week ago I met a gentleman connected with the firm which manages the advertising of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, who told me that his firm had had the open letter to Dean Sumner republished in eighteen hundred newspapers. He went on to say that their trouble was to obtain really effective matter for this purpose, it being necessary to supply the newspapers with material that, in addition to its argumentative features, possessed

some news value. But he made it clear to me that the basis of all large advertising contracts is the securing of an amount of reading space in the newspapers for articles in defense of the trade, and I have been wondering whether sufficient attention is being paid to this important privilege by the advertising brewers themselves. If its use is left entirely in the discretion of the firms who place the advertising, it is questionable whether all such firms devote the intelligent attention to the matter which it requires.

I offer this for your and Mr. Kuppel's consideration. The only fear I have about the proposal to the advertising brewers to give up one third of their advertising space for the purposes in question is that it will appear tantamount to a request for a contribution in money, and while we are straining every effort to induce them to provide sufficient means for our campaign of organization, this additional request may seem out of proportion large to them. But there is no harm in trying.

You will have received the pledges of the Ohio brewers to the extent of about 2,200,000 barrels, and I think I can promise that you will have the same from Illinois within a few days. Should other States be dilatory in this matter it seems to me that the only way to tackle it will be by personal appeal in each brewing centre. I believe there should be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary assurance, by the present written form of communication, from brewers selling 25,000,000 barrels. But we should not stop there. If Mr. Gardiner would be willing, later on, to accompany me on a trip to the chief brewing centres, I believe, that, with the help of our friends in each locality, we would succeed in adding subscribers selling another 5,000,000 if not 10,000,000 barrels.

The National Wholesale Liquor Dealers have pretty well covered the ground in their own ranks since their Louisville convention, and I know the results to be very satisfactory.

I wrote Colonel Ruppert on June 6, and again on June 11, but have received no reply. Would you mind ascertaining whether he has received my letters, which I addressed to the brewery.

With best regards,

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 532 (ANS. TO EXH. 532).

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Financial.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. President, Edward A. Schmidt. Vice presidents: 1st, Gustave Pabst; 2d, Louis B. Schram; 3d, John Gardiner. Treasurer, Gustave W. Lembeck. Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *December 6, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,

 # 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: May I venture to ask for your advice with reference to the Manhattan Brewing Company of Chicago, who write as follows:

"In accordance with our agreement to contribute three cents a barrel on 200,000 barrels in four yearly installments for five years, we herewith enclose our check for $1,500.00 as the first payment, due December 1st, 1913, the other payments to be made on March 1st, June 1st and September 1st of every year."

There is nothing in their agreement which provides for the periodical payments they mention. There is no objection, of course, to the quarterly payments, only that by accepting their first payment now, in accordance with their letter, we lose three quarters of their dues and assessment for the current year. Of course in the long run it would work out all right as far as the assessment is concerned because they bind themselves for five years, beginning with December 1, 1913. Do you think it advisable to raise any question about it?

I also take the liberty of enclosing a statement showing the standing of our Chicago members. You will notice that a number of the Chicago brewers who signed the agreement have not even paid their dues yet.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX,
Secretary.

HFF/BT
Enclosure

EXHIBIT No. 533.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. File. Financial.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. President, Edward A. Schmidt. Vice presidents: 1st, Gustave Pabst; 2d, Louis B. Schram; 3d, John Gardiner. Treasurer, Gustave W. Lembeck. Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone 1859 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *Nov. 17, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
418 Western Union Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose herewith copy of a letter received from Mr. F. J. Dewes, President of the Standard Brewing Company. Will you reassure Mr. Dewes as to his query when you see him?

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX,
Secretary.

W

EXHIBIT No. 533.

[Copy.]

THE STANDARD BREWERY.

CHICAGO, *Nov. 13, 1913.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary, U. S. Brewers' Association, New York City.

DEAR SIR: A few days ago you wrote us that one-half of the two-cent subscription is now due and that the other half will be due in December. We take it that this means one cent per barrel on last year's sales, and we herewith enclose you our check for $1,500.00.

Very truly yours,

THE STANDARD BREWERY.
F. J. DEWES. (signed.)
President.

Dict. F. J. D.

P. S. If some money will be sent to Illinois, I hope it will be spent under the supervision of the *National* Association.

EXHIBIT No. 536 (ANS. TO EXH. 532).

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER TENTH, 1913.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
U. S. Brewer's Ass'n., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Replying to your favor of the 6th inst., I think it would be best to let the matter relative to the contribution of the Manhattan Brewery stand as it is. As you say, the agreement is for five years, and the amount of the assessment will work out correctly in the end.

I am taking up the matter of the contribution from Illinois generally with the Association here. But I would suggest that a personal letter should be written by you to each contributor strongly urging prompt payment. A uniform letter can be drafted, to be used in each separate case and signed by you. Printed communications are rarely effective.

Yours very truly, ——— ———.

Pa/MW.

EXHIBIT No. 537.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna. Financial.)

JUNE 11, 1913

Colonel J. RUPPERT, Jr.,
c/o The Jacob Ruppert Brewery, New York.

MY DEAR COLONEL RUPPERT: All lines have now been laid for the organizing of certain large aggregations of men, which I need not name, under the direction of one central head, and it is all-important that no delay should take place in starting this work.

It was manifestly inexpedient for me even to hint at the nature of these plans in the presence of a large body of men such as met in New York last week. But the necessity of placing immediately a fund of at least $100,000 at my disposal to enable me to go ahead and put my workers in the field in these directions would be the more evident to you if you could realize the scepticism regarding our sincerity which I had to meet and overcome on the part of those whose co-operation I have enlisted. Yet I dare not proceed without having sufficient funds at my command to at least assure the carrying on of this work for the next six months.

While I am not authorized to say what the Wholesale Liquor Dealers will agree to do, I have the best reason for believing that they will be willing to contribute 50 cents for every dollar we put up, and I am writing their Association on the subject to-day.

Will you kindly take this matter up with the Treasurer of the U. S. B. A. and let me know whether I can rely upon these funds? I have spent the month of May in laying out these important plans in conjunction with the leaders of the organizations in question, and there is a great deal more of the same kind to be done in other directions, but I dare not go forward in any other direction until I know that the means will be forthcoming in sufficient proportions to carry out what can be done in those quarters. But to remain inactive now in respect to the campaign so far laid out and agreed upon would not only entail a loss of time and money, but alienate confidence in our earnestness of purpose on the part of the men whose time I have taken up in discussing and perfecting the plans.

I have arranged to get away for six weeks rest on the 5th of July, and if I can only have the assurance that these first funds can be relied upon, I shall be able to engage and send out the men who are now merely waiting for my instructions to proceed, and shall know that progress is being made while I am away. On the other hand, if I am left high and dry, all the work already done will be wasted, and months of costly time will have to pass without producing any tangible results.

I am anxious to have an opportunity to address our convention next October on the important matter of the individual co-operation of the brewers in this organization work. Our business depends entirely upon the so-called foreign element of our citizenship, but because these people are our friends we think that there is no need to worry about them. This is the worst of the many mistakes we have made in the past, for it has had the effect of embittering the very people against us without whose sympathy and support we cannot continue to exist. This policy of starving our friends and feeding our enemies which has obtained with us, both in legislative and in all other directions, should be reversed, and if every individual brewer will help to reverse it, there is no doubt whatever about the success of our campaign.

With best regards,

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 538.

(From files of Percy Andreae (G. M.), by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

SEPT. 29, 1914

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Finance Committee which was held to-day, it developed that a number of the brewers who signed the assessment agreement

cannot pay this year, and others decline to continue. (Some of them have not paid their 1913 assessment yet.)

In view of this, and of the heavy expenses that we are under, the Finance Committee feels compelled to withhold all present expenditures that are not absolutely necessary. We have, accordingly, instructed the Treasurer to defer making further remittances to Mr. Oertseifen, for your account, at least until after the Board of Trustees meets. At the same time, I am directed to inform you that the Committee desires to have a statement from your Treasurer, at his earliest convenience, of his receipts and expenditures, and of the balance which he now has on hand, together with the obligations incurred by you, which are now pending or outstanding.

Awaiting your reply, I am, yours very truly,

J. RUPPERT, Jr.,
Chairman Finance Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 539.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 5TH, 1914.

Mr. J. RUPPERT, Jr.,
Chairman Finance Committee U. S. Brewers Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your favor of Sept. 29, and have communicated its contents to Mr. Ortseifen.

As soon as I receive the statement of receipts and expenditures from him I will forward the same to you together with the desired statement of obligations incurred.

Owing to domestic matters it may be a few days before I shall receive the necessary details from Mr. Ortseifen.

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 540.

(From files of Percy Andreae (G. M.) by subpœna.)

OCTOBER 15TH, 1914.

J. RUPPERT, Jr.,
Chairman Finance Committee U. S. Brewers Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR SIR: I beg to enclose herewith the statement of Mr. Adam Ortseifen, Treas. showing his monthly receipts and disbursements since May 1, 1913.

The items of the disbursements are on record in the various accounts kept in my office, and will take some time to classify under their respective heads. Owing to the fact that my entire force is engaged at this moment in the Ohio and Iowa campaigns, and that I am myself almost entirely occupied in these actual campaigns, it will not be possible to go into these details until after November 3.

The obligations I have entered into, quite apart from the general maintenance of my organization, amount to roughly $130,000. Of these obligations the following are the principal ones:

Foreign Language Newspapers	$50,000
German American Alliance Organization	25,000
Salaries	30,000
Poll of hotel guests, to which over five thousand hotels have agreed, estimated	25,000
	130,000

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 541.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 24, 1914.

Mr. E. A. SCHMIDT,
Robt. Smith Ale Brew. Co., 28th & Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: Enclosed is a list of estimated expenditures of my bureau during the coming year. I have explained all the items requiring explanation in the accompanying statement.

There is one very important matter which I have not included, because it will be better to present it verbally, and I shall take the opportunity of conferring with you thereon next Tuesday. It is a matter which I believe you are particularly interested in.

Yours very truly.

EXHIBIT No. 542.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago; telephone Douglas 7225. Temporary headquarters, 1132 to 38 Transportation Bldg.]

FEBRUARY 16, 1915.

Mr. E. A. SCHMIDT,
Pres. United States Brewers Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: In accordance with the request of the Secretary of the U. S. Brewers Association, I give below my actual obligations for the next twelve months:

Foreign Language Newspapers:		
Written contracts [where are they]	$32,040	
Verbal contract regarding expenses necessarily arising from the above, such as the preparation of articles, meetings of publishers at varoius centres, travelling expenses of directors of the A. A. F. L. N., and outlays incidental to the general campaign work among the foreign press	21,000	
		$53,040
German American Alliance Bureau:		
Fixed obligation in salaries	6,800	
Office in Indianapolis, with attaching expenses, travelling, printing, publication and general campaign work in starting new branches of the Alliance, based on actual figures of last year	14,000	
		20,800
General staff:		
L. H. Gibson, survey and organization department	7,500	
Gale M. Hartley, survey and organization and general charge of Foreign Language Newspaper work, direction of office, and campaign work	6,000	
John Lloyd, captain of survey and organization staff	3,000	
C. H. Wirmel, former commissioner of labor of State of Ohio, in charge of labor work	5,000	
Adolph Kummer, from Brewery Workers Union	3,000	
J. M. Gregory, in charge of Editorial work and News Bureau	3,600	
		28,100
		$101,940

The report in your hands giving a statement of the amount required for the conduct of the work during 1915 covers all items of urgent necessity. The sum amounts to $324,000, or roughly $30,000 per month, and includes, of course, the contractual obligations already cited.

All this work is inter-dependent, and it would be practically useless to prosecute one item unless the other items were provided for. Thus the Ger-

man American Alliance work goes hand in hand with our survey and organization work, and one would not be effective without the other. The same applies to the Foreign Press Work. The literary end of this work merely paves the way for the practical campaigning wherever the foreign element can be made a factor at the polls.

The balance in the fund of the National Association of Commerce and Labor is	$77,763.96
The balance in the fund held by Mr. Ortseifen, Treasurer, is	57,417.18
I expect from the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association the payment of the balance still due on the contribution promised for last year	20,000.00
Total	$155,181.14

It is fair to estimate that the payments to the fund of the National Association of Commerce and Labor during the next twelve months will equal the payments made during the past year, which, after deducting expenses of collection, amounted to roughly, $90,000. But, of course, this is problematical income, though I believe that with the cooperation of the U. S. Brewers Association, now promised, this source of income can not only be maintained, but very considerably increased.

I trust these facts and figures will give you the information you require.

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 543.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 11, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secy., United States Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: On May 22, 1915, I wrote you as follows:

"Mr. Andreae informs me that his understanding is that the National Association of Commerce and Labor is to receive from the United States Brewers' Assn. $8333.00 per month from April 1st. If this has been passed by the Board, I would request you to forward same to the Finance Committee National Assn. of C. & L."

To date I have had no reply from you and at a meeting of the Finance Committee of this Association today the question was raised by the members as to when we could count on your check for April and May, and if in the future arrangements could not be made to receive check monthly.

Yours very truly,

By ————————, *Treas.*
Finance Committee, Nat'l Assn. of Commerce & Labor.

EXHIBIT No. 545.

JUNE 22, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec., U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I regret very much that it will be impossible for me to be in New York on Friday, as all arrangements have been made for me to leave at the end of this week for San Francisco with the delegation of the Foreign Language Newspaper publishers to the International Press Congress. I am the Chairman of this delegation, and am now in the midst of the preparation of the address I have been invited to deliver before the Congress.

I understand that all the members of the Finance Committee of the National Association of Commerce and Labor appointed by the U. S. Brewers' Association, including Mr. Keeley are going to New York, and since they are familiar with every matter concerning my organization, all information regarding the same will be available through them.

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 546.

[Govt. Ex. 52, 3/17/16 L. D. S.; from U. S. B. A. files.]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

Receipts and disbursements from date of organization to 30 June, 1915.

	Period ended 31 December 1914.	6 mos. to 30 June 191[illegible]
RECEIPTS.		
U. S. Brewers Association	$330,138.00	.....
Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association	90,000.00	$10,000 [illegible]
Interest	6,277.19	1,[illegible]
Stamps Account	86,539.47	49,[illegible]
Recovered from Fire Insurance	.....	1,[illegible]
" for Rent	.....	1,[illegible]
Texas Reimbursement	4,440.10	.....
Rent (A. P. Daniels)	168.00	.....
Iowa Balance of Expenses Returned	48.75	.....
Illinois Reimbursement	2,021.29	.....
German American Alliance (Iowa)	3,600.00	.....
Sale of Andreae Speeches	300.88	.....
Iowa Brewers Association	1,000.00	.....
Mendelsohn—Stamps Damaged	81.60	.....
Ohio State Organization	.....	6,000 [illegible]
Cuyahoga County Home Rule Association	500.00	.....
	525,115.28	69,902 [illegible]
DISBURSEMENTS.		
Office Expense:		
Telegraph, Telephone and Postage	3,301.87	1,164 [illegible]
Printing, Stationery and Supplies	1,620.56	2,[illegible]
Salaries	79,926.00	28,[illegible]
Light and Heat	764.37	[illegible]
Miscellaneous	26,072.42	6,[illegible]
Traveling Expenses	18,793.34	7,[illegible]
Petty Cash Expenses	243.00	[illegible]
Furniture and Fixtures	4,137.60	417 [illegible]
Publicity Expenses:		
National Model Licence League	4,831.75	4,000 [illegible]
Salaries	6,278.19	4,225 [illegible]
Expense and Postage	4,396.82	3,024 [illegible]
Traveling Expenses	2,646.35	1,245 [illegible]
American Leader	56,005.34	27,736 [illegible]
Telegraph and Telephone	1,228.23	.....
Printing and Stationery	5,133.63	108.60
Organization:		
German American Alliance	35,633.41	7,000 [illegible]
Survey Salaries	13,720.81	3,54[illegible]
Survey Traveling Expenses	16,048.39	5,57[illegible]
Field Salaries	8,821.29	3,87[illegible]
Field Traveling Expenses	6,324.60	2,27[illegible]
Attorneys' Fees	2,703.80	1,88[illegible]
" " Special	2,500.00	.....
Office Salaries	9,397.66	7,420 [illegible]
Office Expenses	467.05	464 [illegible]
Office Traveling Expenses	1,580.85	.....
Organization Expense	1,400.21	.....
Suspense	.....	[illegible]
Stamp Expenses	7,188.70	14,[illegible]
Hans Dipple Expenses	16,100.00	.....
Less—Recovered	1,598.38	[illegible]
Hearthstone Expenses	35,069.50	33,[illegible]
Less—Receipts	6,914.71	8,[illegible]
Percy Andreae Auto Expenses	3,880.12	1,[illegible]
" " Paid	.....	4,[illegible]
Balance Union Trust Co	.....	11,[illegible]
" Continental & Commercial Nat. Bank	.....	45,[illegible]
" Depositors State Bank	.....	10,425 [illegible]
	367,672.77	227,345 [illegible]
SUMMARY.		
Receipts—Period ended 31 December 1914	525,115.28	
" —6 Months ended 30 June 1915	69,902.66	
		595,017 [illegible]
Disbursements—Period ended 31 Dec. 1914	367,672.77	
" —6 Months ended 30 June 1915	227,345.17	
		595,017 [illegible]

EXHIBIT No. 549.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

NOVEMBER 29, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec. U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to your favor of November 26, you may remember that, at the instance of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, my bureau contributed $1,000 a month to the National Model License League with the understanding that its publicity work should be conducted under my direction. I was asked repeatedly to give the League a general letter of endorsement, which it could send out to the trade when soliciting membership, but I always declined to do so, and only wrote Mr. Gilmore a letter confirming the understanding that I was to be consulted on the publicity work. I enclose copy of this letter, which speaks for itself. I know of no other document which Mr. Gilmore or any one representing him could show as coming from me.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 550.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Govt. Ex. 53—3/17/16—S. D. S.)

National Association of Commerce & Labor report for July 1st to December 31st, 1915.

	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total to date.
CASH RECEIPTS.							
Stamp Sales—Brewers, Malsters, Hop Dealers, Mfrs. & Dlrs	$9,277.04	$8,914.93	$8,591.22	$5,467.60	$5,797.21	$7,576.15	$45,624.15
Glass Manufacturers	2,066.58	2,271.54	1,237.80	1,362.95	975.97	1,042.10	8,956.94
Interest on Bank Balance	35.82	110.78	93.81	79.60	86.64	86.35	572.60
Hearthstone	507.20	756.58	586.90	1,084.67	1,315.25	1,145.75	5,396.35
Ohio Home Rule Assn		375.00					375.00
U. S. Brewers' Assn	16,666.66				25,000.00		41,666.66
Rebate Insurance				60.00	496.50		556.50
Donations, Emerson Electric Co., etc		100.00			.70		100.70
Refund, Mr. Andreae		558.66	147.76	44.21	660.00		2,026.42
" Mr. J. Lloyd			200.00				200.00
" W. R. Sweany					70.00		70.00
" E. C. Wendell						75.00	75.00
" Wm. Ellis						2.00	2.00
Total	28,553.30	13,087.49	10,857.49	8,099.03	34,402.27	9,927.35	105,622.32
CASH DISBURSEMENTS.							
Office:							
Salaries, Administration	4,333.33	3,333.33	3,333.33	3,833.33	7,666.66	3,833.33	26,833.33
" Office	1,467.50	1,434.00	1,069.00	802.50	807.83	571.00	5,521.83
Printing and stationery		134.65	11.25	66.34	61.80		276.09
Light, Heat & Rent		13.71	13.17	7.12	65.40	102.65	1,757.65
Office Expense & Repairs	138.99	204.07	88.10	1,407.76	77.06	696.50	2,805.36
Traveling Expenses	1,717.22	1,491.22	144.54	1,062.36	1,117.30	513.65	6,966.89
Telephone & Telegraph		207.27	128.15	63.34	49.14	47.98	495.88
Total	7,657.04	6,818.25	5,287.54	7,242.75	9,845.19	5,765.11	44,657.03
Publicity:							
Salaries	585.00	328.00	678.00	623.00	480.00	300.00	2,994.00
Expense & Postage		107.53	103.28	112.03	101.64	36.61	941.01
American Leader	4,858.66	3,556.28	2,299.37	2,444.96	2,437.33	2,871.69	18,468.29
Total	5,443.66	3,991.81	3,080.65	3,179.99	3,018.97	3,208.30	22,403.30

National Association of Commerce & Labor report for July 1st to December 31st, 1915—Continued.

	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total to date.
Organization:							
Salaries, Office	925.00	240.00	865.00	925.00	1,490.00	925.00	5,370.00
Attorney's Fees	.....	406.71	300.00	300.00	600.00	300.00	2,206.71
Field Traveling Expense	132.13	157.40	352.60	341.00	247.70	.....	1,657.44
Salaries, Field	666.66	666.66	666.66	541.66	1,333.32	416.66	4,291.62
Total	1,723.79	1,470.77	2,184.26	2,107.66	3,671.02	1,641.66	13,525.77
Stamp Account:							
Salaries	2,363.32	1,451.66	1,246.66	916.66	1,176.65	566.66	7,801.61
Expense and Printing	.....	.....	224.00	.....	34.25	.....	231.73
Traveling Expenses	979.73	1,058.54	234.64	367.09	423.33	349.98	3,439.83
Total	3,343.05	3,510.20	1,705.30	1,283.75	1,634.23	916.64	11,473.17
Miscellaneous:							
The Hearthstone	2,619.33	6,725.72	3,520.03	4,699.83	6,492.80	3,633.21	24,548.40
G. M. Hartley	.....	.....	1,151.19	325.00	.....	75.00	.....
German - American Alliance	.....	.....	3,000.00	.....	1,500.00	1,500.00	.....
Petty Cash	.....	.....	.....	10.00	.....	25.00	.....
A. Koenig	.....	.....	274.59	.....	200.00	.....	.....
V. C. Hoover	.....	.....	28.55	.....	.....	.....	.....
L. H. Gibson	.....	.....	300.00	183.52	.....	.....	.....
W. R. Sweany	.....	.....	148.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
Standard Refining Co	.....	.....	.....	20.45	.....	.....	.....
Percy Andreae	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	150.00	.....
Total	2,619.33	6,725.72	8,422.36	5,238.80	8,192.80	5,383.21	24,548.40
Total disbursements	20,786.87	21,516.75	20,680.11	19,052.95	26,362.21	16,914.93	.....

EXHIBIT No. 551.

(Copy of minutes produced on subpœna by Cooper Lyon.)

[Minutes of the Joint Committees of the National Association of Commerce and Labor and the United States Brewers' Association, held at the Chicago Athletic Club, Friday, January 22nd, 1915.]

Those present were: Messrs. Anheuser, Pabst, Landsberg, Keeley, Lilienthal, Berger, Davenport, Andreae.

The question of amending the By-Laws of the National Association of Commerce and Labor to create a Finance Committee with powers to determine and control the expenditures of the National Association of Commerce and Labor was discussed.

It was moved by Mr. Lilienthal and seconded by Mr. Keeley that the following amendment to the amendment as adopted January 15th, be recommended for the approval of the Executive Committee:

"There shall be a Finance Committee, consisting of three members to be appointed by the National Association of Commerce and Labor and three members to be appointed by the United States Brewers' Association.

The Finance Committee shall meet at least once a month or oftener if necessity arises, and shall have full access at all times to the books, accounts and vouchers of the Association.

The Finance Committee shall determine and control the expenditures of the Association."

Motion carried, made by Mr. Pabst and seconded by Mr. Lilienthal, that Mr. Percy Andreae be Chairman of the Finance Committee without a vote.

Motion carried, made by Mr. Lilienthal and seconded by Mr. Landsberg, that Mr. Keeley be Treasurer of the Finance Committee of the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Motion carried, made by Mr. Pabst and seconded by Mr. Berger that Mr. Lilienthal countersign all checks of the Finance Committee of the National Association of Commerce and Labor and act as Secretary of the meetings of the Finance Committee.

Motion carried, made by Mr. Pabst and seconded by Mr. Anheuser, that Messrs. Keeley, Landsberg and Lilienthal be appointed a Committee on Banks to determine whether the moneys of the National Association of Commerce and Labor shall be deposited.

On motion made by Mr. Pabst meeting adjourned.

Meeting of Executive Committee of National Association of Commerce & Labor, held at the offices of the Association, 1136 Transportation Building, Chicago, Friday, February 25, 1915:

The meeting was called to order by President Andreae.

Those present were Messrs. Burger, Ruh, Wehmiller, Tabor, Scarborough, Bartholomay, Lilienthal, Horix, Parker, Roney, Fischer, Andreae and Lyon.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and discussed.

It was moved by Mr. Burger and seconded by Mr. Lilienthal that the following amendment to the Amendment, adopted January 15, 1915, be adopted and made a part of the By-Laws of this Association:

"There shall be a Finance Committee, consisting of three members to be appointed by the National Association of Commerce & Labor and three members to be appointed by the United States Brewers' Association.

The Finance Committee shall meet at least once a month or oftener if necessity arises, and shall have full access at all times to the books, account and vouchers of the Association.

The Finance Committee shall determine and control the expenditures of the Association."

In order to transfer the funds to the Treasurer of the Finance Committee, the following letter was read by President Andreae, and it was moved by Mr. Lilienthal and seconded by Mr. Burger that it be forwarded, properly signed to the Depositor's State and Savings Bank:

"By a resolution of the Finance Committee of the National Association of Commerce & Labor, Mr. Thomas F. Keeley was elected Treasurer of the Committee, and it was ordered that all checks drawn on the funds of the said Finance Committee be signed by the said Thomas F. Keeley, and countersigned by the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. C. J. Lilienthal.

You will please honor all drafts on said account accordingly.

(Signed) PERCY ANDREAE,
Chairman Finance Committee.
THOMAS F. KEELEY,
Treasurer Finance Committee.
C. J. LILIENTHAL,
Secretary Finance Committee."

Motion was carried made by Mr. Roney and seconded by Mr. Burger, that the following be added to Article 7 of the Constitution and By-Laws:

That all members of the Joint Finance Committee shall become members ex-Officio of the Executive Committee.

It was moved by Mr. Lilienthal and seconded by Mr. Burger that Article 3, Sub-Head Membership, of the By-Laws be amended as follows:

Membership shall comprise such organizations as subscribed to the objects and principles of the National Association of Commerce & Labor and are acceptable to the Membership Committee, and each organization shall be entitled to one vote at the annual convention.

It was moved and seconded that Mr. Scarborough's resignation as temporary Treasurer of this Association be accepted with regret.

Mr. Roney moved that the financial statement of the Association be referred to the Finance Committee for approval.

Upon motion made by Mr. Horix and seconded by Mr. Scarborough the amended By-Laws were adopted.

On motion made and seconded it was moved that a copy of the Minutes of the Joint Committee meeting of the National Association of Commerce & Labor and the United States Brewers' Association, of January 22nd, 1915, and a copy of the amended By-Laws adopted at this meeting, be sent to all members.

On motion made by Mr. Lilienthal meeting adjourned.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Association of Commerce and Labor was held in New York City on Monday, January 24th, 1916, in the Imperial Hotel at 8 P. M. There were present:

Mr. Percy Andreae.
Mr. Chas. J. Lilienthal.
Mr. W. V. Hersch.
Mr. J. A. Roney.
Mr. Herman T. Wolf.
Mr. Carl F. Burger.
Mr. Otto Horix.
Mr. H. E. O. Heinemann.
Mr. Fred Wehmiller.
Mr. Edward Landsberg.
Mr. Thos. F. Keeley.
Mr. Harry A. Poth.
Mr. Cooper Lyon.
Mr. Lilienthal Presided.
Mr. Lyon, Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Keeley, seconded by Mr. Roney, and duly carried—the resolution read by the Chairman relating to the action of the Executive Committee of the U. S. Brewers' Association was approved.

On motion of Mr. Roney, duly seconded and carried, Article 7 was amended to read as follows:

"The annual meeting shall be held in the Fall of each year time and place to be designated by the Executive Committee. All meetings of the Executive Committee to be subject to call of the President or on written application of four members of the Executive Committee."

On motion of Mr. Roney, duly seconded and carried, Article 4, Section 3, was amended to read as follows:

"Finance Committee.

There shall be a Finance Committee, consisting of three members to be elected from the National Association of Commerce and Labor at the annual meeting of the Association, and three members to be appointed from the United States Brewers' Association.

The Finance Committee shall meet at least once a month or oftener if necessity arises, and shall have full access at all times to the books, account and vouchers of the Association.

All payments to or for the account of the Association shall be made to the Finance Committee who shall have complete control over all contracts made and obligations assumed of any kind, nature or description and who shall have complete control of receipts and disbursements for or on account of the Association.

The Poll of the Vote being as follows:

Nay—Andreae, Burger, Heinemann.

Yea—Lilienthal, Roney, Wolf, Horix, Wehmiller, Keeley, Landsberg, Poth, Hersh, Lyon.

On motion of Mr. Roney, duly seconded and carried, Article 5, Section 1, was amended to read as follows:

"The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association. He shall, by and with the consent of the Executive Committee, appoint all committees, except the Finance Committee, and be ex-officio a member of all subcommittees except the Finance Committee."

The Poll of the Vote being as follows:

Nay—Hersch, Burger, Horix, Heinemann, Wehmiller.

Yea—Lilienthal, Roney, Wolf, Landsberg, Keeley, Poth, Lyon.

Mr. Andreae thereupon tendered his resignation and vacated the meeting room.

The Chairman addressed the meeting deploring the action of Mr. Andreae—recommending that the resignation be not accepted—and insisted that the members present vote upon the acceptance or rejection of the resignation so tendered.

The Poll of the Vote was as follows:

Nay—Horix, Heinemann, Wehmiller, Landsberg, Keeley, Poth, Lilienthal, Lyon.

Yea—Burger, Hersch, Roney, Wolf.

Thereupon the Chairman instructed the Secretary to inform Mr. Andreae of the non-acceptance of his resignation—and to request a reconsideration of

his action with a view to retaining the position of President of the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

Upon motion the meeting adjourned.

Maj. HUMES. I also offer in evidence exhibits 552 to 644, they being correspondence of the National Association of Commerce and Labor with various persons. This file embraces the data relative to the meetings of brewers in Chicago of February, 1913, where the special 3 cents a barrel contracts were agreed upon.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 552.

(Copy—From U. S. B. A. files.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

JAN. 17, 1913.

Confidential and important.

To the Brewers of the United States:

GENTLEMEN: Recent developments make it clear that the brewers are *approaching a crisis* in their business. In view of *the very grave situation the* Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association has decided to call all the brewers of the country together in a special conference, which is to be held at Masonic Drill Hall, Masonic Building, State Street, Chicago, on Thursday February 20th, at 10 A. M.

Further particulars will be sent you shortly, but we are writing now to impress the importance of this matter upon you, so that you may arrange to send one of the members of your firm (either a partner, or one of the principal officers of your corporation) to represent you at this meeting, without fail.

Please return the enclosed post card to let us know that we may count upon you and if possible, state who will represent you.

I can only say at this time that the meeting is so important to *you*, that you should cancel any previous engagement that may conflict with this date and arrange your affairs so as to be at the meeting, whatever happens.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

Enclosure.

EXHIBIT No. 553.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

Confidential—very important.

JANUARY 27, 1913.

For Brewers Only—NOT for Publication:

Have you answered the Notice of the Chicago Meeting for Thursday, February 20th, 1913? If not, do so at once, and make your arrangements to be present without fail.

The Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association, after due deliberation, believes the situation so serious as to demand an *extraordinary conference* of *all* the Brewers in the United States.

The following are among the matters which threaten our Industry:

NATIONAL PROHIBITION.—RAILROADS AND EXPRESS COMPANIES NOT PERMITTED TO HANDLE BEER.—NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS NOT PERMITTED TO PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS OF ANY ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE.—THE LABOR QUESTION.

This is the situation that confronts us. We ask *you*, is this serious enough to demand your *personal attendance?*

Most of these matters are covered by Bills pending in Congress.

The *national prohibition bill* is offered by Congressman Hobson of Alabama.

The time is now at hand when we must meet these issues.

Petty jealousies and grievances must be set aside.

We must have the active work and influence of every individual brewer.

Will you be in Chicago on Thursday, February 20th?
Please reply *at once* to

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 554.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109 & 111 East 15th Street. President, Jacob Ruppert, jr.; Vice-Presidents—1st, William Hamm; 2nd, Edward A. Schmidt; 3rd, Gustave Pabst; Treasurer, Anton C. G. Hupfel; Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. From U. S. B. A. files.]

NEW YORK, *February 5, 1913.*

LAST CALL—EXTREMELY IMPORTANT.

To the Brewers of the United States:—

In addition to the matters mentioned in our second notice of the Chicago meeting of the brewers of the United States, which is to be held on Thursday, February 20th, there are other and *still more serious matters* to be brought to the attention of every brewer, which it is impossible to dwell upon in a written communication.

For this reason the personal attendance of every brewer who desires to protect his business from complete destruction is imperative.

No brewer, *who is not blind to his own interests*, will fail to attend this meeting.

If you have not yet answered the invitation, please do so *by return mail.* I enclose identification card, which should be presented at the door by the member or officer of your corporation whom you may designate to represent you.

The meeting will be held at Masonic Drill Hall, Masonic Bldg., State Street, Chicago, on Thursday February 20th., at 10 A. M. *sharp.*

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 555.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City. From U. S. B. A. files.]

FEBRUARY 11, 1913.

"LEST WE FORGET"

THE TIME

Thursday, February twentieth 10 o'clock A. M.

THE PLACE

Masonic Drill Hall, Masonic Bldg., State St., Chicago, Ill.

THE OCCASION

National Conference of the Brewers of the United States

THE PURPOSE

Information — Consultation
Organization — *Action*

HAVE YOU ENROLLED?

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 556.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City. From U. S. B. A. files.]

(Confidential—For your personal attention and prompt action.)

NEW YORK, *April 12, 1913.*

Report of the joint meeting of State delegates and the trustees of the United States Brewers' Association, held in New York, April 10–11, 1913.

This meeting was held in accordance with the action taken at the *National Conference of Brewers* which met in Chicago on February 19th and 20th, 1913.

Appended is a list of Delegates and Alternates appointed by the brewers in each state, and of all persons who attended this meeting, together with the committees chosen.

Mr. Ruppert was elected Chairman of the meeting and Mr. Fox Secretary.

It was decided that a National Committee should be organized, consisting of the delegates or their alternates and of the officers and trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association, and that the National Committee for the year beginning April 1st, 1913, should consist of those now appointed, together with the *Officers and Trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association.*

It was resolved that an Executive Committee of Fifteen should be elected, with the President of the U. S. Brewers' Association as a member and Chairman thereof, with full power to transact all business in the interim of the meetings of the National Committee. Annexed hereto are the names of those comprising the Executive Committee of Fifteen.

The President of the United States Brewers' Association was instructed to appoint a Committee of Five at Large on Organization, and a similar committee on Education, of which he should be an ex-officio member, and the following committees were so appointed:

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

James R. Nicholson, Boston, Mass.; Gilbert R. Potts, Newark, N. J.; Adam Ortseifen, Chicago, Ill.; S. B. Fleming, Fort Wayne, Ind.; G. J. Jung, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jacob Ruppert, Jr. (Ex-officio), New York, N. Y.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

John Gardiner, Philadelphia, Pa.; Carl J. Hoster, Columbus, Ohio; Gustave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; E. S. Clauss, St. Louis, Mo.; Frank Fehr, Louisville, Ky.; Jacob Ruppert, Jr. (Ex-officio), New York, N. Y.

At the request of the meeting, Mr. Percy Andreae presented an outline of a plan for the organization of all the existing liberal associations and leagues of the country into a national body, for the purpose of concerted action and mutual support. The plan does not contemplate any change in the present identity of any such association or league, but merely a coalition of all the forces represented in them and the employment of those forces in the attainment of the objects which are common to all, under one leadership. This national organization will be, as this description clearly implies, entirely separate and apart from the brewing industry, and the details of its promotion and maintenance were exhaustively discussed at the meeting.

The Committee of Fifteen is to meet in Chicago on May 1st to take favorable action in regard to the plan above outlined, with such changes or modifications as shall be satisfactory to Mr. Andreae, with the understanding that he will assume charge thereof and devote his entire time to its direction. This is to be entirely separate from and in addition to the work not being carried on by the U. S. Brewers' Association, which will be continued as before and extended as required. It will be necessary to raise an even larger sum of money than was contemplated at the Chicago Conference, and the success of the undertaking depends upon the prompt action of the brewers, in pledging their support. It is therefore urged that the State Brewers' Associations, and the individual brewers in States where there are no associations, be called together at once, so that a full report may be made at the meeting which is to be held in Chicago on the first of May. Each of the delegates and trustees to whom this is addressed, is requested to give it immediate attention, using this report as the basis of the statement they may make to the various groups of brewers when they are assembled.

HUGH F. FOX
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 557.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City. From U. S. B. A. files.]

APRIL 14, 1913.

To the Brewers' of the United States:

This is to inform you that in accordance with the action taken at the National Conference of Brewers, which was held in Chicago on February 20th, 1913, a National Committee of Brewers has been organized, which consists of dele-

gates or their alternates, appointed by the various State Brewers' Associations and by the groups of brewers in those states where there is no State Association, together with the Officers and Trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association.

At a general meeting of the Committee held in New York on April 10 and 11th, 1913, an Executive Committee of Fifteen was elected, consisting of the following:

COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN.

Jacob Ruppert, Jr., Chairman, New York; Percy Andreae, Illinois; J. R. Nicholson, Mass.; N. W. Kendall, Conn.; John Gardiner, Penn.; L. J. Hi... Ohio; L. B. Schram, New York; E. S. Clauss, Missouri; F. Fehr, Kentu... A. Fitger, Minn.; J. Lippman, Utah; Joseph Uihlein, Wis.; Paul Wess... Oregon; R. L. Autrey, Texas; Conrad Mann, Missouri; Hugh F. Fox, S... retary, New York.

Committees were also appointed on Organization and Education as follows:

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

James R. Nicholson, Boston, Mass.; Gilbert R. Potts, Newark, N. J.; A... Oertseifen, Chicago, Ill.; S. B. Fleming, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; G. J. Jung, C... cinnati, Ohio; Jacob Ruppert, Jr. (Ex-officio), New York, N. Y.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

John Gardiner, Philadelphia, Pa.; Carl J. Hoster, Columbus, Ohio; G... tave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; E. S. Clauss, St. Louis, Mo.; Frank F... Louisville, Ky.; Jacob Ruppert, Jr. (Ex-officio), New York, N. Y.

The Executive Committee is to meet in Chicago on the first day of M... and in the meantime the various State Brewers Associations are to meet ... the purpose of considering a plan of action.

This is to urge you to attend the meeting of your State Association whe... is called, and to assure you that the matter is of the greatest and most pre... ing importance, as we are facing a condition that materially affects the w... fare of every brewer in the United States. We cannot go into the matter ... correspondence, but assure you that it will be to your interest to respond ... the call.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX.
Secretary.

Enclosure.

EXHIBIT No. 558.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City. F... U. S. B. A. files.]

APRIL 22, 191...

DEAR SIRS: No doubt you received the Confidential Report of the Nat... Conference of Brewers, which was held in Chicago on February 20th. As result of this Conference, a National Committee has been organized consis... of two delegates from each State, together with our officers and Board Trustees whose duty it will be to extend our educational work as far as ... sible. In the campaign that we are planning, we need the local influen... every brewer in the United States. The crisis that the brewing indus... facing can be turned to good account for the permanent welfare of industry, if all the brewers will stand together and bear their share of work and the expense of the undertaking.

The Executive Committee of Fifteen, elected by this new National C... tee, is to meet in Chicago on May 1st, to plan the work, and in making budget we must know at once what resources we can count on.

May we enroll you as a member of this Association?

Awaiting your prompt reply, I am,

Yours faithfully,

HUGH F. FOX.
Secretar

EXHIBIT No. 564.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER FIFTEENTH, 1913.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
U. S. Brewing Ass'n.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Mr. Chas. J. Lilienthal, of the Bishop-Babcock-Becker Co., of Cleveland, has called our attention to the fact that some years ago you had made up a complete list of all those selling goods to the brewing industry.

We will appreciate it very much if you will please send us a copy of this list.

Thanking you in advance, we remain

Very truly yours,

LMW

EXHIBIT No. 565.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 19TH, 1913.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secty., U. S. Brewers' Ass'n., 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Inasmuch as the card index compiled by you some years ago constitutes supply dealers, merchants, brokers and all people who have any stake in the brewing industry is not in use, I ask that you kindly ship this to me, as from time to time we will have literature with which we want to reach those dependent upon the industry. We will preserve this file, and will return it to you any time requested.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 569.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Form with list attached to whom.)

[Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago.]

JANUARY 3, 1914.

DEAR MR. ———: I urgently request you to arrange to attend a meeting of the leaders of our organizations in the various STATES to be held at these offices at 10:30 A. M. on January 15th, for the purpose of laying out the work to be undertaken in the Congressional Districts of the country.

The matters to be discussed and considered are:

1: The general complexion of the present Congress in relation to the question of prohibition.

2: As it is expedient to take the vote on the Webb-Kenyon Bill as a basis upon which to found conclusions as to the attitude of representatives and senators on the question of national prohibition, a careful analysis of the votes cast for and against that measure has been prepared; and the following questions will be discussed:

(a) How many of those voting "Aye" or "Nay" on that bill have been re-elected, and how are these expected to stand on the question of nation-wide prohibition?

(b) What is the attitude, if known, in your particular State of the new members of the House or Senate regarding the nation-wide prohibition question?

3: What are the known conditions relative to liberal or anti-liberal sentiment, and the possibilities of awakening and organizing the former in those Congressional districts which are at present represented by pronounced "Dry" congressmen.

4: The selection of men from our own industries in each State to act as the local representatives of my organization and to keep in daily touch with its investigation and organization work in each state.

I need scarcely emphasize the extreme importance of your being present at this meeting and bringing with you such data as you may already possess bearing upon the questions that are to be discussed. It is not the intention to call upon you to attend more than this one meeting, and if you should be able to decide at once whom you will select as the person in your state to act there in conjunction with us, I suggest that you have him accompany you, so that we may confer with him in greater detail when the meeting has completed its labors.

I may mention, for your private information, and with especial reference to the plan of organization, which I outlined on October 3rd, last, that the German American Alliance has now perfected arrangements for really effective organization all over the country, under national auspices, in conjunction with our general plan of organization; that the labor unions directly interested in our cause are preparing to conduct their campaign among all labor unions in conformity with the policy outlined at our headquarters; that the foreign language press, through its national association, with a membership of over 600 newspapers, having a circulation of over seven million, is starting a carefully prepared educational campaign which has been so outlined as to assist and promote our organization work, and that, last, not least, the National Association of Commerce and Labor, consisting of the thousands of firms depending upon our industry, has perfected methods for raising the additional funds needed for the successful prosecution of all this work, which methods merely require the co-operation of the brewing and distilling industries to become automatically effective.

The enlisting of the co-operation, in this general scheme, of the retailers of the country, is the only task yet to be accomplished in order to render the general organization complete, but I shall have the privilege of addressing the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association on this subject at its forthcoming convention in Washington, on which occasion I have no doubt, from my knowledge of the leaders of that organization, that I shall secure the most enthusiastic and intelligent co-operation of that large and influential body and its constituent organizations in the various States.

I take this opportunity to inform you that all organizations affiliated with us throughout the country have been, and are being, called upon by this office to enter emphatic protests in Washington against the Works, Shepard, and Hobson resolutions, and to do this both by petition and by individual letters and telegrams.

In this connection, it will interest you to learn that I am in receipt of information to the effect that the National German-American Alliance has placed itself in communication on this subject with every German newspaper, every state branch and sub-branch of the Alliance, and every German society and club in the country, and that from those sources alone the National Alliance estimates that at least four million protests will shortly reach the Congress in Washington. The same activity is in preparation in labor union and other circles.

Please inform me by return mail whether I can rely upon your presence here on January 15th, and whom, if anybody, you decide to bring with you to the meeting.

Very truly yours,

I am very anxious to have the benefit of General Crow's knowledge and experience at this meeting, and if you could prevail upon him to accompany you, I would very much appreciate it.

EXHIBIT No. 570.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. President, Edward A. Schmidt. Vice Presidents—1st, Gustave Pabst; 2nd, Louis B. Schram; 3rd, John Gardiner. Treasurer, Gustav W. Lembeck. Secretary, Hugh F. Fox. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *Jan. 19, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Pursuant to the Uihlein resolution passed at the last Trustees' Meeting in New York, to the effect that the President is to be kept informed of all work going on in educational and organization work, I would ask whether anything was done at the meeting held in your office last Thursday relative to the *several suggestions that were discussed at such length* at the meeting referred to.

I would appreciate your early reply.

With kindest regards, I am, very truly yours,

EDW. A. SCHMIDT, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 571.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy of letter and copy of petition; no list.)

JANUARY 23RD, 1914.

Mr. EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
U. S. Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: I have just returned from Ohio and find your favor of January 19th.

At the meeting held here on Thursday, January 15th, there were forty-four representatives of the brewing and distilling interests from sixteen states present, and the situation in every congressional district in these sixteen states and several others adjoining them was discussed in detail, with more particular reference to the possibilities of securing liberal representation from these districts as indicated by the attitude of the voting population on the subject of the wet and dry question within each district itself.

The information obtained, according to the expressions of all present, was considered of great interest, and in order to act upon it with the best possible effect, a man was designated, or agreed to be designated, in each state to act in conjunction with this office in carrying out such organization work in the districts selected as further investigation of the apparently favorable conditions existing in them may render advisable.

I regretted very much that owing to other engagements the representatives of our industry in New York and Pennsylvania who were invited to this meeting could not attend, so that the information bearing upon the conditions in these states was not at hand and no action could be taken towards preparing for organization work in them.

The matter of the circulation of protests against the Hobson, Sheppard and Works resolutions was likewise discussed and a form of protest agreed upon, copy of which I enclose. This form has been sent with the enclosed letter to all organizations actively engaged throughout the country in prosecuting this work.

The States represented at the meeting were: California; Connecticut; Illinois; Indiana; Iowa; Kentucky; Massachusetts; Michigan; Missouri; Minnesota; New Jersey; New Hampshire New York; Pennsylvania; Ohio; Wisconsin, and Nebraska.

Very truly yours,

PA/W

EXHIBIT No. 572.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. NAC&L.)

[Western Union; Night Letter; Theo. N. Vail, President. Received at Corner Jackson Boulevard and La Salle Street, Chicago, Always Open.]

NEW YORK, *Jan. 27, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Your letter January twenty third received; note you have sent form or protest to all organizations for signatures; are these petitions to be held subject instructions from me in accordance with UIHLEINS resolution or are various organizations forwarding them to Congressmen independently; if the latter this should be stopped.

EDWARD A. SCHMIDT, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 573.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Tel. by M. W., 1/29/14, 5:55 P. M.)

[Western Union; Night Letter; Theo. N. Vail, President. Send the following Night Letter, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.]

JANUARY 29, 1914.

EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
President U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

Have conferred with Uihlein on your telegram and am authorized by him to say he made it clear at Trustees' meeting that his resolution contemplated nothing of the nature you indicate. If policy is insisted on of making my work subject to direction and consent and thus completely nullifying distinct understanding under which I undertook it I shall be in duty bound to confer with other friends who are also vitally interested in this work who know of understanding agreed to and at whose urgent request I consented to carry out the task I am endeavoring to accomplish.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 574.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union; Night Letter; Theo. N. Vail, President. Send the following Night Letter, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.]

FEBRUARY 3, 1914.

EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
United States Brewers Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.

Your letter received with enclosed copies of telegrams. Regret extremely that resolutions should have been misinterpreted. I discussed with Fleming the brevity of resolution and likelihood that it might be misunderstood. I therefore in debate preceding adoption pointed out, and I thought clearly, that it was not my intention to have propaganda of Andreae revised by Association before action, but that in important matters you should confer so that executive heads, meaning yourself and Andreae, should be apprised of one anothers doings. A resolution calling for censorship could not in my judgment be adopted at any time. It would not be in accord with terms of Andreae employment. Even Crain and other executive heads in appealing to Association pleaded Andreae should be given carte blanche to render work effective. Furthermore let me add with apologies because I do not wish to be misunderstood that I can see no possible harm flowing from introduction of petitions although some congressmen object to being deluged. Such tactics are best practice everywhere. It is precisely the sort of work Crain pleaded for years should be resorted to in times of stress.

JOSEPH UIHLEIN.

EXHIBIT No. 578.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY ELEVENTH, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Your favor of February 5th.

My understanding is that the National Association of Commerce and Labor has as its members most of the Manufacturers' and Dealers' Associations of the country. It has an Executive Committee on which all the leading Associations are represented, and at a meeting of this Committee held in Chicago about two months ago a basis of assessment of the membership was recommended which met with the approval, of all but one member of the Committee.

The carrying out of this suggestion, however, depends on the co-operation both of the brewers and those who supply them. In Chicago the brewers favor it, and have signified their intention to carry it into effect. In New York, I understand there is opposition on the part of the Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association. But what the attitude of the brewers of New York State is I do not know. I wrote quite extensively to several of the leaders in the New York State Brewers' Association on the subject some weeks ago, but have received no reply.

Under the circumstances it is rather difficult for me to advise what should be done in the matter of the associate membership in our national organization.

Very truly yours,

_____.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. N. A. C. & L.)

[Western Union; Night Letter; Theo. N. Vail, President. Received at Corner Jackson Boulevard and La Salle Street, Chicago, Always Open.]

MAY, 1914.

F 364 P 26 NL, GA Philadelphia Pa 25.

PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Mich. Ave., Chicago, Ills.

Answering your letter of nineteenth will meet you in company of Gardiner and Crain at fifty Union Square New York City Thursday morning next eleven fifteen o'clock.

EDWARD A. SCHMIDT.

EXHIBIT No. 588.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. N. A. C. & L.)

[Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Telephone Douglas 7225.]

JANUARY 9, 1915.

Mr. E. A. SCHMIDT,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: A meeting of the joint Committee of the U. S. Brewers' Association and the National Association of Commerce and Labor was recently called to meet here, when the following situation arose. As I understand from Mr. Landsberg, both he and Mr. Pabst decline to serve on the Committee unless the members appointed by the National Association of Commerce and Labor are the same men who appeared as a committee before the Board of Trustees in New Orleans in order to learn what the views of that Board were concerning a working agreement to be arrived at between the two Associations.

Inasmuch as that committee consisted of four members and the committee to be appointed as a permanent conference committee is to consist of three members from each body it was impossible to have the committee of four act as a committee the membership of which is confined to three.

So far as I could learn from Mr. Landsberg, his particular objection is that a brewer should be a member of the committee appointed by the National Asso-

EXHIBIT No. 593.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. N. A. C. & L.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

FEBRUARY 12, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: At the meeting of the Board of Trustees which was held yesterday, the resolution was passed unanimously instructing the President to appoint a committee of seven, with himself as ex-officio, to be a subcommittee of the Board of Trustees, and to be called the Executive Committee, for the purpose of investigating all the work now being done by the Publicity, Educational and Organization Bureaus, for the purpose of securing unity of action and greater efficiency and a reduction of expenditures. This committee is instructed to report to a special meeting of the Board of Trustees to be called by the President as soon as possible.

The Resolution contemplates the retention of this Committee for the purpose of deciding all future work to be undertaken, and all moneys to be expended, subject to the Board of Trustees. I am instructed to request you to present a complete statement to the President at the earliest possible moment, in regard to the following matters:

1. Your actual obligations for 1915. This should include:

(*a*) Rent, salaries, office expenses, and other administrative charges. In connection with the members of your staff, kindly state in detail their names, duties, qualifications, salary, and term of employment.

(*b*) Your contractual obligations to other organizations, such as the German-American Alliance, Louis Hammerling, and others, with whom you may have outstanding agreements.

2. In addition to these actual liabilities already incurred, a statement showing the minimum amount required for the conduct of the work that you consider either necessary or of special importance during the current year, with particulars as to the cost of each suggestion separately.

3. A statement of the funds that will be available for the conduct of this work from other sources than the United States Brewers' Association.

In making this report will you please bear in mind the fact that the beer sales show a very large decrease, which will reduce our income materially, and that we have also lost approximately one million and a half barrels in the States that have gone dry during 1914. No doubt, the present industrial depression will make collections unusually slow, so that strict economy is necessary.

Requesting your prompt action in this matter, I am,

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD.

EXHIBIT No. 596.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *Feb. 19, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing draft of proposed letter regarding the National Association of Commerce and Labor. In changing or adding to it, will you please bear in mind these points:

1. The letter must be of such a character that it could safely be made public property.

2. The Eastern brewers are not willing to attach the stamps themselves, but will, I believe, co-operate if this is done by the dealers and manufacturers.

During the discussion of the matter at our Trustees' meeting, Mr. Nagel stated that the Buffalo brewers have a local system which they are operating for their own benefit, and have been collecting $8,000 a year in this way, for their local publicity work, but they are willing to drop this, and have the funds sent to the National Association of Commerce and Labor, if the matter is taken up in a national way, with the endorsement of the U. S. B. A.

I take it that all the N. A. of C. & L. wants from us is a formal notice of endorsement, and that it will follow this up in its own way, as it sees fit? Awaiting your reply, I am,

Yours very truly, H. F. Fox.

EXHIBIT No. 600.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Received Mar. 15, 1915.
Answered.
Confidential.

MARCH 12TH, 1915.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: At a meeting of the Board of Trustees held on the 11th of February, a resolution was adopted endorsing the National Association of Commerce and Labor's plan of raising funds for the maintenance of its educational work, by means of special stamps to be used by mutual agreement between the brewers and those from whom they purchase goods. It must be clearly understood that the operation of this plan is conditional upon the voluntary consent of the merchant or manufacturer with whom the brewer does business, and that it must be a matter of mutual understanding. The particulars may be obtained by applying to—

The National Association of Commerce & Labor, 1132 Transportation Building, Chicago, Illinois.

Our Board of Trustees recommends that these stamps shall be affixed by the merchants and manufacturers to their bills, but that it should *be the duty of the brewers to see that this is done.*

The National Association of Commerce and Labor will now take this matter up with the various State and Local Brewers' Associations, as well as with individual brewers, in their own way. We trust that you will give it your prompt consideration, and request your cooperation.

Yours very truly, HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 609.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.—Copy.)

[The James Hanley Brewing Company, Providence, R. I.]

MAY 26, 1915.

HUGH F. FOX, Esq.,
Secy. U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: For your information, we wish to inform you that the only concerns that attach stamps of the National Association of Commerce and Labor to invoices that we receive are those from Wm. Rahr Sons Co. and the Milwaukee-Western Malting Co.

The above is in connection with your confidential letter of March 12th.

Yours very truly,

THE JAMES HANLEY BREWING CO.,
SPENCER H. OVER (signed)
General Manager.

SHC/S

EXHIBIT No. 611.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *June 4, 1915.*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE & LABOR,
Transportation Building, Chicago, Ill.

Attention Mr. Percy Andreae.

GENTLEMEN: A number of brewers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York have called our attention to the fact that representatives of the National Association of Commerce and Labor have called on them to solicit them to buy the stamps issued by your Association.

I am instructed to recall to you the Resolution passed by our Board of Trustees on the eleventh of February, which provides that the stamps shall be affixed by the merchants and manufacturers, to their bills, but that it should be the duty of the brewers to see that this is done.

The President wishes me to say to you that the solicitors of the National Association of Commerce and Labor should be instructed accordingly, and that their missionary efforts should be directed to the members of the allied trades rather than to the brewers.

It is suggested that your Association should notify the brewers from time to time of the arrangements that have been made with specific industries and trades, as well as with individuals. If, for example, the Crown Cork and Seal Company can be induced to come under the Stamp Plan, a letter might be sent to all brewers notifying them accordingly, so that they might see that the stamps are affixed by the said company upon presentation of their bills.

The President wishes that you would take the matter up at once, with your solicitors, and if necessary, would recall them, so that they may be thoroughly instructed as to their procedure in the future.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD

EXHIBIT No. 613.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. N. A. C. & L.)

JUNE 14, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
30 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I have your letter of June 4th regarding the matter of the stamps.

Let me explain how we have proceeded and ask Mr. Schmidt to give consideration to the difficulties we have encountered in presenting the stamp scheme both to the manufacturers and the brewers.

First, if you will refer to your own letter to the brewers, you will find that you informed them that the Board of Trustees *recommended* that the stamps should be affixed by the manufacturer, and that this Association would communicate with the brewers individually. You also lay specific stress in the first part of that letter upon the necessity of the brewer coming to a mutual understanding with the manufacturer before the stamps can be used. Indeed, it is solely through the medium of such understanding that the arrangement can be perfected.

Each one of our men has had with him a copy of this letter, and also a letter from me to the brewing trade explaining the whole plan and referring in particular to your letter to the brewers with instructions to use these letters as the basis of the negotiations. As far as I can rely upon the reports I have received, these instructions have been strictly carried out.

In New Jersey, for instance, Mr. Feigenspan requested that he should himself take up the matter with the other brewers of the State, so that all might act uniformly along the line recommended by the Trustees, and I am informed that, in deference to his wishes, no other brewer was seen there.

Elsewhere some brewers have declared that they preferred to affix the stamps themselves, and in one case our man was flatly informed that the brewer in question would have nothing to do with the stamps unless he could affix them himself. You will readily see the difficulty arising in such cases. We could hardly refuse to supply the stamps in such instances on the ground that the Board of Trustees had provided "that the stamps *shall* be affixed by the merchants and the manufacturers," as Mr. Schmidt's instructions now read, for we would be seeming to impute to the Board of Trustees that it intended to leave the individual brewer no liberty of action in the matter, which would surely not be placing a correct construction upon your original letter embodying the resolution of the Trustees.

In Philadelphia, Mr. Sweany informs me that he had two meetings with the Manufacturers Association to sell the stamps to the Association. But it was decided by the Association that its members would first agree among each other what percentage each trade should pay, and then take up the matter with the State Brewers Association. And there the matter has rested until today, when I received a letter from the Manufacturers Association asking, first, whether we could give them special stamps, second, whether we would allow a discount to pay for the distribution, and, third, requesting to have a copy of our schedule classification of the various trades and their respective stamp assessments.

I have instructed Mr. Sweany to see the Association again, though he tells me that he has answered all these questions in person.

I am most anxious to comply with anything Mr. Schmidt or the Board of Trustees desires in this matter, but I can assure you that the plan of operating the stamp scheme through the manufacturers and dealers is fraught with insurmountable difficulties, just as we found it to be the case in the Western territory. All I am working for is to make the plan successful, and unfortunately that is impossible wherever the brewer and the manufacturer can not be induced to arrive at a mutual agreement, as your own letter so admirably suggested.

If, under the circumstances, Mr. Schmidt desires me to cease operating in the three States mentioned, I will do so. But I earnestly hope he will not. In every locality we meet with different views and conditions, and if we are compelled to insist upon the compliance with one man's, or one body of men's, views as to the method of procedure, it is evident that we can make no headway.

Yours very truly,

_____ _____.

EXHIBIT No. 616.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.—Copy.)

[The National Association of Commerce and Labor, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Telephone Douglas 7225.]

NEW YORK, *June 28th.*

THE NATL. ASSN. OF COMMERCE & LABOR,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago.

GENTLEMEN: I am instructed by the Executive Committee to inform you that they recommend that in order to prosecute the stamp plan, proper schedules be prepared, showing the amounts agreed upon with the various classes of merchants and manufacturers in regard to their respective materials, and that these schedules should be sent by you to all the brewers in the United States.

In accordance with the previous resolution of the Board of Trustees the Executive Committee desires me to notify you that in all States where the practise of affixing stamps has not been introduced, and successfully carried out already, the stamps should be affixed by the merchants, manufacturer or dealer; but that in those States where the brewers have been in the habit of affixing the stamps themselves, this practise should be allowed to continue.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX (Signed)
Secretary

HFF/ED

EXHIBIT No. 611.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1857 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *June 4, 1915.*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE & LABOR,
Transportation Building, Chicago, Ill.

Attention Mr. Percy Andreae.

GENTLEMEN: A number of brewers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York have called our attention to the fact that representatives of the National Association of Commerce and Labor have called on them to solicit them to buy the stamps issued by your Association.

I am instructed to recall to you the Resolution passed by our Board of Trustees on the eleventh of February, which provides that the stamps shall be affixed by the merchants and manufacturers, to their bills, but that it should be the duty of the brewers to see that this is done.

The President wishes me to say to you that the solicitors of the National Association of Commerce and Labor should be instructed accordingly, and that their missionary efforts should be directed to the members of the allied trades rather than to the brewers.

It is suggested that your Association should notify the brewers from time to time of the arrangements that have been made with specific industries and trades, as well as with individuals. If, for example, the Crown Cork and Seal Company can be induced to come under the Stamp Plan, a letter might be sent to all brewers notifying them accordingly, so that they might see that the stamps are affixed by the said company upon presentation of their bills.

The President wishes that you would take the matter up at once, with your solicitors, and if necessary, would recall them, so that they may be thoroughly instructed as to their procedure in the future.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD

EXHIBIT No. 613.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. N. A. C. & L.)

JUNE 14, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
30 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I have your letter of June 4th regarding the matter of the stamps.

Let me explain how we have proceeded and ask Mr. Schmidt to give consideration to the difficulties we have encountered in presenting the stamp scheme both to the manufacturers and the brewers.

First, if you will refer to your own letter to the brewers, you will find that you informed them that the Board of Trustees *recommended* that the stamps should be affixed by the manufacturer, and that this Association would communicate with the brewers individually. You also lay specific stress in the first part of that letter upon the necessity of the brewer coming to a mutual understanding with the manufacturer before the stamps can be used. Indeed it is solely through the medium of such understanding that the arrangement can be perfected.

Each one of our men has had with him a copy of this letter, and also a letter from me to the brewing trade explaining the whole plan and referring in particular to your letter to the brewers with instructions to use these letters as the basis of the negotiations. As far as I can rely upon the reports I have received, these instructions have been strictly carried out.

In New Jersey, for instance, Mr. Feigenspan requested that he should himself take up the matter with the other brewers of the State, so that all might act uniformly along the line recommended by the Trustees, and I am informed that, in deference to his wishes, no other brewer was seen there.

Elsewhere some brewers have declared that they preferred to affix the stamps themselves, and in one case our man was flatly informed that the brewer in question would have nothing to do with the stamps unless he could affix them himself. You will readily see the difficulty arising in such cases. We could hardly refuse to supply the stamps in such instances on the ground that the Board of Trustees had provided "that the stamps *shall* be affixed by the merchants and the manufacturers," as Mr. Schmidt's instructions now read, for we would be seeming to impute to the Board of Trustees that it intended to leave the individual brewer no liberty of action in the matter, which would surely not be placing a correct construction upon your original letter embodying the resolution of the Trustees.

In Philadelphia, Mr. Sweany informs me that he had two meetings with the Manufacturers Association to sell the stamps to the Association. But it was decided by the Association that its members would first agree among each other what percentage each trade should pay, and then take up the matter with the State Brewers Association. And there the matter has rested until today, when I received a letter from the Manufacturers Association asking, first, whether we could give them special stamps, second, whether we would allow a discount to pay for the distribution, and, third, requesting to have a copy of our schedule classification of the various trades and their respective stamp assessments.

I have instructed Mr. Sweany to see the Association again, though he tells me that he has answered all these questions in person.

I am most anxious to comply with anything Mr. Schmidt or the Board of Trustees desires in this matter, but I can assure you that the plan of operating the stamp scheme through the manufacturers and dealers is fraught with insurmountable difficulties, just as we found it to be the case in the Western territory. All I am working for is to make the plan successful, and unfortunately that is impossible wherever the brewer and the manufacturer can not be induced to arrive at a mutual agreement, as your own letter so admirably suggested.

If, under the circumstances, Mr. Schmidt desires me to cease operating in the three States mentioned, I will do so. But I earnestly hope he will not. In every locality we meet with different views and conditions, and if we are compelled to insist upon the compliance with one man's, or one body of men's, views as to the method of procedure, it is evident that we can make no headway.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 616.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.—Copy.)

[The National Association of Commerce and Labor, 3357 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Telephone Douglas 7225.]

NEW YORK, *June 28th.*

THE NATL. ASSN. OF COMMERCE & LABOR,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago.

GENTLEMEN: I am instructed by the Executive Committee to inform you that they recommend that in order to prosecute the stamp plan, proper schedules be prepared, showing the amounts agreed upon with the various classes of merchants and manufacturers in regard to their respective materials, and that these schedules should be sent by you to all the brewers in the United States.

In accordance with the previous resolution of the Board of Trustees the Executive Committee desires me to notify you that in all States where the practise of affixing stamps has not been introduced, and successfully carried out already, the stamps should be affixed by the merchants, manufacturer or dealer; but that in those States where the brewers have been in the habit of affixing the stamps themselves, this practise should be allowed to continue.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. Fox (Signed)
Secretary

HFF/ED

EXHIBIT No. 619.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

AUGUST 16, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX.
Sec. U. S. Brewers' Assn., 50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: At a meeting of the joint Finance Committee held on Friday, August 13. the following resolution was passed and ordered to be communicated to you with the request that it be submitted to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

"That the Joint Finance Committee recommend to the Board of Trustees that it modify the resolution passed at its last meeting regarding the affixing of the discount stamps of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, by leaving it optional with the individual brewer in all territories whether he or the manufacturer and dealer shall affix the stamps."

I earnestly hope the Board of Trustees will see its way to accede to this recommendation of the Finance Committee. as the daily accumulating experience of this office is that results can be obtained in no other way.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 620.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. N. A. C. & L.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

Sept. 21, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing copy of a letter, dated the 20th, from the Old Colony Brewing Company of Fall River, Mass., together with the copy of Ex-Governor Foss' attack to which reference is made. I take it that you have anticipated legal questions of this sort arising? Will you kindly, therefore, let me hear from you promptly so that I may advise Mr. Haffenreffer what course to pursue?

Very truly yours.

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF/W
Received Sep. 23 1915. N. A. of C. & L.

EXHIBIT No. 621.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.—Copy.)

[Old Colony Brewing Company.]

FALL RIVER, MASS., *Sept. 20, 1915.*

HUGH F. FOX, Esq.,
U. S. Brewers' Ass'n., New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: I find that Eugene N. Foss, on September 15th, in Worcester made an attack upon the Old Colony Breweries Company of which the following is a partial copy.

I would like to know if we are the only brewers in Massachusetts that are putting these stamps on our bills, and also if other brewers in Massachusetts are sending out similar letters.

You can find a copy of this speech in the Boston Evening Record of September 15th, 1915.

Awaiting your early reply, I am, with kindest regards,

Yours respectfully,

OLD COLONY BREWERIES CO.,
R. F. HAFFENREFFER, Jr. (signed)
Treasurer.

P. S.—I would not be surprised to be summoned before the grand jury on account of affixing these stamps and deducting these amounts from the bills.

as I have heard an inkling to that effect. In case this is so, and I should be summoned, will you kindly advise me just what my stand should be in connection with the questions that may be asked of me, during such a hearing, as I am not very familiar with the workings of the association for which we are affixing the stamps. Any information that you may give me will be appreciated.

EXHIBIT No. 642.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. N. A. C. & L.)

NOVEMBER 15, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec. U. S. Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: In reply to your favor of the 9th inst., which came during my absence from the city, I received and accepted an invitation extended to me four weeks ago to address the Business Men's League of St. Louis on December 8. Mr. Hoehler has been informed of this, and of the subject on which I am going to speak, and is satisfied that this address will meet the case.

In this connection I would ask you to bear in mind that arrangements are under way to have me deliver similar addresses before commercial bodies having for their object the arousing of the business man to the danger involved in the present confiscatory trend of legislation. These invitations are being extended to me as the spokesman of the organized foreign language press, and if I were to appear at the same time as a representative of the brewing industry championing the specific cause of anti-prohibition, it is manifest that my appearance before these commercial bodies would no longer be welcomed. I believe, and I think Colonel Pabst agrees, that an organization of the business men generally against freak legislation and interference with business rights and business property is the most effective form of propaganda against prohibition, and you will therefore readily understand how anxious I am that what I have been endeavoring to build up in this direction should not be destroyed or jeopardized by having me stamped as a so-called "wet" speaker.

Yours very truly,

There is also offered in evidence Exhibits 661 to 717, inclusive, they being from the files of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, with reference to the political activities of that association and those of the alliance with it in Texas.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 661.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

JANUARY FIFTH, 1914.

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,
Houston Ice & Brewing Co., Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. AUTREY: We had expected to hear from you before this as to whom you had selected to conduct your campaign in Texas.

The reports from your state are coming in very rapidly, and it is essential that they should not be permitted to accumulate too far in advance of the analysis, but that such analysis should be made as rapidly as possible so that they may be put in the hands of your campaign manager for campaign purposes.

We presume that by this time you have some definite idea, if you have not made your permanent arrangements, as to who will be in charge of your campaign affairs in Texas. If you have such knowledge at the present time we think it will be very desirable if you can have your campaign manager accompany you to Chicago so that you may be here next Monday, January 12th.

It might not be amiss for you to bring the young man who has been conducting your poll tax campaign along with you and your campaign manager, as the reports ,which we now have in our office will undoubtedly prove of great inter-

est to him in acquainting him with the headway made in the more populous counties as to the number who have qualified as electors.

The reports very plainly show that the sentiment against the continued agitation of the prohibition question is becoming more pronounced throughout the counties which have been investigated, and points rather plainly to the character of campaign which should be made in your state. The point has almost been reached where consideration should be given as to who should be nominated for Governor, who would be in sympathy with the plan of campaign to be decided upon and carried out. It is hardly necessary to remind you that every day's time now must be taken advantage of so that your forces will be fully prepared for the campaign with which they will be confronted in your state, for it must be as apparent to you as it is to us that the opposition to your interests are going to leave no stone unturned to precipitate a submission of the question in the form of a constitutional amendment, or what would be worse still in the form of statutory prohibition.

Mr. Andreae left the city this morning to be gone the balance of this week, but will return to Chicago some time next Sunday, or at least not later than Monday morning. He has appointments already made for the 14th and 15th, and it is for this reason that I suggest that you try to be here so that we may take up and thoroughly discuss Texas matters next Monday and Tuesday, the 12th and 13th.

As I recall, Messrs. Morgan and Koehler left entirely in your hands the decision as to your campaign manager, but I presume that you have conferred with them upon the subject and that you are fully prepared to have whoever you have selected co-operate with us in mapping out and following the plan of campaign to be decided upon.

I do not know how to more strongly impress the necessity for early action and an early conference with us than I have expressed in the preceding paragraphs of this letter. It will be our own fault if the enemy takes us unawares, and so far as the work is concerned from this end we are fully prepared to see that such advantage is not placed in their hands.

If you could leave Houston on Friday afternoon, bringing with you the men who are to accompany you, you could be in Chicago Sunday morning and even if Mr. Andreae is not in the city we could take up a discussion of affairs in your state preliminary to his return, when the conference could be continued.

Hoping that you will be able to come and bring with you the gentlemen whom you have decided to conduct your campaign, I remain, with wishes to you of a very Happy and Prosperous New Year,

Very truly yours,

(GIBSON.)

LG/MW

EXHIBIT No. 662.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

JANUARY 23RD, 1914.

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,

C/o Houston Ice and Brewing Co., Houston, Texas.

DEAR MR. AUTREY: Confirming my talk with you over the long distance 'phone, Mr. Andreae will expect you in Chicago February 3rd. As I said to you over the 'phone, he expects to leave here on the 6th, and by your arrival on the date indicated will be able to give the consideration to matters in your State to which they are entitled.

As I said to you, we will have in our office by that time, reports from one hundred and twenty-two Counties, covering 69% of the population of your State, and we believe that the data contained in these reports will show you the thoroughness of the campaign contemplated by Mr. Andreae's plan.

This is also to confirm my suggestion to you over the 'phone that we have a very competent man who can take charge of the campaign in the State of Texas, and develop the plan of organization which will be suggested based upon the data which we have secured.

I realize the importance attached to the poll tax matter, and agree with you fully that it is the foundation of any campaign which might be made in the State.

The next assignment of counties to be sent to the men in Texas consists of one hundred and five, leaving twenty-two counties for final investigation, this

making the total of two hundred and forty-nine Counties in the State. From this you will see that our prediction that the first assignment of the more populous Counties could be completed by from the 15th to the 25th of January, has been borne out. We are fully expecting to be able to cover the second assignment by the first of March.

The remittance requested by Mr. Hartley so that no delay would be occasioned in the work going forward in your State has not yet reached him, and I presume that you are attending to this matter, from what you said to me over the telephone. It is highly important that there be no delay along this line, as you can readily understand that the movement of the men with the greatest degree of facility is very essential.

With very kind personal regards, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

LEWIS GIBSON, Zanesville, Ohio.

G : P

EXHIBIT No. 663.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Rawlins M. Colquitt, Houston, Texas.]

FEBRUARY 21, 1914.

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON: I acknowledge receipt of yours of February 18th, enclosing the analysis of the Sixth Senatorial District together with the analysis of Dallas County as it applies to the four representatives.

Yours very truly,

R. M. COLQUITT.

FEBRUARY 24, 1914.

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
3357 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON: I acknowledge receipt of analysis of the Seventh Senatorial District and of the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-ninth Representative Districts.

Yours very truly,

R. M. COLQUITT.

EXHIBIT No. 644.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Letter from L. H. Gibson. Texas files.]

FEBRUARY 19, 1914.

Mr. R. M. COLQUITT,
303 Beatty Building, Houston, Texas.

DEAR MR. COLQUITT: I am herewith enclosing you analysis of the Seventh Senatorial District, copy of which is to be attached to Camp County, the first County of that District, and also House Legislative analysis for Smith County, which is to be attached to the report of the County, and of Van Zandt County, which is to be attached to the report of that County.

Sincerely yours,

G : P.

EXHIBIT No. 665.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Rawlins M. Colquitt, Houston, Tex.]

FEBRUARY 24, 1914.

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
3357 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON: I think the German Alliance and the Moose Organizations ought to begin at once to spread their influence over a wider area, and

at the same time make more compact their present organizations. If you have any friends, or influence, with the authorities in either instance, I will appreciate it very much if you will get in touch with them and if they have any organizers that are to be in Texas in the next few days I would like very much to talk over matters with them.

I will be in Houston all of this week at 301 Beatty Building, but can be found next week at the Oriental Hotel in Dallas, and I would appreciate meeting these parties at either place. Please advise me when I may expect them.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Yours very truly, R. M. COLQUITT.

EXHIBIT No. 666.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Rice Hotel, Homer D. Matthews, manager.]

HOUSTON, TEXAS, 3-28-14.

DEAR GIBSON: Nothing new has developed in the situation here up to this writing.

Our people have come to the conclusion to get behind Ferguson and as he seems to be the strongest man available there is nothing to do but to clear the field and center our support on him.

He spoke here last night and made a very good impression. He is alright with labor and the Germans here will support him.

I am going to San Antonio to-night and get the sentiment from all sources at that point.

In a talk with Colquitt to-day I gathered that the situation in the legislative line up at the present time was 56 Anti 55 Pro. and 31 doubtful in the lower House. Of the 31 doubtful he figured that the Antis would get 16.

The Senate in his opinion would be 16 Anti 15 Pro. He based his figures on the information he could gather from county and district leaders.

The Pros. filed their petition to-day with the necessary 24,000 signers which will place the question of submission on the ballot at the July primaries.

You can send my mail as usual as I have arranged here for forwarding.

Yours, etc.,

C. H. W.

EXHIBIT No. 667.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M. Texas file.)

MARCH 4, 1914.

Mr. R. M. COLQUITT,
301 Beatty Building, Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. COLQUITT: We are sending you by parcels post to-day, reports of the Counties which we were not able to give you when you were here.

This shipment of reports covers every County investigated by our men in your State. I am enclosing you a statement showing list of Counties, the reports upon which you carried with you when you left here Feb. 15th, and in the last column, a list of County reports which we are sending you by parcels post to-day. These are sub-divided into Districts, as you will observe by the list, and the list also contains notations as to special reports upon individuals which are being included in this shipment. It also covers a notation as to the Counties which were cut out by yourself and Mr. Autrey, as not necessary to investigate.

Won't you kindly check the reports as set forth in the enclosed list and see whether it covers fully the reports of all the Counties which we were to investigate in Texas?

Awaiting your acknowledgement of the receipt of the reports and your verification of the statement herewith enclosed, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

LHG: P

EXHIBIT No. 668.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

MARCH 6, 1914.

Mr. R. M. COLQUITT,
301 Beatty Building, Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. COLQUITT: I desire to thank you for your very kind letter of March 2nd calling my attention to an error in connection with the Medina County report.

By referring to the report we find that our investigator must have inadvertently placed the name of Mr. Garner as the representative from that Flotorial District. It is apparent that this was a clerical error for the reason that by referring to the Uvalde County report you will find that our investigator has Hornby down as the representative from the Flotorial District of which Medina County is a part. You will also find attached to the Uvalde County report a special report upon Mr. Garner, and by reading it you will notice that he is covered as being the Congressman from the District of which Uvalde and Medina Counties are a part. From this you will see that the investigator possibly became confused in referring to his notes and placed Garner in the representative class.

I am very glad that you called this slight error to my attention, as it only goes to give me greater confidence in the reports because it shows that at least the investigators were human.

I note also what you say concerning the report on Palo Pinto County, in which the investigator says that there are no prominent foreign elements. We are making a notation upon our report in conformity with the information which you give us, to the effect that there are approximately 1,000 Italians in the County with a voting strength of 300.

I am especially glad to see that you are giving these reports such close scrutiny and I can only assume, in view of the fact that but two of them were slightly incorrect out of the large number you have before you, that the information obtained by our investigators must be in accordance with the information which you have so completely at your finger tips.

Again thanking you for your kindness, and beginning to assure you that we appreciate any suggestions of any kind, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

LHG: P

EXHIBIT No. 669.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Rawlins M. Colquitt, Houston, Texas.]

MARCH 2, 1914.

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
3357 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. GIBSON: Referring to report on Medina County, in the answer to question 91 and subsequent questions, John H. Garner is the Congressman from that district, and not a candidate for the Legislature.

Also referring to report on Palo Pinto County, there are approximately 1000 Italians in the county with about 300 voters.

Yours very truly,

R. M. COLQUITT.

Incorrectly in Medina Uvalde report has Hornby Special on Garner shows plainly that he is Congressman.

None prominent.

EXHIBIT No. 670.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

MARCH 23, 1914.

Mr. R. M. COLQUITT,
301 Beatty Building, Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. COLQUITT: This will introduce to you Mr. Charles H. Wirmel, who has been assigned by the National German-American Alliance to carry forward the work of organization with the German elements in Texas.

Mr. Wirmel is entitled to your fullest confidence, and the officials of the German-American Alliance have found him of extreme value in building up their organization.

Mr. Wirmel is being sent into your State upon my request to the National Alliance in response to your letter to Mr. Gibson some two or three weeks ago.

Hoping that you may have excellent success in the campaign confronting you, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

PA : P

EXHIBIT No. 671.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

MARCH 23, 1914.

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,
Houston Ice & Brewing Company, Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. AUTREY: This will introduce to you Mr. Charles H. Wirmel, of whom I wrote you under date of March 21st.

As I stated in my letter to you, Mr. Wirmel is entitled to your fullest confidence, and as a representative of the German-American Alliance, will be able to render you very valuable services not only along the lines of organization with that element, but through his active experience in politics will doubtless be able to serve you along such general lines as you may desire to utilize his services.

Very truly yours,

PA : P

EXHIBIT No. 672.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *Apr. 2nd, 191*.

Mr. E. S. CLAUSS,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Yours of Mch. 31st. received.

If Mr. McDermott has told you of conditions here then you are informed up to the date of his visit to Houston. The political map changes here not only daily, but hourly. When the Antis followed the example of the Pros, and called for precinct primaries in order to nominate a candidate to oppose Thomas H. Ball by the Elimination process, there were three strong Antis in the field:—Speaker Terrell, of San Antonio, Clarence Ousley, of Ft. Worth, and Sam Sparks, of Austin.

When Mr. McDermott was here Terrell and Ousley had withdrawn, and Sparks has withdrawn since, leaving the field clear to Jas. E. Ferguson, of Temple. Today a very important event occurred when Bryan T. Barry, of Dallas, Chairman of the Anti-Prohibitionists, announced that the primaries for the selection of a candidate will not be held, because the Elimination process expected to be accomplished, is now a fact, making the Primaries and Convention unnecessary.

I am sorry to say that there is discussion in our own lines about the wisdom of stopping the holding of the Convention, but it takes a firm hand a determined purpose to shape the course of events. I feel that I am right in having pitched the fight under the auspices of the farmers, and that the chances for success are very much greater than they could be under any other plan.

The situation is now critical, having reached the season when the standard bearers have been named and their respective sources of relative strength defined.

The Prohibition candidate, Colonel Thomas H. Ball, of Houston, has the undivided support of the political Pros, who include all the preachers of the Protestant churches, and the strict membership of the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian Churches. He also has nearly all the big corporate interests, including railroad officials and officers and salaried men of corporations.

Mr. Jas. E. Ferguson, of Temple, has not pitched the fight along Anti-Prohibition lines but has pitched it along the lines of peace on the liquor question for four years, his liquor plank being very brief, stating simply that he will veto any liquor legislation of any sort, whether originated by a Pro. or an Anti. His support consists of tenant farmers, small farm owners, and the entire membership of the Labor Unions, including railroad and industrial workers. It is expected that the large land owners and large farm owners, including the cattle men, will support Ball. The class of voters that is left out, and for which both candidates must fight, is the trading business man and merchant class, and whichever of the two candidates gets this class wins the fight.

The business men herein referred to as constituting the vote to be sought are meant to include that numerous class of such that are not church members. If this analysis is accurate then Ferguson has largely the advantage and should win by a large majority.

Another issue which is beginning to loom up in the fight is the famous Bailey issue. It looks now like the fight will largely be aligned on Bailey and Anti-Bailey ground, and if so Ferguson will get the Anti-Bailey vote and Ball will get the Bailey vote in North Texas, whilst the entire vote in South Texas will be out solidly behind Ferguson, because the Bailey issue has never been a burning one in South Texas.

I do not want to appear optimistic but believe that the synthesis of the case is here properly presented, and that therefore a favorable outcome is a reasonable expectation.

Our efforts in the direction of electing a majority of both branches of the legislature have been constant, in fact much more attention has been paid to that work than to the Governor's race. I am hopeful of success.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 673.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *Apr. 2nd., 1914.*

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
3357 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: The fight is on in the bitterest and most intense way, and events succeed one another so fast that one can not be off watch for one hour.

I presume you are following the fight by reading two or more Texas papers, and are informed. Today the Convention of the Antis has been called off and we have finally gotten down to Ferguson as our candidate.

I am enclosing copy of letter I am writing to Mr. Clauss.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 674.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Rice Hotel, Homer D. Matthews, Manager.]

HOUSTON, TEXAS, *April 5th, 1914.*

DEAR GIBSON: I returned this morning after a week's trip through the counties of Gonzales, Guadalupe, Bexar, Comal, Travis, Williamson and Bastrop; these are the leading counties in what is known as "little Germany."

The State headquarters of the Herman Sons, German Alliance and the Catholic Central Verein are located at San Antonio in Bexar County. Several of the State labor leaders are also located here.

The sentiment in this section, as stated before the Ft. Worth meeting was called off, would favor the man endorsed at that meeting. What the conditions are there now can only be surmised.

From information I gathered (and I had no difficulty in obtaining it as they were all eager to talk) in Austin, Travis County, from the leading Germans and labor men, the situation is all but encouraging as far as Ferguson the Anti Candidate is concerned.

This was a strong Sparks section and they look upon his withdrawal as a frame up and since the meeting has been called off they seem more than convinced that such was the case.

The labor men were strong for Sparks but I think they can be lined up for Ferguson. Their legislative committee will wait on the leading candidates and ascertain their views on certain labor measures before any decided action is taken in the gubernatorial matter.

The Germans in Austin are wrought up over Ferguson's farm tenant ideas. Of course this comes from the landowners, whose sentiments are voiced by the "Wochenblatt" a weekly which circulates extensively among the Germans in Travis, Williamson and Bastrop Counties. Mr. Preankman the editor was strong in his criticism of the Antis and their failure to arrive at any fixed policy. He does not give expression of these views in his paper but he is openly opposed to Ferguson's land tenant plank. Judge Rogan, Ex-Gov. Sayres, Chairman of the Compensation Commission and Maj. Littleford, a leading banker, all of Austin and all Antis, are for Ball for Governor.

In Williamson County, mostly all German, there is some unrest as they were mostly for Sparks. Peter Shram party leader here told me he has the job of his life to keep Sam. Sparks from coming out openly for Ball. This is the only county I found where they were looking after the legislative end of it. They have an Anti and an Anti for the flotorial whom they claim can beat the two pro-incumbents.

In Bastrop County I met Rep. Rodger Byrne and while he was telling of the many virtues of the Ferguson platform, the folly of the Antis in looking for information in wet territory and giving the assurance that Bastrop County would give Ferguson a majority upwards of 500, he was suddenly interrupted by one Burleson a pronounced Anti and a distant kin to the Burleson of national fame, who, while declaring his intention to vote for Ferguson, was willing to bet that the latter would be the worst licked man that ever ran for Gov. of Texas.

These are merely incidents but in the aggregate they are factors that must be reckoned with.

I determined to come back here at once and take the matter up with Autery. I might have exceeded my authority in putting it to him as strong as I did but he took it in the right spirit. I told him from what I had gathered, and that in territory where the Anti forces should, at the very least, be united, and be guided by some fixed policy, that our cause was lost; that if an election were held at this time Ferguson would be defeated by an overwhelming majority and that unless something was done at once to get the county organizations in line and convince them that we were trying to get to some fixed policy here at headquarters, we might as well throw up the sponge. He agreed that the situation was bad and pleaded that he was carrying the entire burden, that no one else identified with the industry was active in the work. Mr. Colquitt also came in for mild censure as he (Autery) "didn't think he was as active as he ought to be."

To make matters worse a handful of "leading Democrats" are going to get together on the day appointed for the Ft. Worth meeting, and announce Ousley as the real dyed in the wool Anti. What Mr. Colquitt and Senator Watson who is his associate in the directing force of the Antis, are going to do to offset this, I am unable to say, as I could not locate them today. Colquitt has gone to Austin and the Senator is out of the city.

Autery asked me to go to Beaumont, Orange and Pt. Arthur to get a line on the senatorial matter in that, the 14th District, the candidate announced is according to Autery, a light weight and cannot win. I haven't been able to get any inside information from Colquitt and I doubt very much whether he has any as Watson is by far the shrewder of the two but aside from declaring his undying faith in nominating Ferguson, says very little.

I may be somewhat previous, since the election is a long way off and many of the wrinkles may be ironed out by that time, but I cant help but notice a marked lack of energy in the directing force of the Antis.

I will follow Autery's suggestion and look after the senatorial and the legislative end of it, as that and a hot fight against submission is our only salvation at this stage of the game. Please drop me a line and let me know if you want me to go ahead as suggested above.

Write or "night wire" me care of the Rice. Will be back here about Wednesday.

C. M. W.

EXHIBIT No. 675.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Letter from L. H. Gibson.]

APRIL 6, 1914.

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,
Houston Ice & Brewing Co., Houston, Texas.

DEAR MR. AUTREY: I thank you for your letter of April 2nd, with its attached copy of the letter you wrote to Mr. Clauss.

It seems to me that you have made a very able analysis of the condition existing in the State, and one that impresses me as being based upon the conditions which prevail there, so far as I can determine them upon the face of our survey of the State, and the newspaper articles which I have read from time to time relating to the progress of the campaign in Texas.

I think it was very wise to call off the elimination convention, especially in view of the fact that the elimination actually proceeded without the necessity of such a convention.

I hope you will keep us informed from time to time of the progress of affairs in your State, as you must realize that we are very much interested in seeing them develop along the right line.

Very truly yours,

LHG: P

EXHIBIT No. 676.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *Apr. 11th., 1914.*

Mr. C. H. WIRMEL,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 8th. duly received.

I am sorry I missed you because I am very anxious to know what you found in the 14th. district,—I mean the Beaumont district.

I know all about Mr. King, of Nacogdoches, and how Mr. Saenger regards him. There are reasons why he should not be the selection, but we may have to take him.

The Governorship situation continues so all-absorbing, and will so continue until the 14th., and probably thereafter, that everybody, including myself, neglects the senatorial districts and I had hoped you would give four senatorial districts your undivided attention.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

Box 37, Houston, Tex.

EXHIBIT No. 677.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *Apr. 17th., 1914.*

Mr. O. H. WIRMEL,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 15th. received and note contents very carefully. I am placing your letter in the hands of Mr. Colquitt. An effort will be made by our friends to have the candidacy of J. E. Ferguson endorsed by Texas Federation of Labor at El Paso meeting next June and names of all the parties in your letter will be valuable to attain that end.

I would like very much to hear from you with information as to the result of your trip to the Beaumont district. I understand Mr. Gibson keeps a file of Texas papers and presume you are following the Texas fight and know of the smashing to pieces of the Constructive Democrats meeting at Ft. Worth. The field is now clear and the race is between Ball and Ferguson, and every friend of Ferguson must now get busy to go to work.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 678.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

APRIL 22, 1914.

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,
Houston Ice & Brewing Co.,
Houston, Texas.

DEAR MR. AUTREY: Your favors of April 11th and 17th were handed me on my return here today.

In my letter to you of April 8th I thought I fully covered the situation as I found it in the Beaumont District.

I called upon Mr. Sanger as you suggested, and after discussing the senatorial situation in that district Mr. Sanger was of the impression that Mr. Steve King was the strongest available candidate and the only Anti able to make a creditable showing in the Northern part of the District. Mr. Sanger was certain the Mr. King would sweep the Beaumont section, but was in doubt about Port Arthur.

I visited Port Arthur and found that the sentiment among a large number of the labor men favored the present Senator, Mr. Collins, whose strength among this element was due to his activity in helping bring about the passage of the Workmen's Compensation law. On the other hand, I learned that there were a number of men employed at the plants of the Texas and Port Arthur Refineries who were dissatisfied with the workings of the Compensation law and who might be induced to change their views on Collins. I mentioned this matter to Mr. Sanger on my return to Beaumont, and he suggested that at the proper time someone prominent among the labor people accompany Mr. King to that section of the district, as he was of the opinion that a move of this kind would help very materially in bring about Mr. King's election. Mr. Sanger insisted that I bring this matter to your attention on my return to Houston, and I was under the impression that the facts in my letter fully emphasized the conditions above set forth.

I note in your letter of the 11th you were under the impression that I would be able to give my undivided attention to four senatorial districts. Do I understand from this that it is your desire that I return and give my attention to this line of work?

Mr. Andreae is deeply interested in the progress and ultimate outcome of your work in Texas, and is desirous of assisting along the lines of organization agreed upon at the time of your visit here.

Mr. Gibson keeps a file of clippings from the Texas papers, and we are pretty well posted on the progress of affairs in your State. We note that the issues now are clearly drawn between Ball and Ferguson, and it now behooves all the Antis to put forth their united efforts to nominate Mr. Ferguson for Governor.

With best wishes for success, I remain,
Very truly yours,

CHW:

EXHIBIT No. 679.

[The Adolphus, owned and operated by The Dallas Hotel Company; Alvah Wilson manager.]

DALLAS, TEXAS, 5-4-14.

DEAR GIBSON: In making the rounds of the labor organizations here I find the sentiment overwhelmingly in favor of the Antis and naturally for Ferguson. Have started an "executive" committee of representatives of the Cigar makers, Cooks, Waiters, Musicians, Brewery workers, Engineers, and State employees here and we have now a substantial nucleus to work with. Have laid down a system of organization whereby they will be able to spread out and take in representatives from other unions. The two organizations who will most likely balk are the printers and the carpenters.

Mr. R. B. Stickley of the Cigar makers International union was sent here by Mr. Perkins from Chicago and he has instructions to stay in the State until the middle of July. He is thoroughly schooled in this line of work and puts up an able and convincing argument in his Anti discussions which he

always argues from a labor viewpoint. Met him at the Building Trades Council just 35 minutes after he landed here. Met him the first time however in Ohio in the stormy days of 1908 and 09 and on several occasions since when he would call at Columbus.

Called at Ft. Worth yesterday and found conditions among the labor people in good shape. Met Mr. Weeden of the Texas Brew Co. who sends his compliments to Mr. A. and warm expression of appreciation for the interest taken in the Texas situation. Aside from the Ferguson Club in existence there he is now forming an organization from the business and professional people which with the activity among the labor element ought to produce the desired results at the polls. The increase in poll tax payments amounts to something like 6,000 which ought to insure the election of the Anti Senator who claims he can give a good account of himself in that part of the district outside of Ft. Worth.

Received a letter from A yesterday in which he commented on the convention proposition and the "danger of sending too many delegates" as "this campaign is pitched on lines departing entirely from the old system." If that implies that some of the votes will not be on the floor of the convention why we will have to get along as best we can. Am of the opinion that we can put it over regardless of what Austin does in the matter as we have reports on Austin, San Antonio, Ft. Worth, and Dallas which practically insure success.

No doubt the suggestions previously made to him were submitted to the inner circle at Houston.

As we have an able corps of experienced labor men going down with the delegation to El Paso I may go on Friday night as we received word from our friends there that the advance guard of the Pros is on the ground.

If you desire to wire me at El Paso you can reach me care of the Sheldon Hotel which will be the convention headquarters. Will return here Saturday or Sunday 13th or 14th of the month. Will have mail held here until my return here.

Will keep you posted on the progress of the work at El Paso.

C. H. W.

EXHIBIT No. 680.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Western Union Night Letter.]

HOUSTON, TEX., *May 7th, 1914.*

Mr. LOUIS GIBSON,
3337 So Michigan Ave, Chicago, Ills.

A is agreed on your plan of meeting any requirements Sorgels investigations may suggest. Will confer tomorrow with entire group on best method of carrying on work. In the four districts they have selected they rely entirely on your reports. Want balance of data. Letter follows.

W.

1237A8

EXHIBIT No. 681.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Rice Hotel, Homer D. Matthews, Manager.]

HOUSTON, TEXAS, *5-8-14.*

DEAR GIBSON: In discussing the situation with A. yesterday I told him, as you suggested, that we wanted a clear understanding as to whether the service we had rendered so far was of any value, whether any further service was desirable and whether the plans suggested in carrying on the German propaganda was satisfactory to him. Also made plain our disappointment in not hearing from him occasionally on the progress of the work in Texas, since Mr. A. and his entire staff at Chicago had given their best effort in preparing the preliminary work for the campaign in Texas and were deeply interested in the final outcome.

In reply he said that the work done at the Chicago end was perfectly satisfactory, that they were relying entirely on the county reports we had furnished them, that the names of leaders and others given in the reports had proven so accurate, that they prepared their mailing list from same; this having been verified by men who were called in and conferred with from many parts of the state.

When told that the analysis of several districts had not been sent in, he stated that he was aware of that, but as they were following the suggestions in a general way, which were given in the reports at hand, he did not want to hurry us as he was of the opinion that we had our "hands full." He said however, that he would appreciate the complete data on the State. As to our suggestion of carrying on the work which is to be undertaken by Sorgel, he is perfectly agreed and will furnish the necessary material support when advised by Mr. A. to do so. When told that Mr. A. would be immediately advised of his concurrence in our plan he reiterated his former statement of being in full accord.

He was keenly disappointed in not having met Mr. A. or yourself at a meeting which was held in St. Louis on Thursday April 30th which was attended by McD. of N. Y. and the representatives of the A. B. interests of St. Louis and had for its principal purpose the perfecting of plans in meeting the Texas situation.

Had he known it in advance he would have wired you to meet him there. He seemed disappointed at the outcome of the meeting and beyond admitting that it was the unanimous opinion of the gathering, that the situation here was a bad one, he could not be induced to give any details. I told him of a previous talk with McD. here in which the latter said that, "the boys here have the situation well in hand" but aside from a negative shake of the head I could get nothing further from him. Told him also that it was the policy of the Chicago office to be represented on all occasions when requested to do so and that the absence of either Mr. A. and yourself was in all probability due to the fact that you had no knowledge of the meeting. Suggested also, that since he had lost 5 days going to St. Louis it might have been to his advantage to lose another day by going on to Chicago, since Mr. A. would have been glad to meet him. If you think it advisable send me a night letter on this. His actions indicate his suspicions of "a nigger in the woodpile" and I want to set him right as far as our end is concerned.

Sorgel has gone on to San Antonio and no doubt will be in his element as the *environments* there are in full accord with his Teutonic tastes and *hereditary* inclinations.

We are "feeling" out the delegates of the Farmers Union who are in convention here and the sentiment among whom is in keeping with that expressed in the enclosed clipping.

As the entire group here is busy along these lines we wont be able to get together on anything until tomorrow. There are many new angles in the situation which have developed since I was here which I will discuss tomorrow. Received your letter, the usual mail and the package from Cin, which contained my "labor commission" and the paraphanalia as an A. F. L. organizer.

Yours etc.

C H W

EXHIBIT 182.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Rice Hotel, Homer D. Matthews, Manager.]

HOUSTON, TEXAS, *5-8-14*.

DEAR GIBSON: Our people are making preparations for the meeting at Dallas next Tuesday which will be attended by picked men from all over the State and will have for its purpose the perfecting of a plan to defeat the submission question at the primaries. It seems to be the opinion in many quarters that this proposition is doomed to defeat. That seemed to be the opinion of quite a number of Pros. whom I met at the Farmers convention. On the other hand again some of the delegates were sadly disappointed with Ball's "elastic" views, as they termed it, which he gave out in his opening speech. This of

course applied to his declarations on the Pro. question and this sentiment was expressed by Pros. who looked upon him as the lesser of two evils.

While this may lose him some Pro votes he will more than make up the loss by his gains from the Antis, all the prominent leaders of which are practically in the Ball band wagon. Ferguson is making an energetic campaign, delivers two speeches a day and apparently is gaining support. But he isn't getting the necessary publicity through the press. Ball with his one or two efforts per week gets more newspaper attention than Ferguson with his dozen or more meetings. This however does not discourage Ferguson who, as Autery declares is building up a good working organization in every county in the State and as it will be impossible for him to cover the entire State his interests are being looked after by his following in their respective counties.

Another feature which has crept into this campaign and which, while not appearing on the surface, is gaining ground as the campaign advances, is the Bailey question.

Nearly all of the prominent Bailey men are lined up with Ball. Of course this does not include Wolters or Jonathan Lane, but they are about the only prominent exceptions. Those on the inside know where the Governor stands, but they fear that a declaration on his part will do more harm than good. He, no doubt, having his weather eye open for higher political honors, is content to remain silent.

State Senator T. H. McGreagor of Austin has been taken in by Colquitt and Watson and is assisting in an advisory way in carrying on the work. The program at this time is to elect Ferguson, defeat submission and get control of the legislature. To succeed on the legislature end it is their purpose to center the fight in four senatorial districts. The districts under consideration are the 6th, 9th, 14th, and 30th. This has not been definitely decided but will be within the next few days. Haven't as yet had the opportunity to go over the reports on the matter in question, and don't think it advisable as they seem desirous of assuming all responsibility. Have looked into the labor situation and aside of the fact that they have decided on the man from Austin who was mentioned in my report and a man here in Houston of their own selection, no decided action has been taken. While no doubt, these men are fully capable and wield considerable influence in their respective districts, the importance of the 14th Dist. in which Beaumont and Pt. Arthur are located, seems to have been overlooked, that is, from the labor end. At San Antonio they seem to be depending upon the brewery and German influence to bring about success as the labor end has been entirely dropped by the managers here. Where the rumor started that the El Paso State Labor Convention would endorse Ferguson, I have not as yet been able to ascertain, since, from what I could learn from the labor men here, there is no possibility of the convention taking sides on the gubernatorial question. Will have a better opportunity to-morrow of meeting A. and getting into the "gut fat" of the matter. (Pardon my reference to the classics (?).)

These people may have it right and may come out successfully, but I haven't been able, as yet, to see how they are going to do it.

Yours Etc.

C. H. WIRMEL.

EXHIBIT No. 683.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.—Copy.)

[Western Union Day Letter. Theo. N. Vail, President. Send the following Day Letter subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.]

MAY 11, 1914.

To CHARLES WIRMEL,
Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas.

Have just read your letter to Gibson. Please tell Autrey I was never informed of meeting in St. Louis, and though I saw both McDermott and Gardiner three days ago in New York, where Texas situation was discussed not a word was breathed to me regarding said meeting, or what occurred there.

ANDREAE

EXHIBIT No. 684.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *May 13th., 1914.*

Mr. L. H. GIBSON, *Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: I have today written a letter to Mr. Jno. Gardiner, reviewing the situation as it has developed since my last letter to him, and I am sending you copy herewith.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY

EXHIBIT No. 685.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *May 13th., 1914.*

Mr. JNO. GARDINER, *Philadelphia, Pa.*

DEAR SIR: The Governor's race is suffering for want of publicity, because of the attitude assumed by the Colonels, who control the daily papers. I refer to Col. R. M. Johnston, of the Houston Post, Col. Clarence Ousely, of the Ft. Worth Record, and Col. W. J. Wortham, of the Star Telegram, of Ft. Worth,—the Bailey men who have in the two first instances declared out and out for Ball, and the latter, who is sulking. The Galveston Dallas News is also in a sulking attitude.

All of the big dailies in the State seem to be in a combination to give no publicity to the candidates, especially denying space to Ferguson. All these Anti-Prohibitionists have declared themselves strongly against submission, however, and I consider it likely they will devote much space in their papers to a fight against submission, in order to square themselves with their past records as Anti-Prohibitionists, and to prevent the loss of prestige to their papers consequent upon their sudden change of heart.

The fight against submission has opened up by organizing yesterday at Dallas, as you will see by enclosed clipping of the Dallas News.

Hon. Barry Miller, of Dallas, has been chosen as permanent Chairman of the Anti Resubmission Organization, and Mr. Rollin M. Colquitt is Secretary. By the selection of Mr. Colquitt we have complete control of the organization and can direct its movements. Active steps will be taken now to organize the entire state and although we have only seventy days left the material is so readily at hand that we anticipate no trouble. This organization will of course be a Ferguson organization and will do as much or more work towards electing Ferguson than defeating submission.

The chances to elect not only the necessary one third to defeat submission, but a majority of both branches of the legislature continue very favorable.

The work of the Farmers' Union is proving the effective means in the legislative fight. We have twenty three normally Prohibition districts where the candidates have aligned themselves with the Farmers' platform, and fourteen other normally Prohibition districts in which some of the candidates, and the ones likely to be elected, have also declared for the Farmer's Platform. The President of the Union, W. D. Lewis, and three of the most capable and aggressive Farmers' Union lecturers are candidates themselves for positions in the House, and will be elected beyond peradventure, and their presence in the body of the House will insure that their policy of peace in the matter of liquor legislation throughout the meeting of the legislature will be assured.

It would not do to only elect the men and then rely upon them to carry out the Farmers' policies, without being urged while the legislature is in session. There is an annual meeting held by the Farmers' Union every year and this year the meeting was held at Houston and came off last week. The attendance was the largest ever known,—about 1200 men. I had them sounded carefully from many angles, so as to be sure to ascertain the sentiment among them correctly, and learned that they were for Ferguson in the proportion of six to one for Ball. I take it as an assured fact that the tenant farmers and the small land owning farmers, and even quite a number of the landlord farmers are for Ferguson. I am also further confirmed in the information that the Railroads and Industrial Unions are for Ferguson, with a unanimity more pronounced than has ever been known in previous campaigns in this State.

The Bailey issue is daily becoming more prominent and I look for it to take the center of the stage now quickly, being forced into the campaign by the defection of the Bailey Colonels, Anti-Prohibitionists who have gone over to Ball. The situation is ideal for a vigorous and pungent staff writer, to show the alignment of the big corporate interests and Bailey and also the newspapers and politicians aligned with Ball, and on the other side the Farmers, Labor Unions, and the small business men aligned with Ferguson. Many are the staff writers in Texas, of whom I learn there are none for Ball, but on the contrary, all warm supporters of Ferguson, but who cannot write anything because their papers will not let them, to lay the situation bare before the people, and turn the tide of publicity toward Ferguson and get back all those followers of Ball who have climbed with him because they believe he is driving the band wagon.

Another clipping enclosed taken from the San Antonio Express gives you a good idea of how the declaration of Bailey for Ball is viewed. The San Antonio Express clipping should be brought by you, if you can do it, to the notice of Mr. Burleson, and I believe it will urge him more to make a declaration for Ferguson than any other force. It is very important to get an interview from Mr. Burleson as quickly as possible.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

Believe we will finally adopt Ferguson. He seems to be gaining ground.

(Rawlins M. Colquitt, Houston, Texas, Superintendent of Agents, The Guarantee Life Insurance Co.)

EXHIBIT No. 687.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

RICE HOTEL,
HOUSTON, TEXAS, *5–13–14*.

DEAR GIBSON: Mr. A's wire was received and while A, after being apprised of its contents, fully appreciated the intent of the Chicago office to do the right thing as far as Texas was concerned, he could not understand why the other parties had not asked you to be present. He said he had made repeated attempts to get you on the phone that Thursday night, but as he called after office hours his efforts were futile.

The anti-submission meeting which was held at Dallas yesterday was attended by close on to fifty representatives from every senatorial district in the State. Very flattering reports were made at this gathering regarding Ferguson who was reported as gaining ground in all sections. Especially was this the case from the farming sections in the northern part of the State, where his tenant plank, which has now become the paramount issue among the farmers generally, is meeting with universal approval regardless of the sentiment on the prohibition question.

The representatives from the southern section report but few desertions from the Ferguson ranks and they further claim that the accessions of anti leaders to the Ball ranks will have no bearing on the rank and file, who will assert their anti convictions by voting for Ferguson.

Those who came from the railroad towns, claim that his early experience in practical railroad work and his declarations in favor of the "full crew bill," has won for him the favor of the railroad men.

The meeting was composed principally of those who were active in the 1911 State-wide campaign and, after electing Miller as permanent chairman and Colquitt as secretary, a chairman was selected for each district with authority to organize the counties and precincts along anti submission lines.

Have seen Mr. Walters and discussed at length the entire situation. He was very much enthused over the outlook and confident of Ferguson's success.

While the latter isn't getting the newspaper attention which is usually given a gubernatorial candidate, the reports received by Mr. A. show that the meetings are well attended. This is accounted for by the fact that the farmers, who at this season are not particularly busy, have the time to attend meetings and hear the candidate.

He is accompanied by experienced campaigners some of whom act as an advance guard and arrange the preliminaries in true Johnsonian style. This, of course, minus the tent. Aside from this, Pres. Hexthausen of the Herman Sons, is conducting a speaking campaign among the Germans particularly in the close counties. While the Germans are known to be right they must be roused to activity.

This is particularly the case among some of the German Alliance people which Sorgel intimates in the brief report I received from him. Apparently he was not very favorably impressed by Mr. Moeller.

The State Saengerbund which is safely estimated at being over 99 per cent anti, held its annual fest at Dallas, and its membership, being as strenuous, engrossed in alternately chanting their hosanahs and lubricating their vocal organs, could but vigorously nod an affirmative approval, of anything and everything that savored of a Ferguson or Anti flavor.

In a recent report I suggested that the balance of our reports which included the analysis of the counties and districts of Texas should be forwarded here.

My only reason for doing so was to safeguard ourselves in the event of defeat and a possible come back. While they are using all the information contained in the reports it is my firm opinion that they pay little or no attention to the analysis.

Mr. A. and I have repeatedly called their attention to the importance of giving some attention to those elements of organization other than political, and particularly the labor end.

They in turn, according to my knowledge of men, have made a studied effort to avoid the consideration of this matter, always giving one reason or another as an excuse for doing so.

After making three futile attempts to have them consider the matter I informed Mr. A. that my services here were done. That if they did not want to give the matter any consideration, it was only fair that they say so. He then for the second time unbosomed himself and ripped Colquitt up the back right. He showed me into an inner office and pointed out the work he was compelled to do on his own hook, on account of the indifference and inactivity of Colquitt. The work was of a publicity nature and was run out as boiler plate among a chain of country newspapers, and purported to be coming from a source which would have the right influence. He enjoined the strictest confidence and was more fearful of Watson and Colquitt learning of it than anyone else. This work is done at the brewery and under cover. He urged me to stay and let him what assistance I could in looking after the labor end and other matters that may arise. I told him, that pending other instructions from Chicago I would gladly be at his service, but since those gentlemen had assumed the selfish attitude of ignoring both he and I, we could not be expected to assume any responsibility for the final outcome of the Texas situation. He concurred fully on this viewpoint and again requested that I stay on those conditions.

With that understanding we went went to work and secured the service of a prominent labor man in north Texas who has headquarters in Dallas and will give his entire time to the campaign. I am going over to Beaumont tomorrow to get the work started there.

They've determined on centering the senatorial fight in the three districts which include Dallas, Ft. Worth, and Beaumont.

I have given you a general outline of affairs as they exist in the state at large and a brief statement of the facts as to the inner workings here in Houston.

It is evident that the relations between A. and the other parties aren't of the best, but for some reason they seem to hold the whip hand. The campaign being so far advanced it would hardly be possible for him to break with them without getting hurt.

It might be just barely possible that other influences are responsible for the attitude of these gentlemen towards us.

I will return here about the end of the week. Should you desire to alter the course as outlined above you can wire or write me here. As I will be busy with detail matter you may not hear from me unless something important develops.

Yours, etc.

CHW.

EXHIBIT No. 688.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

RICE HOTEL,
Houston, Texas, 5-24-14.

DEAR GIBSON: Returned last night from Beaumont and Pt. Arthur where arrangements were made with the labor men to look after one end of it. Was compelled to make an extra trip over there in order to accompany the Senatorial candidate Mr. King and get him in touch with the union men. His opponent, Collins, being very strong in the southern end of the district. The conditions there are in keeping in every detail with reports from that district which are on file at the office.

The Pros. of Beaumont are circulating a petition asking for local option. This has started the antis to work in earnest as they fear the influence of the two big refining plants located there. Held a meeting of the Houston delegates to the El Paso labor convention here today. The line up here is about 4 to 1 (favoring the antis). As the convention will be held in the farthest extreme of the state a large attendance is not anticipated. But every mother's son will be laden with Proxies,—which are permitted, not to exceed five votes per delegate.

While the Anti's are busy gathering them up, the fact that the Pros. are equally as busy, must not be lost sight of. *Feel confident that if A. is willing to play the old 1909 Toledo game we can put it over. Will put the proposition up to him on his return here to-morrow.* The convention will be held beginning June 8th. Understand that Proebstel of the Brewery Workers Union will be there.

The labor fellows among the Anti's know how, and are willing to play the game, but up to the present time have not been given the necessary encouragement.

Mr. Sorgel, who is here in Houston, has been very successful in his work among the German element.

He is instilling activity and enthusiasm among them wherever he goes; he has gotten the Herman Sons and the German Alliance of the State working together and aside from holding frequent meetings of the various branches, he is furnishing their official organs with articles which have the necessary "punch." He succeeded in bringing the different factions of Houston together and organized an alliance here this afternoon and they held their initial meeting in the Sunday school room of a certain German church.

Our articles are beginning to appear in the "Brauer Zeitung" and will be reproduced in the various labor papers. Met Mr. Haxthausen of the Herman Sons here this evening. As previously stated he is active in behalf of Mr. Ferguson. He is deeply interested in our methods of doing things—suggested a plan of closer relationship between his organization, the German Alliance and Mr. A. and suggested a conference at some early date with that purpose in view.

Expect to get to Austin, Dallas and Ft. Worth early the coming week. Will send you a night letter when I leave here so that you will be able to keep in touch with me.

Yours, etc.,

C. H. W.

EXHIBIT No. 689.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *May 26th., 1914.*

Mr. S. T. MORGAN,
Dallas, Tex.

DEAR SIR: This introduces Mr. C. H. Wirmel, who is in Texas at the request of Mr. Andreae, and who has been doing valuable work among the labor ranks in the Beaumont district, and now goes to Dallas and Ft. Worth, and will do all he can among the labor people in those two districts in behalf of the Senators we want.

He will keep in close touch with you.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 690.)

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[The Adolphus, owned and operated by The Dallas Hotel Company. Alvah Wilson, manager.]

DALLAS, TEXAS, 5–30–14.

DEAR GIBSON: Held a lengthy conference with the executive committee of the Travis County Club just after mailing you my partial report on Austin.

This committee of twenty composed of representatives of friendly interest and including representatives of labor, merchants, German societies and fraternities turned out to a man.

Gave them complete outline of a systematic organization to which they acceded with a vim and they immediately selected committees to look after the different branches of the work. These people had some knowledge of organization but were willing to be shown and eager to carry out suggestions for better results. The poll tax payments of Travis County has doubled over 1911 and they estimate that 75 per cent of this gain is anti. When the possibilities of this asset were made plain to them they unanimously agreed to take their coats off and go to work. They have a local situation there that will have to be ironed out by a persuasive process of elimination. There are three anti candidates for representative against one Pro. One of the Antis, a thorough exponent of the theories of perennial candidacy, whose chances for election have always been equal to those of his "grape juice" ideal, will have to be eliminated *on a substantial Chatauquan basis, since he has the reputation of finding pleasure and enchantment in the jingle of the "twenty pieces."* The other one, can be assured by less strenuous methods "that the people aint calling him yet." Have reported the entire matter to A. at Houston. The parties there claim sole rights in the elimination work.

The situation here in Dallas is in fair shape. The party they have selected to look after the labor end is prominent among all classes and well known among the labor men throughout the State. Heard favorable comment at Houston, Pt. Arthur, Beaumont and Austin. As a worker he is what Hartly would call "a pippin." In the two days I've been here he has gotten me in direct touch with a good many persons who are prominent in all circles.

We make nightly visits to the different labor organizations, where we are at liberty to inject just as much "moisture" into our discussions as would be tolerated in a brewery workers meeting in Cincinnati, and, in return are greeted with enthusiastic appreciation. The first night we visited the printers, engineers, bakers and finished at midnight among the Germans at the Turn-Verein. Last night we visited the Central labor Council, of which the party in charge of our affairs here, is president, and we received invitations through the delegates to visit every union in town. They the Germans think Sougel can do a lot of good in this part of Texas. They will guarantee him a record meeting here if he will come up. Have written him and Haxthausen of the importance of work among the Germans of North Texas. The increase in poll tax payments is considerable. Haven't the exact figures but think it in the neighborhood of seven thousand and is over two thirds anti. A bet posted yesterday of 1000 to 500 that Ferguson would be next Governor found no takers. Not even in small amounts, which was optional with the takers. While no doubt it was a "feeler" it had the desired effect and every-body is talking about it.

Mr. Geller who is the party active in our work here will be a delegate to the El Paso convention. Anticipating undue activity on the part of the pros, which is evident everywhere, we are drafting several antiresolutions to be offered by different delegates. They will range from extreme radical to something we can well afford to tie to as a compromise. By stirring up the right kind of a fight we hope to have them fall for our compromise. Have dug up 15 votes that will be right if gotten to convention. These votes can be polled by three delegates who ought to be gotten to convention. Have given A. full details and made repeated requests but haven't up to this time received a reply. The people here know and play the game and will not leave a vote behind as all details have been completed.

Have arranged with the "Nord Texas Presse" to reprint articles from the "Brauer Zeitung" and have written Proebstle who is well know in Texas and will be at El Paso, to put the "Presse" on his exchange list. Mr. Kuenstle the editor will carry an article on the recent Cincinnati demonstration in the next edition.

One oversight that caused us some worry and annoyance among the labor people was the absence of the printers label on our printed matter. Brought the matter to the attention of A. who will immediately remedy the matter. Another matter that would help us some would be the adjustment of differences between labor and the Schlitz agency here. These things are magnified by the P'ros. and peddled among the labor men. The Schlitz agency is rated as "unfair."

Received a copy of a general letter sent out over the country by the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, of which John Voll is first Vice Pres., and which calls upon labor to protest against Nation wide Pro. Sent the roster of the Texas Federation to John with a request to send copies of letter to each individual. I feel that he will get in immediate touch with these people as he is usually prompt in such matters.

Am also writing for information on the State convention of the Virginia Federation of Labor as it might be well to have those people get in on it in time.

Will get this through Tom Donelly at Cincinnati.

You may wonder at this spurt of enthusiasm. The reason is plain. It's a case of environment. The people at Austin and here, unlike some I have met at Houston, are dwelling right down here on earth and, unlike others of the same place and of a sort of assumed nobility, have some gray matter under their hats and good red blood coursing through their veins.

Please send all mail to Adolphus until further notice.

C. H. W.

EXHIBIT No. 691.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Letter from L. H. Gibson.]

MAY 28, 1914.

Mr. R. M. COLQUITT,
301 Beatty Building, Houston, Tex.

MY DEAR MR. COLQUITT: I am herewith sending you the following analyses:

First Senatorial District:
- Second House Legislative District.
- First House Legislative District.

Second Senatorial District:
- Thirty-third House Legislative District.
- Thirty-fourth House Legislative District.

Third Senatorial District.
Fourth Senatorial District.
Sixteenth Senatorial District.
Seventeenth Senatorial District:
- Seventieth House Legislative District.
- Seventy-second House Legislative District.

Twenty-first Senatorial District.
Twenty-second Senatorial District.
Twenty-third Senatorial District.

The analyses for the other Senatorial Districts in which all of the counties of such district were completed by our survey will be forwarded to you within the next few days.

I do not know whether the analyses have proven of any benefit to you in formulating your campaign, but assume that those sent to you earlier laid before you in complete detail the general plan of organization which in our judgment might prove effective in the conduct of your campaign.

After all, it resolves itself into organizing those elements which are, or should be, liberal, and which only require organizing into compact forces to make them of material aid in the campaign. I know that you saw the general scheme of our plan when you were here, and from those analyses which were sent you, and consequently have not sought to enforce my views or opinions upon you, in view of the fact that your past political experience has undoubtedly taught you as it has me, the importance of utilizing every element at one's command when they are engaged in such a big contest as you are handling in the State of Texas. In fact, I have been rather loathe to place

before one so experienced as you what the survey has so plainly shown to me, for I was certain that you would as quickly see the same conditions as were manifest to me.

The same elements of organization which can be utilized in formulating the campaign in the Senatorial Districts, can be utilized in the campaigns in the Flotorial Districts, of course, with such rearrangement of the Counties as is made necessary by the different district boundary lines. The same elements for organization are also available in these Legislative Districts consisting of but one County.

I am quite certain that you have already seen in the formulation of your campaign in Texas how important it is to know just exactly where these liberal elements for organization are to be found, and how important it is to perfect them so that you can move them as a solid fighting force at your primary election in behalf of the right candidate for Governor, against Submission of State-wide Prohibition, and for the proper Legislative candidates.

I know that the time for the close of entries in connection with your fight is fast approaching and want to impress upon you that any assistance which we can render, any suggestions we can offer, or work of any of Mr. Andreae's numerous organizers, will be gladly placed at your disposal.

I wish you would at your earliest opportunity, if it does not trespass upon your time, write me fully as to how you view the situation in your state from the various standpoints in which our friends are so vitally interested.

With very kindest personal regards, and wishes of success, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

LHG: P.

EXHIBIT No. 692.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[The Driskill, Austin, Texas. E. P. Wilmot, president; W. B. Chew, vice president; W. L. Stark, manager. American plan, all outside rooms single or en suite, artesian water throughout the hotel, electric lights, steam heat, and all modern conveniences. Headquarters T. P. A. also Post "F," T. P. A.]

MAY 27, 1914.

DEAR GIBSON: Replying further to your telegram I beg to say that we had talked over the matter of establishing closer relations between the German Alliance and the Herman Sons, which we are beginning to realize, is a great advantage in a campaign of this nature.

Sougel and Haxthausen both suggested a get-together meeting in Chicago as I understood it, at some future date, which you will note in a previous letter. He did not tell me he wired Keller until my return to Houston late that night. Nor did I know that he suggested an early meeting until I received your wire next day. After receiving your wire we again got together and they told me they had a plan whereby they could handle the German end of the campaign at very little cost. I then took the proposition up with Autery and he said he would attend to that from this end. Of course this applied to the Herman Sons only and would have no bearing on the present status of the Alliance as explained to me by Mr. A. and yourself before I left Chicago.

On Monday night after we had this understanding, we were invited into a conference which Mr. Autery, Col. Jake Wolters, Haxthausen, and Messrs. Faust and Henne of St. Louis, participated. The reports from the political, German and the labor sources were gone over thoroughly and situation discussed from the various angles. Everybody seemed to be well satisfied with the progress of the work. The recommendations of Soergel, Haxthausen and myself in which we urged more substantial encouragement to the German and the labor element in carrying on campaign work, were considered and Autery was advised to carry out our suggestions. Laid before them our Ohio plan of meeting such conditions and they suggested that we follow that plan and authorized Autery to look after all needs in order to insure success.

I learnt later, however, that Haxthausen had suggested, in a private conversation with Faust, the advisability of conferring with Mr. A. at Chicago.

Faust should have said that that was a very good idea and he would take up the matter.

While I fully agree that the Herman Sons are a valuable asset and their friendship and support should be encouraged and firmly established, I don't

think it necessary at this time to negotiate directly with Chicago since the local parties have assured us they would take care of the matter. This assurance was given me by Mr. Autery without any parleying.

We parted company in good grace last night. Soergel and Haxthausen going to Galveston after which they will return to Houston and then work north so as to finish the campaign in the doubtful sections. I came on here to look after the labor end and obtain as many delegates and proxies as are availble for the coming El Paso convention. All recommendations are made direct to Autery and he works through the local agents. If he carries out the recommendations as he has agreed to do there is no question about who will control the convention.

If you recall, my previous reports from Austin were far from encouraging.

Most pessimistic at that time was a Mr. Traenkman Editor of the German paper here. Saw him today and he told me that in all his experience and observation he never saw a man gain in public favor as Ferguson has in this and surrounding counties, during the past four weeks. And, he adds, that the enthusiasm sticks, as he makes a lasting impression by his clean cut methods of campaigning.

Mr. McKeever of the "Labor Forum" says that Ferguson's concurrence in all of the propositions labor has submitted, contrasting as it does with Ball's straddle of one important proposition, cannot but win labor's support to the Anti candidate.

Mr. Kirk president of the labor Council who was non-committal on my previous trip is outspoken for Ferguson and arrived at these conclusions after hearing both candidates. He says Ball's meetings are composed largely of women and children while Ferguson's meeting here was attended by three times as many voters as was Ball's and, he added, they had their poll tax receipts within easy reach.

Major Littlefield, the leading banker here and known by the farmers in the surrounding counties, who gave a half hours interview, is very enthusiastic over his success in winning back, as he claims, several prominent antis who partly climbed into the Ball band wagon, and he further claims they'll be all back by election day. He is active in the Ferguson organization here and the moving spirit in the campaign.

We will hold a meeting tonight which will be composed of about 40 active workers in the campaign. They want our views on organization. Will try to accommodate them.

Think it important that I go to the convention. Weather conditions and other things are not as agreeable as we would like to have them, but I am more than willing if you are. Please send my mail to the Adolphus, Dallas, until further notice. Will go there tonight.

Yours etc

C. H. W.

EXHIBIT No. 694.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[The Adolphus. Owned and operated by the Dallas Hotel Company. Alvah Wilson, manager.]

DALLAS, TEXAS *6–1–14*

DEAR GIBSON: Called on Mr. Eppstein here today as I was anxious to get his ideas on the situation.

As to the situation among the labor people he was not in a position to discuss as Mr. Morgan usually looked after that end of it.

He was advised however by parties coming in from the rural sections that Ferguson was steadily gaining ground among the farmers and judging from these reports he was inclined to the belief that he would be a winner. He said that many Pro farmers would support him, which of course is absolutely essential to success in north Texas.

From what he could gather the sentiment was about evenly divided on the submission question, some Antis favoring submission on the strength of thei belief that it would be overwhelmingly defeated if put up to the people.

Chief of Police Ryan who returned yesterday morning from the police chiefs convention, where he had incidentally taken a poll of the delegates present,

reported that ninety per cent would support Ferguson and were guided in their views by the sentiment in their home communities.

Confirming yesterday's wire I might add that I received a letter from Autery stating that the recommendations I made on getting the three delegates mentioned in a previous letter, would be carried out and the 15 votes would be at the convention.

All arrangements for the local delegation have been made. Autery was very anxious that Mr. Andreae be advised of the improvement of conditions in Austin and Dallas. The labor men will leave here Saturday morning for El Paso and I will go with the party. You can continue to send my mail here. Will order it held until my return from convention. Send wires direct to El Paso. I will arrange there for delivery to hotel.

Will go to Ft. Worth during this week. Will run over during the day as we have engagements for every evening this week.

I enclose herewith clipping from the "Dallas Dispatch" the evening Scripps-MacRea paper, which may be of some value in the future.

Yours etc.

C. H. WIRMEL

EXHIBIT No. 695.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *June 2nd., 1911.*

MR. C. H. WIRMEL.
Adolphus Hotel, Dallas, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 1st. received.

Arrangements have been made with the brewery workers to send Silliman and Armsted. We must be careful not to have too many paid men at El Paso. There has been too much of that sort of thing in previous years and we must not take any steps in this campaign that bear resemblance to old methods. This campaign is pitched on lines departing entirely from the old system.

If you go to Chicago, advise me, so that I may not send you any mail that will miss you. I want you to inform Mr. Andreae of what you find. I have nothing but good news to add to your reports, although I have not written Mr. Andreae.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 695.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

WACO, *June 18-11.*

DEAR GIBSON:

Your letter of the 15th came to hand at Dallas yesterday and as affairs in that part of the state are working nicely I came here last night. Confirming my night letter of this day I beg to add that Mr. Woodman is looking after Ft. Worth, Mr. Geller after Dallas and Mr. Stickley who was sent into the state by Perkins of the Cigar makers, will remain until the primary election and work the towns of Denison, Sherman and Palestine. All these men were at El Paso are familiar at the game and agreed to look after the towns enumerated above. In addition to that Mr. Colquitt will open the Anti-Submission Headquarters at Dallas tomorrow. This of course will be the base of operations for northern Texas.

Among the workers who assured me of their help and support at the El Paso Convention were the delegates from Houston, Austin, San Antonio, El Paso, Galveston and Port Arthur—and, I must add Waco. These men of course will work principally among the labor people and circulate any and all literature where it will do the most good. I am making a list of these people whose names and addresses I obtained and will send it to Autrey. While the prospects for success look favorable in the Ft. Worth and Dallas senatorial districts, where the available anti-vote if gotten to the polls will be of such strength as to put over almost anything, the situation in the Beaumont district where King is running against Collins, does not look encouraging.

I saw evidence of apathy there when I was in that district and brought it to the attention of Autery. The parties I met at El Paso who hail from that district claim that up to the time of their leaving for the convention, there was no surface indications of Anti activity. Joe Broebstle of the Brewery Workers showed me a letter in which a proposition to put three men to work among the railroad men, and other doubtful quantities, had been turned down by Houston. I intend to cover these propositions in a tactful manner in my letter covering the general situation to Autery. Joe at first was determined to go down and blow up the brewery but I think I prevailed on him to use some tact. I trust that the letter from Autery on Keller's proposition is satisfactory to Mr. Andreae.

The situation here in Waco from what I was able to gather from the few sources visited today looks exceedingly favorable for Ferguson. The Anti submission end will have to be boosted. Mr. Henry is an avowed Anti both State and National and stands for Ferguson. He not only declared himself along those lines to me but I verified his attitude through Mr. Lindde, the Anheuser & Bush representative here, Mr. Striebbling one of the leading attorneys and a number of labor men whom I learnt to know at El Paso.

Henry seemed surprised and was really delighted to know that the liberal people were taking such a deep interest in his candidacy and after telling me of some of his experiences here and in Congress, his future aspirations to serve his state at "the other end of the capitol," a few anecdotes on Jim Cox, Alf. Allen, Senator Pomerene and other Ohio notables, he pointed out a few spots at Temple, Marlin and here where we would be just the people to "fix the fences." He gave me the lay of the ground but left the manner of procedure entirely with myself, as he was going to follow Jim Ross' example, by going down into the tall weeds to exterminate the cut worms and the rattlesnakes. He gave me a few pointers on Wilkerson and a Clint Parmer, the latter being the local disseminator of "Cascade" whiskey. Will look this matter up tomorrow and if matters become desperate I'll wire, if not I will keep you posted by mail. As to your hint to exercise caution. The fellows in this part of the State dont give you a chance to be cautious. After my credentials were presented I had nothing to do but listen or run away. Being hungry for knowledge I shut up and stayed.

Was agreeably surprised to learn that Colquitt returned to terra firma. A few prods in the fet locks by some of these "long horn" Pros, might have brought him to a realization of the fact, that he couldn't keep it "all in his head." At that Gib, there is always hope for the fellow who acknowledges the corn; still, it wouldn't be a bad idea to preserve that document.

Gale sent a request for another article for the Brewers Journal. Have been very busy the last few weeks getting the line up for the El Paso Convention. My room in Dallas was the headquarters for all the labor fellows. All the correspondence with the boys in all parts of the State was carried on from there and it was next to impossible to get any time for myself. I dont like to entrust my correspondence to the ordinary stenographer so a good deal of this work will devolve upon myself. Tell Gale if I can get Sunday to myself I will fix something up for him.

John Voll writes me that the Germans in Youngstown are revolting against Cox. That Cox had asked him to get me to go over and fix things up.

I told Voll that it was impossible for me to leave this State before the latter part of July. That I didn't think Cox would need any help in the primaries as Ed Moore and his following were just waiting for a chance to wallop Whitaker. That when the general campaign opened up the Germans no doubt would be lined up for Cox as against Willis and Garfield.

Now if our people have decided on any fixed policy in Ohio and want to look into the matter the proper parties to see among the German element there are Father Kluete and Henry Dietz of the Imperial Hotel. I merely suggest this to you in the event that you decide to take action. I enclose letter which you can hold for me.

The matter in reference to the executive board of the Glass blowers I will discuss with you on my return. Yours Etc.

C. H. WIBMEL.

If you decide to look into the Youngstown matter I think Kummer is aquainted with the parties mentioned and can render the desired service.

The Virginia labor convention has already met. They were silent on the Pro. question.

EXHIBIT No. 696.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Hotel Waco, European. A. D. Adams, proprietor. Modern equipment. Cor. Sixth & Austin Sts., Waco, Texas.]

JUNE 21ST, 1914

DEAR GIBSON: Owing to Mr. Wilkerson's absence from the city I did not get to meet him until this morning. Found him to be an interesting and pleasant fellow.

Told him that I represented the engineers and with other labor men was going around the state trying to do what we could in the interest of Ferguson and against submission.

He is strong for both but told me confidentially that he would vote for Judge Scott for congress as a matter of personal friendship. He added however that the anti's were for Henry, but that no one knew just where Henry stood [illegible] on that question.

I showed him a copy of a letter sent out by Sam. Gompers advocating Henry's support by the labor people but as I did'nt want to "muddy the waters" I wanted to advise with him before going any further.

To this he suggested that I go ahead and hustle for Henry as he was not making any noise about Scott because all the anti interests were for Henry.

He also pointed out several spots in the district where I might be able to do Henry some good.

He also suggested that I make his office my headquarters while in town and offered to accommodate me in every possible way.

To be candid with you, I am of the opinion that he is pretty wise and will I verify his statements from a reliable source, I will take his information with the customary grain of salt.

In the mean time if anything important turns up I will send a night wire.

Henry is desirous that I stay here for a time at least. Will have a meeting of the labor fellows here tomorrow night where I hope to perfect some semblance of a campaign organization among them.

Am enclosing an article for your consideration. Same is in response to Gibson's request of last week.

If it is possible I will send another in about a week or ten days. Have been afflicted with a sort of fever during the past week but am getting alright again.

Send all communications to above address until further notice.

Yours Etc.,

C. H. W

EXHIBIT No. 697.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *June 25th, 191*

Mr. C. H. WIRMEL,
Hotel Waco, Waco, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 22nd. received. Also your previous lengthy letter giving me an account of the El Paso meeting and of your observations since your return from El Paso. I am turning over the article which accompanied your letter to Max Andrews, with the suggestion that he insert it in the Houston Labor Journal.

I understand you to say you are working in behalf of Mr. Henry and am glad you are doing so, because I understand that Mr. Henry supports Ferguson actively, and besides, he is a strong national figure and his opponent is not likely to win and has not much faith in his own chances for success.

I think you are optimistic about Ferguson beyond a cautious justification. The reports that reach me daily continue to indicate that Ferguson gains steadily and holds his ground. So far as I know there is no disaffection anywhere. The organization of Ball's headquarters in Dallas and Houston cannot do him much good. If it makes him a few votes among the Antis it will lose him many more among the Pros. The new Ball Anti organization is very active, however, and they are getting a good deal into the Press and if they hit on something startling they may still gain ground, although I cannot conceive of any possibility for them to turn the tide against Ferguson. The new organization is

Ball-Bailey-Anti machine and is the final step to accentuate the Bailey fight in this campaign, all of which does not do us any harm.

I do not feel sanguine about submission. I am afraid we will lost it.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 698.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

WACO, *June 26th, 1914.*

MY DEAR GIBSON: As suggested in my last letter I called at several points in the district in order to verify what Wilkerson has told me. *This was also urgently requested by Henry who has been down with a serious attack of ptomaine poisoning and was unable to get around.* His case shows some improvement today however and at the present rate of improvement he ought to be about in a few days.

Called at Temple in Bell county and sought out a Mr. McCalmont who, in verification of the report made in our survey, I found to be the leading spirit among the labor men. Was assured by that gentleman that among the 800 labor men of that county, about 98 per cent of whom were paid up on poll tax, Ferguson, Henry and Anti-submission would get all but about 20 votes.

Mr. Earl Winn, the Anheuser-Busch man there, who deals with Wilkerson and whom the latter always calls on when in town, assured me that the Antis were for Henry for Congress. He said that while no one knew Henry's position on the liquor question from a local standpoint, his record in Congress on the Nation-wide proposition was satisfactory to the Anti's of his district.

Mr. Robt. Gresham, editor of the Temple Mirror, who individually and through the columns of his paper is right on all of our propositions, told me that Henry need have no fear of the outcome in Bell country, that he was stronger today than at any time during his public career.

Also called at Belton the county seat, where I met a Mr. S. Walker, who had sent out a half dozen scouts to sniff the winds in various sections of the county. He reported that the people were strong for Henry but that there was considerable opposition to Ferguson because of financial transactions among the farming element. He said, that unless the sentiment could be changed Ferguson might lose his home county.

Returning to Temple I managed to locate Messrs. H. Rader and H. Wiggers who, according to our reports, and, in fact, are president and secretary, respectively, of the local Herman Sons. As was to be expected, these people are right on all propositions. There was some doubt among their membership as to Henry's stand on the local option question but they are well pleased with his stand on the Nation-wide question and for that reason will support him.

Also visited Ferguson's campaign headquarters and renewed the acquaintanceship of his campaign manager and others whom I had met in various parts of the state. They were in high glee over the glowing reports that were coming in from all sections of the state and exceptionally profuse in expressing their appreciation of what the labor men had done at El Paso.

Mentioned to them the deflection reported at Belton, the county seat. Also discussed with them the importance of giving some attention to the recent speeches of Ball, who, in commenting on Colquitt's stand for Ferguson, declared "that no governor was ever big enough to name his successor."

This is one of the strongest cards the Pros have played and it is opening up unnecessary discussion among those Anti's who are liable to be swayed from anything the governor may suggest.

His recent criticisms of the administration's Mexican policy are not in accord with the general sentiment of the people of the state, who, as a rule, are warm in their support of the national administration.

This is a well known fact to those on the inside of our own camp, among whom, and especially Autery, there seems to be a constant misgiving that the governor, who no doubt is sincere, will say something that will make room for attack by the opposition.

This point was dwelt on with particular emphasis by Ball in his speech at Marlin yesterday and was received with unstinted and prolonged approval by his audience of about 700, among which was about 100 women, mostly members of the W. C. T. U.

I talked with a number of those in attendance after the meeting and learn that while a goodly proportion of his audience came there out of curiosity a were Ferguson men at heart, they did not approve of the governor "buttin' in.

Will bring this to the attention of Autery in my report to him.

Found the situation in Marlin in good shape. This is a strong Germ section and the sentiment is proportionately in our favor. Located a M. Turner there who is called upon by Wilkerson on the latters business tr and learnt that while this county is the home of Judge Scott, Henry's oppon the sentiment favored Henry. Also met a Mr. Hale president of the carpen union, who is an ardent admirer of Henry's who also stated that the mem of his union are hustling to make Henry's majority in the county oversha all previous efforts. He also claimed that the members of his union could relied upon to carry out the "order" of the El Paso convention as regards prohibition and candidates for office.

Coming back to Waco I might add that Mr. Luedde of the Anheuser-Bus people, who has sub branches in every wet town in the district will take of the people he does business with and as he is widely known and has a lar amount of influence among all classes of people, there is no reason why He should'nt win by a majority exceeding that of his previous campaign. At t latter's request however I will remain in the district for several days to after the labor people and some of the Germans.

Had an amusing experience here with one A. B. Goodman, of German-Hebr extraction, who operates several wholesale houses here and handles the pro of the I. N. Harper, distillers, which may interest you and which, by way digression may be worth mentioning here. We learnt that this cumbers chunck of the earth's salt, who unfortunately is extremely deaf and w imagines everybody else in the same fix, was in the habit of spasmodic declaring himself for "Chudge Schkott" and, in tone of voice at that, wh would carry into the adjoining townships. Accosting him in German, I w able to gain what little confidence would be trickling from an intellect w matured in these German-Hebrew characteristics for thrift and caution. response to my query as to how the Baptists stood on Anti-submission. shouted "finster, finster." (Woeful gloomy) Asked if he knew that "Chu Schkott" was prominent in the Baptist Church and was teaching a sunday sch class in order to gain the Pro vote, he replied in the negative, and forthw told "Chake" his faithful understrapper to call up Stribling "and find about it." Stribling is his lawyer and our friend, knew the facts and was on the play as Goodman consults him on everything but the Jewish relig Presently "Chake" shouted back from the telephone that "Stribling says ri right." Well, Jim Ross in his palmiest day never executed such artistic h and foot work as did this distracted Hebrew, while gesticulating over the fa pretenses of "date Schlamiel (scoundrel) Schkott," who had been "trink in gwart lots mein joicest blands for nuddin." He shouted to the now pa stricken "Chake" to call up "de odder two blacés and tell 'em watt Strib said." It is needless to add that there will be at least three Hebrews in t town telling a different story to the thirst-ridden pilgrims, who come in fr adjoining territory, than has been their custom heretofore.

Another matter that may interest you is that in a poll taken on the tr to Marlin yesterday, Ball had 20 Ferguson 10 and 14 non-committal. In v of the fact that Ball and his escort was on the train the poll may be loo upon with considerable doubt.

Just received a letter from Autery in which he is extremely doubtful of chances of defeating submission.

Candidly speaking, I am of the opinion that if one half of the effort that being directed in Ferguson's interest were used to defeat submission it wo be an easy matter to accomplish the end.

I am frank to say that I haven't seen a single piece of campaign literature bea ing on that question, in any part of the state I have visited. Have on the o hand, had repeated requests from parties interested, to furnish them with s reading matter when same was available.

Have written Autery in reference to these inquiries and furnished him w the names of parties desiring the printed matter, and, with the exception his letter to me today, he has never mentioned the matter in his replies to m letters.

In his letter today, the only reference to my request for material from wh I am able to obtain any meaning is: "I do not feel sanguine about submiss **I am afraid we will lose it."**

We have four more weeks left for campaigning and in that time we ought to be able to put up a fairly creditable fight.

It looks to me as if they are going to depend on the new Ball-Anti movement, which from outward appearance looks like a scheme to cater to the Anti's in order to bring them over to Ball, and, having gotten the Anti's started for Ball, submission and particularly its defeat, will go glimmering.

Autery claims that the new organization is a "Ball-Bailey-Anti machine and is the final step to accentuate the Bailey fight in this campaign, all of which does not do us any harm."

Again referring to Autery's "near-swan song" on the fate of anti-submission, we can not help but call to mind several happenings, which to my mind are somewhat unusual, which have taken place during the past few weeks. On our return from El Paso Joe Proebstle, commenting on the noticeable lack of activity of the Antis said: "there are men high in the councils of the Antis in Texas, who are willing to milk the cow as long as there is the least sign of her being fresh and I am going right down to Houston and tell Autery what I think of this business." And he added, "I know the history of the Anti's in Texas and know what I am talking about," and continuing further, he said, "you will find this out to your own satisfaction and I hope that you will tell Mr. Andreae all about it." That is almost his exact language and it left such a lasting impression upon me I can almost recall it word for word. I had intended to await developments before mentioning this conversation to you but since the expected seems to be in course of development, I think it time to mention it.

Following the above conversation by a few days came your letter mentioning Colquitt's outburst of appreciation of our work on the survey and Sorgel's good work among the Germans of south Texas. A singular procedure on the part of a Colquitt, all of whom, have the reputation among the politicians and others of this state, of never having let go of any honors, or things more tangible, whenever it was possible to cling to them.

Since Autery, in today's letter is somewhat solicitous about Henry's canvass and is "very glad" that I am helping him, I am almost led to believe that the "distress signal" sent you in Henry's behalf, was part of the "barney fight." Were it not for the fact that I found evidence of deflections here, which were mentioned in your letter (and which by the way could be staged at that) I would be convinced that this play was part of the game. Now understand me correctly Gib, no reflections on you or any of our people, but it may be just possible that this bunch may be using our entire groupe in order to get some people away from the scenes of their supposed activities.

A brief analysis in my estimation will show that. An appreciative letter to Chicago for service rendered in making the survey and a hint that the suggestions made in the analysis were being carried out, would satisfy that end of it, that all was well.

Soergle in "little Germany," somewhat remote from Houston, would be at a safe distance from that supposed source of activity and would not be liable to pry into the workings at that point.

Wirmel in Henry's district would be equally as remote from the base of operations at Dallas and would not be liable to disturbe the continued peace and tranquillity of the real, dyed in the wool anti-submission headquarters at that point.

With all these out of state interlopers exiled the anti-submission campaign will follow the even tenor of its way regardless of the consequences.

I am of the opinion that a good, stiff, four weeks campaign would defeat submission and I am going to urge upon Autery in my reply to his letter, that this be done.

Have been in touch with the labor man at Dallas right along and he has kept me posted on what was going on and was always prompt in his replies.

Three days ago I wrote him in regard to the progress of the work in the Anti-submission headquarters there and urged him to express me any available printed matter for distribution among a labor committee, which I organized here, whose membership had volunteered to do the distributing at this end. Up to the present I have'nt heard a word the party is usually very prompt and has his replies in my hands within twenty four hours.

Am just beginning to wonder whether they have gotten to him.

Now Gib, I might be unduly suspicious or afflicted with the intense heat of which this community is getting its proportionate share, I am going to leave it

to your judgment as to how you would size up this situation, with the f[illegible] as given above.

I have gone into this work with a determination to get results and ev[illegible] proposition we have undertaken we came very nearly cleaning up, in sev[illegible] far beyond their greatest expectations, but what gets my goat, is to see th[illegible] fellows lay down on the anti submission question before they have start[illegible] to fight.

Yours Etc.,

C. H. W

EXHIBIT No. 699.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Hotel Waco, European; A. D. Adams, proprietor; modern equipment; cor. Sixth a[illegible] Austin Sts., Waco, Texas.]

JUNE 28th, 191[illegible]

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,
Houston Ice & Brew. Co., Houston, Texas.

DEAR SIR: I noted with extreme interest your opinion on the probable [illegible] come of submission as given in your favor of the 25th.

No doubt, your inquiries and investigations in various sections of the s[illegible] have prompted you to entertain some doubt as to results.

While we will be seriously handicapped by the loss of the republican [illegible] negro vote, which will not be available at this election it might be well to c[illegible] every effort upon those who are eligable to vote at this time.

I have received repeated requests from our friends in various sections of [illegible] state for some sort of printed instructions which could be used as an argu[illegible] against submission.

In reply to their requests I told them that beyond any question of doubt, [illegible] committee having the anti submission campaign in charge, would furnish [illegible] necessary printed matter at the right time during the campaign.

It seems that a method of that kind ought to be fruitful of some good res[illegible] and as the time will soon be at hand when it could be applied-it might be w[illegible] to consider it.

We are all working for a victory and the defeat of submission, but if we [illegible] not secure both, a good big vote against submission will be an encourag[illegible] forerunner to the main fight next year.

No doubt your committee has fully considered this part of the campaign w[illegible] and will apply it at the proper time.

This may bring about far different results from what you seem to anticip[illegible] let us hope so at least.

If you have any printed matter on the above subject available, send [illegible] samples. What do you think of the above suggestion?

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 700.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *July 1st.*, 191[illegible]

Mr. C. H. WIRMEL,
Hotel Waco, Waco, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Yours of June 28th. received.

The whole fight has been pitched along the lines of peace in the liquor le[illegible] lation. It is the keynote of Ferguson's speech; it is the keynote of the Far[illegible] ers' appeal for the election of business men to the legislature. It has not be[illegible] the intention to discuss the evil effects of Prohibition. The tendency has be[illegible] to treat the Prohibition question as one which obstructs needed legislation [illegible] subjects pertaining to the material wellfare of the state.

I have requested Ferguson headquarters at Temple to send you a supply [illegible] pamphlets that they have just got out, showing the attitude of organized la[illegible] towards Ferguson. The pamphlet that will be distributed by Brewery work[illegible] will be ready in a few days and a supply will be sent you.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY

EXHIBIT No. 701.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Hotel Waco, European; A. D. Adams, proprietor; modern equipment; Sixth and Austin Streets, Waco, Texas.]

JULY 1ST., 1914.

DEAR GIBSON: Confirming my wire of last night I beg to advise you that the situation in this district as far as Henry is concerned is in nice shape. It appears from what I could gather at the different points I visited, that Wilkerson has heeded the request of the St. Louis people.

The situation in regard to Ferguson is likewise in pretty good shape, but there has'nt been anything done, outside of the selection of a committee, to push the fight against submission.

Mr. Geller, of Dallas came down Monday and asked that I come back to Dallas as it was thought by the people there that I might look into the work at that end of the state and be of some help to them.

He said that Colquitt had opened the Anti-submission headquarters and in a few days would have the thing running in full blast. I received the enclosed copies of campaign material which would be sent broadcast in a few days, from Mr. Geller this morning. Might add also that the request that I come over to Dallas came from Geller and Morgan of the Dallas Brewery.

Will meet Soergel at Dallas Sunday and will do all we can in urging a more aggressive policy in the campaign against submission.

In discussing that feature of the campaign with Mr. Luedde of the Anheuser-Busch concern here, this morning, Mr. Luedde was very much concerned over what Autery told an intimate of his concerning the fight against submission. He was also very emphatic in his comment on the lack of activity of the Anti's.

Autery had told his friend just what I quoted in a recent letter I sent you. Luedde, upon getting this information had written Autery urging that something be done and when I handed him a copy of the enclosed campaign matter, he was agreeably surprised that something would actually be attempted subsequent to July 3rd, the date of the letter.

I will finish up here Saturday as Henry would like to have me look after the town of Rogers in the lower part of his district before I go to Dallas.

Have visited the towns of Temple, Belton, Riesel, Marlin, West and here, and, after taking a day or two at Rogers I think we will have done all he could reasonably expect.

Have received letters in reply to my inquiries on anti-submission activities from Austin and Pt. Arthur. The parties report that there has'nt been anything done along those lines up to the time of writing.

Have given you the facts and leave to you to draw your own conclusions.

Am hoping and will work for the best if it can be done without the other fellow accusing us of "muddying the waters."

You can have my mail sent to the Adolphus, Dallas until further notice.

Am anxious to get your letter.

Trust that article was satisfactory. The labor papers in several parts of the state published it.

Yours Etc. C. H. W.

EXHIBIT No. 702.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Hotel Waco, European; A. D. Adams, proprietor; modern equipment; Sixth and Austin Streets, Waco, Texas.]

JULY 1ST., 1914.

DEAR GIBSON: Since writing you a previous letter of this date, I had the good fortune to find Henry alone and in a receptive mood; an opportunity I have been eager to embrace ever since I came here.

We went into the matter pending at Washington and as he seemed eager to disgorge, it was discussed along clean cut, "gut fat," lines, as you in your characteristic and picturesque way, would put it.

He said, before coming down here the matter was discussed by his committee, and although the committee was evenly divided, he believed it would not have

required much of an effort to change change enough votes to bring it out. At the suggestion of Ferguson, it was held up until after the present campaign. Texas, as the gubernatorial candidate feared that it would impair his chances for the nomination.

He said that the committee is no doubt ready at this time to bring it out. The Wilsons' recent turndown of the Suffragettes, would put sufficient backbone into the timid ones to get them up on their hind legs and stand pat with the administration.

He added, that he would remain in Texas until the close of the campaign, expected to be back in Washington by the first of August, and as everything was fixed on that end he would immediately arrange for a caucus of the Democrats and have them resolve, that the question at issue is not a national proposition, but one that should be left entirely with the people of the states.

His committee would then make the necessary recommendations so as to bring it to a vote as early as possible.

Asked if he thought the resolution would be defeated, he said undoubtedly so, that a number of Republicans would come over into the bandwagon and that the Democratic members who were going home for re-election, could find plenty of solace and shelter behind the policy of the national administration which was against prohibition and womens suffrage along nation-wide lines.

Asked if the outcome of the present campaign in Texas would have a bearing on the plans at the Washington end, he said absolutely not, and that he intended to follow that program, regardless as to whether Ferguson or Ball brought home the coonshin.

He said in conclusion, that after the Washington program was consummated he would come back to Texas in the early Fall to arrange the preliminaries of his canvass for U. S. senator and that he was going to run on a clean cut straight out, Anti, platform.

The above may be ancient history to you, but as history often repeats itself I thought it could do no harm to jibe it down and rush it in before it is gotten cold.

Yours Etc. C. H. W

EXHIBIT No. 703.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

JULY 1, 1914.

Mr. C. H. WIRMEL,
Adolphus Hotel, Dallas, Texas.

MY DEAR CHARLIE: Your wire was received this morning, and I am extremely glad that you will find it possible to go to Dallas, where I hope you will be able to put some ginger into the Anti-Submission fight.

It is a rather difficult matter to understand a situation such as now exists in Texas. From all that you have written, and from such other sources as we have been able to gather information, the nomination of Ferguson seems probable, and from what Mr. Colquitt said in his letter, the legislative fight seems to be assuming excellent form, when viewed from the standpoint of our interests and therefore, one can hardly understand why Submission should be in doubt. It would seem that Anti-Submission would be the strong feature of the campaign, for there are many Democrats for Ball who are opposed to Submission. This is true, I believe, of the publishers of several of the leading newspapers in the State of Texas.

I think you are unduly exercized as to the desire of those in charge of the fight in Texas to keep you in the "sage brush" country. I know you are wrong as to the request for the trip to Waco. That came from an entirely different source, and in no way had any connection with the people conducting the fight in Texas. I also think that your ideas as to Soergel being sent to certain territory are wrong. The territory in which Soergel has been working is that in which the Germans are located, and in addition to that neither can you can be said to be working under the directions of those conducting the fight in Texas, but only in an assistant capacity to them through the organization with which you are affiliated.

We have been very much pleased with the reports you have made concerning your visit to Waco, and the information given in them has been transmitted to those who were anxious to do as much as they could to assist Mr. H.

Pemberton just returned from Oklahoma and while in that State he met Stickley, and it seems that Stickley suffered from an extended gap and proceeded to tell Pemberton everything he knew. Stickley said he had been in the State of Texas working with you, and he spoke of how you had been suffering from the heat, and many other things of that character.

Lloyd has gone to Virginia, and will remain down there until the time of the state-wide election in September.

We received a letter this morning from a party in Texas in which the statement was made that Ferguson seemed to be losing ground. I sincerely hope that this is not true, and that your feeling of confidence of a couple of weeks ago still exists. Do everything you can to emphasize the necessity for the defeat of Submission, as that result will have a more material effect throughout the country than almost any other thing that could happen in connection with the Texas primaries.

Mr. Andreae has been very much pleased with the clearness and conciseness of your reports. The labor article was read by him and favorably commented upon.

I know that you will be glad to get out of the State, and I presume you are counting each day leading up to the primaries much as they count the days that precede Christmas. We will all be very glad to see you upon your return, and beg to assure you now that we accept your kind invitation to dinner. Gale joins me in acceptance of your invitation.

Hoping to hear from you as early as possible after you get back to Dallas, as to the outlook in general, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

——— ———.

LHG:P

EXHIBIT No. 704.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[The Adolphus, owned and operated by The Dallas Hotel Company; Alvah Wilson, manager.]

DALLAS TEXAS, 7–7–*14*.

DEAR GIBSON: Your letter of the 1st, received Sunday and was very much impressed with what you had to say. By way of digression, I beg to advise you, that I now fully realize why Gale has been so ceremoniously punctual in periodically "fattening" my bank account. The venerable Gem City philosopher anticipates "big stuff" when the plague-ridden dutchman is released from exile and again assumes the exalted position of keeper of the family smoke house. I can't help but express, and at that with the customary agony, my profound appreciation of the many sacrifices you loyal fellows have made in defending my title as official host or "goat," against the ferocious onslaughts of all comers.

Might have been "unduly exercised" at the time of writing my last letter, but the lack of activity on the part of the Antis and the tone of some of the letters I received from Houston, would no doubt have prompted anyone to draw somewhat on their imagination in reaching conclusions. The Anti headquarters here is in charge of a Berry Miller and his assistant Mr. Fannin. Both the gentlemen are agreeable and courteous and showed me every consideration. They are looking after that part of the State north of Waco. At my suggestion they consigned a lot of material to Mr. Luedde at Waco who was somewhat concerned over the delay in getting campaign matter to the voters in his vicinity.

There are over a score of clerks at headquarters here who are mailing direct to every voter on the poll tax books, all the current campaign matter against submission. Have sent you some samples and am sending additional matter by this mail. They have ample facilities here whereby they can reach the voters direct on short notice. The letters of inquiry directed to the county committees have been sent out and replies are expected within a few days. We are anxious for these reports as they no doubt, will be of importance. The article I sent you, just the least bit modified, but still retaining its essential features against prohibition, has been signed by Mr. Wm. Good a labor man of state wide prominence and it will be published in every labor paper in the state.

Soergal was here Sunday and while he made a telling address and has ... those who were there to talking. the attendance wasn't what we expected ... there weren't over 150 persons present. This deflection can be attributed to lack of proper publicity which was in the hands of inexperienced per... Mr. Geller was out of town and I was unable to get here until Sunday morn... and in the absence of some one to direct them, those having the matter charge seemed to depend on Divine Providence in filling the hall.

Mr. Barth was also here and left today for a trip among the German Ca... lics at a few scattered points in north Texas. He expects to finish up and re... at Indianapolis by the end of the week.

Soergal left last night for San Antonio and will work up from that p... He can finish in about two weeks. He will speak at Herman's Sons pi... at Rosebud on Wednesday, where he will divide the time with Henry.

In reference to the letter you received about Ferguson "losing ground," might say that there seems to be a lull in his boom which is manifest at ... particular time. Soergel seems to be of the opinion that Ball and submis... will both win out unless some strenuous effort is made to get our vote to ... polls. He bases this on evidence of apathy he found in some places he vis...

Before leaving Waco I had another talk with Henry who is well on the ... side and in touch with the situation around the state. He was of the opi... that Ferguson would win out by around 50,000 majority and based his con... sions on the Ferguson sentiment among Pro farmers and the support of ... Anti Bailey faction among all other classes.

Ferguson will devote the balance of the time in the northern part of the S... and every effort will be made to line up if possible some of the deflections t... are apparent now.

We have arrived at that point in the campaign where both sides are ... ing every effort to sway public opinion. Another week or ten days will ... everybody fixed in their opinions and determined as to how they are going ... vote, unless, of course, some unlooked for sensation is sprung.

Just now the Ferguson people are getting a lot of political capital out of ... Ft. Worth Record's disclosures of the Attorney General's attack on the C... mercial Secretaries organization. From the reports coming in it seems ... business men and bankers are bitterly denouncing Ball as being implicated ... the move. The articles which Fitzgerald of the Record runs from day to d... will continue to keep the pot boiling during that period preceding the elect... when it ought to do us some good. Am still of the opinion that Ferguson w... win out. While no one can deny that there seems to be an apparent lull on ... this particular time, I don't think he is losing any ground.

The local situation here in Dallas has not changed, if anything, it looks be... than when I was here last. The labor situation is in good shape and at a ... ing of the local Anti's today plans were perfected for a good working organ... tion to get out the vote on election day.

Met Mr. Weeden at this meeting and at his suggestion I will look after sim... work in Ft. Worth. Labor men from here, Ft. Worth and Temple are work... the towns in north Texas and I might go over to Texarkana and neighbor... towns as was suggested to me by Henry. Another ten days or two weeks w... find conditions practically settled and unless it is your desire that I rem... up to the election, I will be ready to pull up stakes. Before doing so however, ... will make all necessary arrangements for telegraphing the results to you.

Before I left Henry, he assured me that he was always at our service for ... help we gave him in his district.

He was well satisfied with what had been done.

Am sending under seperate cover both Pro and Anti material. Would sugge... that it be filed for future reference.

Fully appreciate Mr. A's views on the importance of defeating submis... and will do my best to keep these people hustling.

Yours etc.,

C. H. W.

EXHIBIT No. 705.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

WESTBROOK HOTEL,
Fort Worth, Texas, July 8th, 1914

DEAR GIBSON: I came here at Mr. Weeden's suggestion to spend a few days ... boosting the local situation. Was here at various times during my previous

visit to Dallas and got them started but it seems they laid low and let things drift for them selves.

Before leaving Dallas this afternoon we received word from Houston, San Antonio and Austin, where the Dallas plan in organizing the labor people had been inaugurated, that they were getting good results.

The plan is the old Ohio scheme which was used by the Personal Lib. League at Cincy.

The plan is to have a *steering committee* visit all labor organizations during the campaign and appeal as working men.

With Ferguson many of his campaigners and about a half dozen capable labor men working north Texas during the eleventh hour, we certainly ought to get some results.

I enclose herewith some of the Anti (?) stuff sent out by the Tom Ball Anti's at Dallas.

Yours, etc.,

C. H. W.

Send all communications to this hotel until further notice.

EXHIBIT No. 707.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

JULY 9, 1914.

Mr. CHARLES H. WIRMEL,
Westbrook Hotel, Ft. Worth, Texas.

MY DEAR CHARLIE: Your report of the conversation with the gentleman at Waco was very gratifying.

Your other letter concerning the status of affairs in the state was very interesting, and I hope sincerely that you were able when you returned to Dallas to stir up the people to the importance of winning the submission fight. Your telegram telling me that you had gone to Fort Worth was received this morning, and I am anxiously awaiting the detailed report which you are sending by mail.

It seems to me that you have been able to whip the labor situation into excellent shape, no better evidence of which, I believe, can be had than the result of the El Paso Convention, and Mr. Andreae and Gale both share this opinion with me. In fact, I might say that Mr. Andreae has been very much pleased with the general manner in which you have handled your work in the State of Texas.

We received a brief pencilled notation from Colquitt Monday in which he indicates that he feels certain Ferguson will be nominated, and all of the rest of our friends on the ticket will achieve like success. He also believes that the general assembly will reflect the sentiment of the voters of the state in much the same way as the result upon the gubernatorial nomination. I am writing him to the effect that I hope he will have general success all along the line, including the fight on Submission.

This last phase of the situation is one which apparently needs a great deal of attention to obtain a successful outcome at the primaries, but of course, you realize this much better than I do at long distance.

We will be very glad to see our German friend when he completes his efforts there, as it looks to me now that a little later on he will be required to give a great deal of attention to affairs in Ohio. You doubtless know that our friends in Ohio are initiating a constitutional amendment providing for the repeal of the Rose County Option Law, and the constitutional establishment of the Township and Municipality as the unit. The amendment likewise provides that the Legislature shall not have authority to pass constitutional prohibition. The Anti-Saloon League have retaliated by beginning the initiation of a constitutional amendment providing for state-wide prohibition. The move of our friends apparently took them by surprise, and Mr. Wheeler did gymnastics for several days. The fight is on, and of course, is an important one. The situation is the more interesting in that the women are busy circulating petitions providing for a Suffrage Constitutional Amendment, and they will doubtless succeed in getting the required number of signatures, so that phase will have to be given some attention.

Mr. Andreae, Gale, and all the folks about the office join me in very k· regards and wishes for your success.

Sincerely yours,

LHG : P.

Since writing the above, your letter giving detailed information has c· to hand. I quite agree with you that there is no necessity for you to re· in Texas up to the day of election, but of course your judgment will hav· prevail as to when you can leave. I will appreciate your arranging for t· graphic communications as to the result in the state so that we may h· the information as promptly as possible.

Awaiting the pleasure of seeing you,

EXHIBIT No. 708.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Bartenders' Union, Local 206 Fort Worth, Texas. Subordinate to Hotel and Restau· Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of Am· Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Organized October 6th, 1899. M· every second Sunday at Moose Hall, 828½ Monroe St. U. E. Davidson, president, 1· Main St.; Walter A. Polk, financial sec'y, 1011 Main St.]

FORT WORTH, TEXAS, *July 14, 191*·

DEAR SIR: The local unions of the Cigarmakers, Brewery Workers, Musi· Bartenders and Waiters of Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston and San Antonio h· perfected a working organization to urge upon all voters to vote for their in·· ests as breadwinners at the primary election on July 25th.

Many of our brothers have lived in Texas all their lives, have reared · educated their children and provided homes for themselves and depend·· These accomplishments and comforts represent a life's effort at a chosen ca· and would count for nothing if a Governor antagonistic to our interests · working men were elected and submission would carry.

Nearly all of the preliminary work that will insure success at the polls h· been done, but to gain a victory, every available vote must be gotten to t· polls. It remains for us to induce our friends to go to the polls and vote.

No doubt, the organizations in your city are doing what the brothers in · above named cities are doing; if you haven't, we urge upon you to get tog·· at once by calling a special meeting of your union and arrange for a j· meeting of all the organizations that are interested. Please do this at once · now is the time to act.

At this mass meeting, make every man in attendance a committee of one · work among his neighbors and friends, and urge them to vote for Ferguson f· Governor and against the submission of the liquor question. Request all m· bers and friends to remain at the voting box after the polls close and see to · that men favorable to our cause are selected as delegates to the county c· vention.

By a united effort we will insure to thousands of our brothers the God-g· right to earn an honest living. Let us get together and see which city can m· the best showing.

With best wishes for success, we remain,

Fraternally yours,

EXHIBIT No. 709.

(From Andreae's files by G. M. N.)

WESTBROOK HOTEL,
FORT WORTH, TEX., *July 15th, 191*·

DEAR GIBSON: I discussing the situation, Autery, who called Sunday, was · the opinion, that Ferguson would be elected, that we would get safe major· in both branches of the legislature, but he was in doubt of defeating submis· He said that Col. Stone of Ball's staff had made a rigid canvass among his · lowing in 105 counties and the returns gave Ball a majority of 4000 in t· territory covered. He said also that the New York Herald had canvassed e· county through the party machinery and from the material gathered estim· Ferguson's majority at 60,000. I told Autery that my belief was that the ·

against submission was lagging. That from what I could gather among the labor men of all crafts, particularly in Waco, Dallas and here, the sentiment was strongly opposed to submission. I gave him an outline of our plan of activity and urged him to have the antisubmission forces both at Dallas and Houston to work along the same or similar lines, as it was yet time to turn the tide in our favor if the anti-committees in the rural parts of the State would just make an effort to hold their own. I urged upon him the necessity of prevailing on the Brewers to get their people and friends to the polls. He asked me to look after this neck of the woods and look after Dallas and Ft. Worth until election day if satisfactory to Mr. A. I assured him that Mr. A. was deeply interested in our success and especially the defeat of submission, as the bearing it would have from a national standpoint would be of lasting importance. I told him I had peremptory orders from Mr. A. to lend every possible assistance and stay until the last dog was hung. And he says "stay." He then urged that I keep him in daily touch with the progress of the work here and at Dallas and he left for that point assuring me that he would stir things up. I went to Dallas to-day and found things moving along nicely as far as the local situation was concerned. Messrs. Morgan and Geller have the situation there well in hand. The antisubmission headquarters of North Texas has started its organization men out in the districts to agitate the work among the district committees and I feel safe in saying that there is something doing in those quarters.

Our steering committee here is doing some fine work and getting to the labor men every night. They took me along as a starter to show them how to put up an argument and now they insist that I continue in the game and they will furnish the necessary stage setting as the injured innocents. I must confess, that I get a great deal of encouragement out of these meetings. As an example: We sought admission to the plumbers meeting Monday night, where our right to the floor was contested by a swarthy native of septillion dimensions who, after decrying our motive as a political scheme, asked God and every one of the party present to bear witness to his protest as a devout and righteous Pro. The party argued that we should have unlimited time and we planted our 15 immortals, who, in many respects, resembled a Mexican wrecking crew, upon the rostrum where they would make a lasting impression while I was sent into the pit to "kill the rats" as one of them put it. Not even in the stormy days of the Columbus street car strike, when they tried to throttle old Uncle Jud, did I make a plea, which in the volume of its flow of briny tears, could equal this effort, and the first to come to the mourners bench was the "righteous one" who declared then and there that he had "never seen it that 'a way." Now Gib, remember, this is none of the Chicago stock yard product, I can get 56 affidavits to prove that this actually happened. Our other meetings of which we have three every night are a repetition of the above. The brewery workers and bartenders, who in past elections have had the habit of going fishing on election day, have fixed a penalty of 10 dollars on every man who fails to report for duty in his precinct on election day. Geller has done the same thing in Dallas. We will have here a working force of nearly 300 men as we are getting volunteers from other crafts as we go along. I enclose a copy of an official letter sent out by every union enumerated therein to their respective organizations in even the remote parts of the State. We will hold a mass meeting Sunday morning and arrange the final details for ward and precinct organization. The Germans met Sunday and with the assistance of a committee from Dallas we re-organized the German Alliance. Will meet their executive committee to-night and will draft a letter urging them to go to the polls and vote. The retailers had a record meeting yesterday and decided to follow our plan of election day organization.

Burleson's endorsement of Ball, having dropped like a spent skyrocket, they have shot their last wad in exploiting Wilson and Bryan. What effect its going to have is as yet to early to determine. From what I can learn here the voters have about made up their minds. Ferguson's recovery from the Burleson punch was quick and lasting and it seems to be the opinion here that he will get by this last effort of the Ball fellows, who have dragged in Wilson and Bryan, with the same success. I am going to stay here until 7 o'clock election night and wont get back until the 27th.

With best wishes to everybody I remain

Yours Etc.,

C. H. W.

Dont forward any mail after Tuesday July 21st.

EXHIBIT No. 710.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M. File under "Autrey" *Texas.*)

HOUSTON, TEX., *July 15th, 1914.*

Mr. JNO. GARDINER,
% Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: The situation with reference to the gubernatorial race has shown steady improvement since the date of my last letter. Ferguson has continued to grow in popularity and to gain adherents in all parts of Texas, north, south, east and west. At several periods it has appeared as if the Ball campaign would collapse but it has each time been prevented by some new powerful incentive being brought forward. Three weeks ago the Ball managers resorted to procuring a number of affidavits maligning the character of Ferguson, charging him with usury, failure to pay taxes, extortion upon tenants on his farms, etc. The affidavit stage was reached and passed and the next big trump played by them was a suit against the Texas Business Mens Association, the concern of which J. A. Arnold is Secretary and Manager. The Attorney General made an investigation of the books of the Farmers Union and made a domiciliary visit, looking for incriminating evidence, showing they had supported the Texas Business Mens Association and contributed to their corporate funds for political purposes. The suit was expected to produce a tremendous sensation and to be productive of revealing the authorship of the Radford-Lewis Farmers Articles, and the sources from which Radford and Lewis were financed.

The Ball papers featured the matter very strongly but the effect was a boomerang and has injured Ball among the business men of the State, instead of doing him any good.

The latest bombs they have exploded within the last four days are the indorsement telegraphed from Washington to Postmaster Burleson, William Jennings Bryan, and President Woodrow Wilson. What the effect of these expressions from the national administration will be cannot be known for four or five days, but our friends do not look for any harm. The whole fight has been pitched on the lines of disregarding the dictation of the bosses. Along the same lines a good deal of resentment is now cropping out against the assumed dictation of the Secretary of State and President of the United States. The way in which the national administration statements appeared, it is evident that they aim at Governor Colquitt, who has opposed Woodrow Wilson in his Mexican policy. It would seem that they fear that a Ferguson victory is equivalent to a Colquitt victory.

My own opinion is that it is too late to do anything upon the part of the Ball managers. It seems to me that the fight is won for Ferguson by a majority fifteen or twenty thousand votes more than Colquitt received, which makes about 60,000 majority, and I do not fear these last trumps played by Ball, which were brought forth by his S O S signals.

Just now I am directing my efforts towards getting out the vote on election day in all the south Texas counties, where we know we are going to get a big Ferguson majority and where five out of every six votes we know are Ferguson votes. I have not been sanguine of defeating submission. On the contrary,—I have been expecting to lose, but it looks to me now as if we will be able to defeat submission by a small majority, the size of the majority depending upon our success in getting the Anti vote out in the cities and the heavy south Texas Anti Prohibition counties.

In your last letter you warned me not to relax effort but to drive ahead, and I assure you I am prosecuting the work without any let-up and to the best of my ability.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 711.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

JULY 17, 1914.

Mr. CHARLES H. WIRMEL,
Westbrook Hotel, Fort Worth, Texas.

MY DEAR CHARLIE: Your letter of the 15th reached me this morning, and I thank you for the information it contained. I had just finished reading Fer-

guson's speech at Waco in which he discussed the Wilson-Bryan letters, and it seems to me that he handled it in a very effective and convincing manner. He not only appealed to the citizens of Texas from the standpoint of state's rights, but his reference to those people who are supporting him and who were delegates to the Baltimore Convention, it seems to me, will have a telling effect in forming the sentiment of the people in his behalf.

I would judge from Autrey's request that you remain in Texas until Primary Election day that he must be well pleased with the work which you have been doing. That such work has been excellent we, here in Chicago, know full well, and of course we are gratified to see how it has impressed the people down there.

The letter, a form of which you enclosed, should have a good effect among the labor element of the Lone Star State The only question that occurs to me is whether or not it is as effective upon the Bartenders stationery as it would have been upon the stationery of the Cigarmakers or the Musicians. but I presume you gave that matter full consideration and weighed it well before the letters were sent out.

Your account of the labor meeting where the one lone sinner sought repentance is very interesting, and I am not at all surprised, in view of the fact that you are a mariner of established reputation as the Captain of the good ship Baron Von Blitzenberger, that the tears which you shed in making your appeal to your fellow laborers were briny.

If Autrey's prediction that Ferguson will have a decisive plurality over Ball, and that the Antis will be in the majority in both branches of the General Assembly, should prove to be correct, it certainly goes without saying that it would be a keen disappointment to see Submission carry, and how such a result can come about is beyond my comprehension, although I am frank to admit that that at times is somewhat clouded.

I hope you will not overlook making arrangements that we receive telegraphic information as to the result in Texas as early as there are tangible returns upon which to base a conclusion. It may be possible that I may not be here until the morning of the 27th, so I am herewith sending you Mr. Andreae's home address in order that you may have any telegrams which may be sent on Saturday night or Sunday reach him at his residence. The address is—Percy Andreae, 4738 Sheridan Road.

Mr. Andreae, Hartley, and myself will leave for Cleveland Monday morning, the 20th, arriving there that evening, and remaining there until Thursday morning. We will be at the Hollenden Hotel, if you should desire to reach us.

Mr. Harris has made a memorandum of the fact that you do not want any mail forwarded to you after the 21st.

From Cleveland Gale and I may have to go to Cincinnati to look over the petitions which have come in for the constitutional amendment our friends in Ohio are preparing to submit to the voters. Should we take the trip I will wire you so that you will know where to get in touch with us.

We shall certainly be glad to see your sunburned and smiling countenance a week from next Monday evening and out of compliment to your return we again extend our thanks for your very kind invitation to dine with you that evening, and Hartley has even gone so far as to explain to the management of the Kaiserhof Hotel that you are a "real" fellow of established financial standing, and that you are no "piker" when it comes to the ordering a first-class meal. Just as a quiet tip to you, Charlie, I might say that I tried to impress upon Hartley the fact that it would be an honor for him to entertain you and I, but he insists that he would under no circumstances take from you the pleasure of maintaining your reputation as a host "par excellent"—whatever that may mean.

All of the folks in the office join Mr. Andreae, Gale, and myself in very hearty regards to our German friend and colleague—PROSIT!

Sincerely yours,

EXHIBIT No. 712.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *July 17th, 1914.*

MR. C. H. WIRMEL,
% Westbrook Hotel, Ft. Worth, Tex.

DEAR SIR:Yours of the 15th. received. Also circular issued by Bartenders. A similar circular is being prepared and sent out by the Brewers here. The

work is going on rapidly, and I look to have a nearly perfect organization, on election day.

We are sending a letter in a Western Union envelope, that will look like a telegram to the person receiving it, and which will be put in the mail the night of the 22nd., asking each voter to have his poll tax receipt ready in his pocket, to vote early on election day, and enclosing sample ballot, showing how to vote on submission, and for Jas. E. Ferguson. This should be a strong factor to bring out the vote.

A like letter is to be sent out in Dallas. I have heard from Galveston and San Antonio and learn that effective means have been taken there to get the vote out. I feel like you do on the question of the Burleson, Bryan and Wilson statements and think that the Burleson letter fell flat, and the effect of the other two cannot yet be defined.

Our friends do not think it will be disastrous, although they all agree that they will do Ferguson some harm. If they had sprung such things earlier it would have been very bad for us.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 713.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

JULY 18, 1914.

MR. R. L. AUTREY,
Box No. 37, Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. AUTREY: I am in receipt this morning of your communication to Mr. Gardner setting forth what you believe the result will be in your campaign, and it is very gratifying to note that you expect the nomination of Ferguson by such a decisive plurality.

We have noticed by the Texas papers the attitude taken in the campaign in your State by Burleson, Bryan, and Wilson, and also read of the manner in which Mr. Ferguson met the issue when it arose, and it seems to us that he took care of himself in excellent style.

There has, of course, been considerable speculation upon our part of why Submission should be weaker than Ferguson, as we had hoped that the sentiment in Texas against a continued agitation of the liquor question was sufficiently strong to lead the voters to defeat Submission by an overwhelming vote. Naturally, we are pleased to note in your letter to Mr. Gardner that you now hope for the defeat of Submission, and if that result is achieved by even a slight plurality, it is bound to have a beneficial effect in the future on the affairs in your own State, as well as an excellent effect throughout the country, especially at Washington.

I hope sincerely that you have found the survey to be of great value to you in the campaign that you have made, and that the work done by the men whom Mr. Andreae sent into the field to assist you, has been of as effective a character as Mr. Andreae indicated it would be when you were in Chicago last February.

We have followed the campaign which you have been making very closely, and it seems to us that most excellent work has been done to bring about a condition such as you describe in your letter to Mr. Gardner. One more week will tell the tale, and we hope sincerely that next Saturday evening will be an evening of great rejoicing to you and those who have so ably assisted you in the conduct of your campaign.

Mr. Andreae and Mr. Hartley join me in these expressions for your success, and I beg to subscribe myself,

Very truly yours,

LHG:P.

EXHIBIT No. 714.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

HOUSTON, TEX., *July 21st, 1914.*

MR. C. H. WIRMEL,
c/o Westbrook Hotel, Ft. Worth, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 19th. received.

I am glad you continue to report things in good shape in labor circles at Dallas and Ft. Worth. I think things are in equally as good shape in Houston and I am satisfied with the outlook all round.

Jim Ferguson was here yesterday and received the largest ovation ever tendered any man that has visited Houston, with the exception, perhaps, of an ovation tendered once to Theodore Roosevelt, after he had left the chair of the Presidency of the Republic. More than 8000 persons heard Ferguson speak at the Auditorium. If you do half as well at Ft. Worth tomorrow I think everybody will be well satisfied.

Very truly yours,

R. L. AUTREY.

EXHIBIT No. 715.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[Night Letter.]

274 DA CI 36 NL

DALLAS, TEX., *Jul. 26–14.*

L. H. GIBSON,
3357 Michigan Ave., Chicago.

Ferguson majority thirty two thousand submission defeated nine thousand lieutenant governor and comptroller elected also majority in senate and fifty eight legislative districts reported satisfactorily fifteen districts in doubt and fourteen not reported think situation good.

R. M. COLQUITT.

2.10 a. m., 27th.

[Day Letter.]

JULY 27, 1914.

Mr. R. M. COLQUITT,
301 Beatty Building, Houston, Texas.

You and your associates have my hearty congratulations over the outcome in Texas. When you have sufficient returns please wire the final results.

PERCY ANDREAE.

AUGUST 27, 1914.

Mr. R. M. COLQUITT,
301 Beatty Building, Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. COLQUITT: I was extremely sorry that I did not have the opportunity of seeing you upon your recent visit to Chicago, as I had looked forward to a good long talk with you over the Texas campaign, after Mr. Andreae had received your wire to the effect that you expected to be in Chicago.

It has been my experience that every campaign presents some interesting phases that it is well for one to know, and I am certain that the Texas campaign presented many of that character, and consequently I was anxious to hear from the man who had charge of the campaign such matters as came under his observation.

Mr. Andreae told me that you had carried the data gathered by us right up to date with such additional information as could be accumulated. I was very much pleased to hear this, because I always felt that your political experience had taught you that too much information of general conditions existing in the various parts of the State can never be secured. That the information gathered by our survey was of some value to you, of course, you made manifest in your letter early in June, and I was glad to note that you attached the same value to it that I have always attached to information of this character.

If it is not asking too much of you, I wish that you would write me at your convenience wherein you think our survey plan might be improved. You, of course, realize that when one sits down to prepare the questions covering the required data of any particular state, that they are liable to overlook some essential point, and inasmuch as that duty falls upon me, I would like to have any suggestions concerning the questions on Texas as will point out to me wherein I might have improved the survey of your state.

As I said to you when I first had the pleasure of meeting you, I always seek to profit by friendly advice and criticism and I want you to be very frank with me in offering any suggestions concerning the work which Mr. Andreae has undertaken, that may occur to you.

I want to extend my very hearty congratulations to you for the magnificent victory in Texas, and to express my pleasure in having met you, and the equal pleasure which it will afford me to meet you at some future time.

Very sincerely yours,

———— ————.

LHG:P

EXHIBIT No. 716.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

AUGUST 27, 1914.

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,
Houston Ice & Brewing Co., Houston, Texas.

MY DEAR MR. AUTREY: I have hesitated to write you for the reason that I knew that your very strenuous campaign in Texas would bring at least two results—the first that of exultation over your grand victory, and second, to get a much needed rest to catch up with your accumulated business affairs, and not to be bothered while you were doing either of these things, and so we have rested content with our early expression of congratulations to you.

What I am now most interested in is to learn, if possible, wherein the questions covered in our survey of your state could have been improved upon in developing the elements of organization for your campaign. The wonderful work accomplished by you naturally leads me to seek your criticism and advice looking to any improvement which it might be possible for me to make in the plan of survey; and my past political experience has taught me that every campaign gives one a more complete enlightenment of conditions than a person can possess before such campaigns are completed. You have been in the very thick of the battle; in fact, you have been in the very front of the battle in Texas. and suggestions from you looking to a greater perfection of the plans being inaugurated and perfected by Mr. Andreae, would be greatly appreciated.

Likewise, I am anxious to know for our personal information, as to how effectively the men sent in to Texas by Mr. Andreae performed their work.

It seems to me that the Ferguson nomination, and the defeat of Submission. and the wonderful gains you made in the General Assembly, would have the effect of causing many deserters from the ranks of the Pros in the state.

Mr. Hartley, who was confined to a hospital in Cincinnati for the past two weeks, has found it necessary to take a much needed rest, as has also Mr. Andreae, and they are out of the City at this time. If they were here, I am quite certain that they would join me in extending heartiest congratulations and best wishes.

Hoping to have the pleasure of hearing from you at your convenience, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

LHG:P

There is also offered in evidence Exhibits 717 to 764, they being exhibits showing the political activity of the United States Brewers' Association and their allied bodies in Iowa.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 718.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

CINCINNATI, O. *Sept. 10, 1913.*

Mr. J. LLOYD,
401 Commercial Bldg., Dayton, Ohio.

MY DEAR JACK: I am herewith returning you Mr. Thuenen's letter, so that you may have same for your files.

The date of our meeting in Chicago has been definitely fixed for September 25th.

It seems from Mr. Thuenen's letter to Gale that he is anxious for as early a meeting as possible, but I have explained the situation to him and think he will

be satisfied with the date set. You can see from his letter that he is rather impatient to get information as early as possible so that I think it would be well to see how completely the 38 Counties can be covered so that you can have reports from as many of them typewritten and ready for the meeting on the 25th. Of course we discussed this when you were here the other day but you can see the reason for my anxiety along the lines indicated.

I will leave here tomorrow morning for Columbus and will probably leave there tomorrow evening for Zanesville. Should you want to reach me Thursday afternoon up until 4.00 o'clock, I will be at Shelter's office. I will see how the work in Columbus is progressing and it may be barely possible that I will have to communicate with you by phone and have you mail a check to Mrs. Pemberton to cover the salaries of those who are working there.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours very truly, ——— ———.

KM

EXHIBIT No. 719.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

CINCINNATI, O. *September 10th, 1913.*

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Attorney at Law, Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR THUENEN: Your letter of September 6th, addressed to Mr. Gale Hartley has been forwarded to me from his office, as Mr. Hartley is now confined in a hospital here in Cincinnati as a result of an operation for Appendicitis which he had to undergo a week ago today. Mr. Hartley was suddenly stricken while here in the City and was rushed to the hospital where the doctors advised an immediate operation, which had it not been performed, might have resulted in his almost certain death, as his condition was very serious.

It was our intention to have a meeting with you and such members of your Committee as you might designate at Chicago, September 15th, but as Mr. Hartley was very desirous of being present at such a meeting, we have postponed it until Thursday, September 25th.

The work has been progressing nicely in Iowa, as I am certain you will ascertain when we hold this meeting. The completeness of the reports which we are securing made the work a little slower than we have anticipated, but the results have been so gratifying that I am positive when you see them you will quite agree that it was better to proceed thoroughly than to rush hurriedly through the work without regard to accuracy.

Mr. Andreae returned from Europe on the 29th of August and is now in Chicago. Should you desire to communicate with him previous to this meeting you will be able to reach him there. It is up to you to determine whom you want with you at the meeting in Chicago on the 25th. I say this for the reason that it is absolutely essential that the information which we will have to lay before the meeting must of necessity be of a thoroughly confidential nature, as our future plans and the execution of them depend very largely upon this information being kept to ourselves.

It is, of course, necessary that your Committee should be informed as to the headway being made and my personal observation of the gentlemen on that Committee whom I have met leads me to the conclusion that they can be relied upon to hold our plans absolutely confidential.

I presume that you will want Mr. Huntoon at the meeting, but of course that is a matter for you to decide.

Mr. Hartley, Mr. Renner and myself met Mr. Andreae upon his arrival in New York and he is acquainted with the information which you gave me concerning the visit of the other gentleman to your State. Should you feel that you desire a meeting with Mr. Andreae and the rest of us before the 25th., I wish you would advise me here by wire and I will see if it can be arranged, but if possible, would prefer the date set so that Mr. Hartley may be there, if he has sufficiently recovered to do so.

I want to thank you for the lists of the "Owls' Nests" and the names of the saloonkeepers in Des Moines County, both of which reached me promptly. In looking through the lists of saloons I fail to find those from Keokuk but assume that you did not have them owing to the readjustment in that City on July first.

I wish you would write me fully as soon as you have received this advising me of anything of importance that may occur to you in connection with the work we are doing.

With very kind personal regards to the folks in your office and to the gentlemen whom I have had the pleasure of meeting, and with best wishes, I remain,

Yours very truly,

KM

EXHIBIT No. 721.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone, Davenport–526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Nov. 3, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
C/o C. Seipp Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill.,

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE, There was universal regret at the recent annual meeting of the Iowa Brewers Association that you were unable to be with us. Nevertheless, while the regret was keen, I think they all appreciated that as busy a man as you are cannot always do just as he would like.

With the exception of the fact that you were not with us, the meeting was a great success. The whole situation was discussed and it developed that four members of our Association, manufacturing within this state, were not members of the U. S. B. A. Each of these four members promptly signed the application for membership and paid their initiation fee.

We discussed the question as to whether our Association should collect the dues for the U. S. B. A.; but it appeared that a large number of our members had already remitted for the first installment of the assessment, and it therefore became impracticable to do this.

We then called the roll of each member manufacturing within the state, on the question as to whether they would pay the 3 cts per barrel assessment to the U. S. B. A. and each member promptly responded in the affirmative.

I desire to advise further, that the Association assessed itself sufficiently to make up our full share of the fund which it is intended to spend within the state during the coming campaign, and we are now ready for business.

I have written Mr. Gibson, suggesting that at his earliest convenience I would like to see him so that we can start matters moving.

Trusting you are meeting with the success that your efforts deserve wherever you go, and thanking you for your many past courtesies, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

P. S. I will be glad to hear from you at any time, with suggestions; and if at any time you think it necessary to see me, please advise me and I will run up to Chicago, or wherever necessary, to meet you.

Yours truly, HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 722.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER EIGHTH, 1913.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport Savings Bank Bldg.,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: We are enclosing herewith Districts Nos. 5, 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26. 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 39 40, 41, 43, 46, 47, and 49.

This should complete the matter for Iowa, but should you find any missing kindly communicate with us at once.

Very truly yours,

GH/MW

EXHIBIT No. 723.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone, Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Dec. 10, 1913.*

Mr. GALE M. HARTLEY,
#3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.,

MY DEAR HARTLEY. Your favor of the 8th. inst. at hand, enclosing analyses of the districts as indicated in your letter, which I believe covers all of the 99 counties in this state, for which I thank you.

I am fixing up the reports of my men, and will send them to you as requested by Mr. Gibson.

Trusting you are meeting with the success your work deserves, and with kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 724.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JANUARY FIFTH, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: I had hoped to receive from you ere this such reports as you have received from your field men as to the political conditions they find in the various counties in which they have made investigations, so that I might check such reports with the analysis which we made of the senatorial districts and of the representative situations in the various counties.

You will remember that you promised to send me a copy of the reports which you already had in hand at the time that you were up here, but I assume that the holiday activities have somewhat interferred with the compliance of your promise, and besides, my dear Henry, I appreciate the fact that you have some job before you and that every minute of your time is taken up with consideration of the important matters which confront you.

You are doubtless in receipt by this time of a communication from Mr. Andreae inviting you to be here on the 15th, and I hope sincerely that you will be able to comply with this request, and that you will take advantage of the trip which you make to Chicago on that date to bring with you the data which I have requested.

I wish you would convey my very sincere wishes to your competent assistant manager, Miss Mitchell, that she may have a Happy and Prosperous New Year, and to you I extend greetings of the same kind.

With kind regards, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

LG/MW

EXHIBIT No. 726.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Iowa, Vollmer.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 11, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I beg to enclose herein a letter received by me this morning from Mr. Hugo A. Koehler, President Independent Breweries Company, referring to the candidacy of Mr. Henry Vollmer for Congress in the Davenport, Ia. district.

I have written Mr. Koehler that I would refer his letter to you and that you would in all probability unite with me in taking an interest in the situation referred to.

Some time ago Col. Pabst brought to my attention a communication of Mr. Edwin B. Lord, now of Joliet, in which Mr. Lord expressed his belief in his ability to serve our interest in its present extremity. Several letters have since passed about the matter and Col. Pabst requesting that I should communicate with you about it. I have taken advantage of the opportunity of visit to Chicago and the Middle West by Mr. McDermott to give to him the letters and exhibits in the case with instructions that he deliver them to you. I would say that my attention was originally drawn to Mr. Lord by Col. Pabst several years ago when he was a resident of Milwaukee and we had a connection with him whereby we utilized to a certain extent a group of farmers papers in which he was then interested.

While I believe Mr. Lord did everything in his power to further our cause at the time, yet I doubt very much if his efforts produced the results or brought about the change in conditions we had hoped they would. However, this is merely a personal expression and is intended for your information alone. You may have some knowledge of Mr. Lord as he is now a resident of Illinois and you may deem it advisable to look into the matter that he now brings to your attention. Any further information I can furnish you in the case, will be gladly supplied at any time.

With kind regards, I am yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

(Enclosure.)

EXHIBIT No. 727.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Hugo A. Koehler, president and treasurer; Louis H. Haase, vice president; Alex T. Gast, vice president; H. C. Griesedieck, general superintendent; Ferd. Gast, secretary and assistant treasurer.]

THE INDEPENDENT BREWERIES COMPANY,
SUITE 934 PIERCE BUILDING.
ST. LOUIS, *February 7, 1918.*

Mr. FRED GARDINER,
2100 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Permit me to call your attention to the candidacy of Mr. Henry Vollmer, attorney at Davenport, Iowa, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Hon. I. S. Pepper, M. C. from that State.

Mr. Vollmer was nominated a short time ago, and in my opinion should receive the support and encouragement of the brewers in his district. He is of German-American birth, and is not only an eloquent speaker and a very able lawyer, but holds to broad and liberal views on all public questions.

Yours very sincerely,

HUGO A. KOEHLER, *Pres't.*

EXHIBIT No. 728.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY 13, 1918.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. GARDINER: Your favor of February 11th, enclosing letter from Mr. Hugo A. Koehler of February 7th relative to the candidacy of Mr. Henry Vollmer of Davenport, Iowa, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. I. S. Pepper, is received, and I am pleased to be able to report that Mr. Vollmer has already been elected to fill that vacancy by a majority of 1800.

Mr. McDermott handed me the papers relating to Mr. Edwin B. Lord, whom you also refer in your letter, and I will take up this matter with our Illinois friends as soon as the opportunity offers.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 731.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY 17, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: This will introduce to you Mr. Adolph Kummer, who is co-operating with us as a representative of the United Brewery Workers of America, in advancing our cause with the organized labor element of the country.

Mr. Kummer desires to render any asistance to you that he can in helping you solve the problem which confronts you in your State. Mr. Kummer has co-operated with me many times in the past, and I have found him very efficient, and thorough in his work, always using that discretion which is so necessary. Put such information as you may have at his disposal, and co-operate as fully with him as you do with me.

With very kind personal regards, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

PA: P

EXHIBIT No. 733.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 29, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: Enclosed herewith find check for $30.00 in payment of cash advanced to Adolph Kummer.

Thanking you for your courtesy in this matter, I am,

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 734.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Law office Henry Thuenen, rooms 23, 24, 25 and 26, McManus Building. Notary and abstractor in office. Telephone No. 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *June 6, 1914.*

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON: The enclosed is a report which I have sent to my Board, made from the very meagre information which we have regarding the recent Primaries. We are not able to get correct data about the votes in the different counties, but will surely have it about the middle of next week. I thought perhaps you would be interested in getting this report. Will send complete one later on.

Yours very truly,

Enc. HENRY THUENEN.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association. Henry Thuenen, general counsel. Office of the general counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *June 5, 1914.*

In regard to the results of the recent Primaries, I will send you a statement as soon as I can get the information. The facts about the matter are that the Primaries were not such a great disappointment to me so far as I have information, as the following statement will show.

The only real disappointment I have had so far is in the Polk County returns, where the man we favored for State Senator was defeated, and one "dry" representative was nominated. It is not by any means certain that the nominee for the senate will be "dry," but he is a protege of a Mrs. Day, whose influence will be bad, although we have some hopes of holding him in line. Outside of that, the Primaries were certainly satisfactory.

We made a fight in the Audubon-Dallas-Guthrie District, and lost, but this was to be expected. I think our man would have been run out of the district any way had he voted right, as this district is one in which we had no right to expect any help, and the result was not a disappointment.

So far as we have returns, the senatorial Primary shows the following:

Dist. No. 1—Lee County.
Republican, no contest.
Democrat—John Cruikshank nominated. He is the candidate we favored. and is the better man by all means.

Dist. No. 7—Fremont-Page Counties.
Democratic candidate is dry. Had no opposition. Fosket received Republican nomination. He is for us and will be elected without a doubt.

Dist. 9—Des Moines County.
Contest on both tickets, and while all candidates were wet, the ones we favored on both tickets were nominated.

Dist. No. 10—Henry-Washington Counties.
No contest for republican nomination. Candidate is dry.
At Democratic Primary John Lindley was nominated. He is wet, and the man we supported.

Dist. No. 12—Keokuk-Poweshiek Counties.
John H. Platt, wet Democrat, had no contest.
We supported C. C. Laffler for the republican nomination, and he won.

Dist. No. 13—Wapello County.
John Webber, wet Democrat, no contest.
We supported Moore for the republican nomination, but he was defeated. This only assures Webber's election, and is of no serious consequence to us.

Dist. No. 17—Audubon-Dallas-Guthrie Counties.
This is the District to which I referred above, in which we had no right to expect any help, although we made a fight, but lost.

Dist. 21—Scott County.
Wet republican, no contest. A. A. Balluff, wet democrat, nominated. While both candidates were wet, we preferred Balluff.

Dist. No. 22—Clinton County.
Have no returns. But both candidates are wet.

Dist. No. 29—Jasper County.
We are very little interested in this, but the best of the two republican candidates won. The Democrat had no opposition.

Dist. No. 30—Polk County.
I referred to this District above.

Dist. No. 37—Hamilton-Hardin-Wright Counties.
No Democratic candidate. We supported Chase for the republican nomination, and he won. While he has always been against us, he has also been against Prohibition, and has now again pledged himself for a Manufacturer's Bill and the Secret Ballot.

Dist. No. 38—Black Hawk-Grundy Counties.
We took no part whatever. DeWulf, a wet Democrat, had no opposition. Grout, was nominated on the republican ticket. We believe without doubt that De Wulf will be elected.

Dist. No. 42—Howard-Winneshiek Counties.
Herman Kull, wet Democrat, had no opposition. We supported Enger for republican nomination, and he won.

Dist. No. 48—Carroll-Greene-Sac Counties.
While we took no hand in the republican primary, the result was no nomination, and the matter must go to the Convention. We expect to elect J. J. Meyers, wet Democrat, who has no opposition.

Dist. No. 50—Buena Vista-Humboldt-Pocohontas Counties.
Jos. Allen was re-nominated. His opponent was also dry.

From this you will see that my only disappointment was in Polk County, and I am free to confess this is a very keen disappointment.

HOUSE.

Adair Co.:—We supported McDermott, Democrat, and he won. This County is now represented by a democrat, and we believe McDermott can be elected. The republican is dry.
Appanoose Co.:—The wet candidate withdrew before the Primaries.
Black Hawk Co.:—One wet and one dry republican nominated. Both democrats are wet, and will probably win.
Boone County:—Wet Democrat won over dry preacher. Expect to elect Democrat easily.
Butler County:—Our man won on the democratic ticket. The republican is dry. No contest.
Calhoun County:—The man we supported on the republican ticket won. The democrat is dry.
Cass County:—Wet democrat—no contest. The republican we supported was nominated.
Cedar County:—Wet republican—had no contest. Wet democrat we supported won over dry democrat.
Cerro Gordo Co.:—Democrat had no contest. All republicans are dry.
Cherokee Co.:—We were not interested here, but have promises that nominee will be wet.
Davis County:—Our man on the democratic ticket won over two opponents.
Des Moines Co.:—Our favorite won on both tickets.
Fayette Co.:—Our favorite on the democratic ticket won. Both candidates will be wet.
Guthrie Co.:—Our favorite, who promised to be fair, won over the dry republican. Democrat had no contest.
Iowa County:—Our candidate won at republican primary. The democrat is wet.
Jefferson Co.:—Our favorite won on both tickets. The democrat is wet—the republican fair.
Johnson County:—No contest at republican primary. Our candidate won at democratic primary.
Lee County:—Both candidates wet.
Lucas County:—All republicans are dry. Our favorite on the democratic ticket won.
Monroe County:—Dry Democrat won, but we recently learned that his opponent was also dry, although we supported him.
Muscatine Co.:—No Democrat contest. One republican dry. The other only fair. Fair man won.
O'Brien Co.:—Wet republican—no contest. Wet democrat—won over dry democrat.
Plymouth County:—Wet democrat had no opposition. Have assurances that republican nominee will be right, although we preferred another man.
Pocohontas Co.:—No democratic contest. All republicans were dry.
Polk County:—One wet and one dry candidate on each ticket. This is my one disappointment.
Scott County:—Two wet republicans—no contests. The best two of three wet democratic candidates won.
Shelby County:—The best of the two wet democrats won.
Washington Co.:—Dry democrat won.
Woodbury County:—We are informed that both candidates on both tickets are wet.

You will see from the above, that so far as our reports, to this time, show we have had very satisfactory success everywhere but in Polk County. There are still some districts to hear from, and I will make a tabulated statement just as soon as I can get complete returns.

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 735.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

AUGUST 4, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: If you receive, in the course of the next few days, a telephone call from Des Moines asking relative to one Nelson Sparks, who

has in his possession New York draft for $400.00, please put the stamp of approval on him.

The tightness of the banks at the present time compel us to do business by draft, and I have written Mr. Sparks that in case he is unable to realize on this draft to call on Mr. Huber of the Des Moines Brewing Co., who in turn can telephone you relative to him.

Our men are in the state, and we have in the office now 53 reports from 27 counties and 7 senatorial districts. As soon as these are typewritten I will forward them to you in order that you may utilize such information as you want in the districts that are completed.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours, ——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 736.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers' Association, office of the general counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, general counsel. Telephone, Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Aug. 5, 1914.*

Mr. GALE M. HARTLEY,
No. 3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. HARTLEY: I am in receipt of your favor of the 4th. inst. in regard to Mr. Nelson Sparks, and will be very glad to be of any assistance to Mr. Sparks in securing money which he may need.

I note your remarks regarding the reports which you have, and will be very glad to secure them, and will read them with great interest.

With personal regards to you and the others, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 737.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers' Association, office of the general counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, general counsel. Telephone, Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Aug. 6, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Kingsbury, of the Sioux City Brg. Co., (and perhaps to other breweries in Iowa) by Mr. Meyer J. Stein. I presume you are familiar with the entire situation in Illinois.

I cannot quite understand Mr. Stein going outside for aid. It may be you can throw some light on this subject. My people will no doubt ask me what they should do, and I would like to be in a position to advise them.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 737–A.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna—Copy letter.)

OAK PARK, ILL., *Aug. 4, 1914.*

B. H. KINGSBURY, Esq.,
Sioux City, Iowa.

MY DEAR SIR: I am a candidate on the Republican ticket for United States Senator. All indications seem to point to the election of the Republican nominee in this State because of the dissention and unmendable factional strife in the democratic party ranks.

My republican opponent, Senator Sherman, ran for Mayor in the city of Springfield in 1911 on the "DRY" ticket and was defeated. The regular Republican organization is not supporting him.

I have taken the initiative in this campaign because of my firm belief in the principles of personal liberty.

The Prohibitionists are agitating their cause in this nation and will continue their agitation in the next Congress. This you are aware of, from newspaper dispatches throughout the country. They are also making desperate efforts to secure a large vote here—the state that supplies one-third of the crops for the malt and liquor industry—which result they hope to utilize as an argument in their cause to the next National Congress. Their success would enhance their standing. *They voted 1100 saloons out of business last April.*

You recognize the fact that if Congress takes adverse action, it would supercede all legislation in the 48 states.

I am enclosing you those parts of my platform, pertaining to the subject of Personal Liberty and to the Malt and Liquor industry. I want to circulate ONE MILLION of these pamphlets as well as to wage an educational campaign through the state, if I can get the required assistance. The campaign is short; only four weeks.

I do not wish any individual subscription to exceed $25, and if consistent with your principles, I would appreciate your aid.

Will you be good enough to acknowledge this letter?

Respectfully Yours,

MYER J. STEIN.

[Telegram.]

21 East 31st St., Chicago. 'Phone Douglas 4321.
10CHCL 5

IOWA CITY IOWA *Aug 17–14*

L H GIBSON
3357 South Michigan Ave Chicago
Will see you tomorrow morning

HENRY THUENEN

840—AM

EXHIBIT No. 738.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

AUGUST 8, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THUENEN: The circular letter from Mr. Meyer T. Stein, which you send me under date of August 6th, has apparently been sent to all the brewers of the country.

It will suffice for me to say that the organization here is taking no sides in the question of Mr. Stein's nomination. This is confidential.

Yours very truly,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 739.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers' Association, office of the general counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, general counsel. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Aug. 9, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your favor of the 8th. inst. in re candidacy of Myer Stein, and will treat the information given me as confidential.

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 740.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

AUGUST 15, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THUENEN,
Davenport Savings Bank Bldg., Davenport, Iowa.

DEAR MR. THUENEN: Will it be convenient for you to be here Tuesday morning August 18th, to discuss the reports made by our men who have just completed their work in your State?

I believe that we will have all of the reports ready for you if you can get here at the time indicated. I am especially anxious to see you and go over these reports with you before leaving for Ohio Tuesday night, where I will be compelled to stay for the balance of the week at least.

I hope you will find it convenient to run up here at this time, and wish you would either phone or wire me upon receipt of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

EXHIBIT No. 741.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Telegram.]

21 East 31st St., Chicago. 'Phone Douglas 4321.
44 CH A 17

DAVENPORT IA 28

L H GIBSON,
3357 So Mich Ave Chgo Ill

Please convey to Mr Andreae and accept for yourself my sincere congratulation on your magnificent Texas victory.

HENRY THUENEN

EXHIBIT No. 743.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers' Association, office of the general counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, general counsel. Telephone, Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Aug. 29, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

My DEAR MR. ANDREAE: At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, of our Association, held on the past Thursday, at Sioux City, it developed that the National Association of Commerce and Labor is commencing to operate in Iowa. A letter from a Mr. Bush, explaining the situation, was read, and it appeared that some of the concerns dealing with the breweries make an allowance of a fraction of one per cent, and some of one per cent.

The whole matter was referred to a general meeting of our Association, which is called for next Tuesday, Sept. 1, at Iowa City.

It was suggested that it would be very interesting and desirable to have someone connected with this Association, who is fully conversant with the matter, present at this meeting, which will be held at the Jefferson Hotel, Iowa City, at ten o'clock, on next Tuesday.

I have just reached home from the meeting, and am writing you at once in regard to the matter, but presume it will be too late to have anyone with us. If you had a man to send, he could get into Iowa City on Tuesday morning very nicely, and could leave again early in the afternoon, and we would be very glad indeed to have him with us. If this is not practicable, I wish you would write me, sending your letter to Iowa City, C/o Jefferson Hotel,—explaining in detail the whole situation; why some pay less than others, and how the breweries will know what stamps to attach to the various bills. If you cannot do this yourself, would you have some member of the Association of Commerce and Labor do so.

You will receive this letter on Monday morning, and if a reply is mailed to me at Iowa City, I will receive it in the mail on Tuesday morning, and will be in a position to use it at the meeting.

Our people are all very anxious to commence using the stamps so that your organizations will get their funds, and I want them to be fully informed so that they will all understand how it is to be done.

Thanking you for giving this matter your attention, and with very kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

P. S.—I thought I understood this matter fully, and supposed that I did, but some of the brewers seem to think the programme had undergone some change since I discussed it with you, hence this request for some light.

Very truly yours,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 744.

(From Andreae's files by G. N. M.)

[The Seelbach. Seelbach Hotel Co., Incorporated, proprietors, 4th & Walnut Streets, Louisville, Ky.]

9/3 1914

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON: Yours of the 1st received. I stopped over here last night on my way to Hoovers and Jansen's territory.

I'm to meet here the dem. candidate for Congress of the 11th Dist. this a. m., and have also secured a special on J. W. Newman who is talked of for Gov. He is at present Ch. of the State Board of Agricultural and is playing the game—but he *is "wrong."*

Am sending Harry W. today in to Finn's last territory to check up attitudes and leaders—its light work and believe he will come out alright.

My only reason for wanting Finn's reports back were to get the names of those whom he said he interviewed so the boys could be careful when they went back into his counties—however its probably best for them to go it blind and we will have a better check.

Kindest regards.

Yours, etc.

NELSON SPARKS.

EXHIBIT No. 746.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers' Association, office of the general counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, general counsel. Telephone, Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Sept. 24, 1914.*

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR GIBSON: We have been making further investigation in regard to the candidates, and their attitude on the "wet" and "dry" issues. I am submitting the enclosed as a result of some of our further investigations. I imagine you would be interested in having any errors corrected, and these slips might be pinned to your reports for future reference.

With kind regards to all, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN

Enc.

JASPER COUNTY.

Mr. Craven has solicited support from us, and has promised unqualifiedly to support us on any proposition that may arise.

H. T. 9/24/14.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.

John F. Ready is in constant connection with us, receiving and accepting our aid, and is unqualified in his pledges to support us in anything we ask. Your Operator did not see him personally.
H. T. 9/24/14.

AUDUBON COUNTY.

There must be some mistake in your report on Mr. Witthauer. He has been seen by his Democratic friends, and he is absolutely wet. He has also been seen by our people, and they seem to think the report on the back of the sheet must be mixed up with that of his opponent, Edwards, whose report would be in direct line with Witthauer's position, although Witthauer has promised to vote for a secret ballot.
H. T. 9/24/14.

DICKINSON COUNTY.

One of our men has just had a personal conference with Mr. Adkins. He has promised to be right with us on all the questions which will be raised in the legislature. The promises were made under circumstances, and in such a way, we have confidence that he will make good.
H. T. 9/24/14.

EMMET COUNTY.

Mr. Mitchell has been seen again, and he has promised absolutely to be right on all "wet" and "dry" questions. We believe he will make good on his promises.
H. T. 9/24/14.

DISTRICT NO. 12—KEOKUK-POWESHEIK COUNTIES.

Your report on Laffer is undoubtedly correct insofar as his attitude on the prohibition question is concerned. Our own people have talked with Laffer and he has assured them that he will support a shipping bill and a secret ballot bill. In addition to this, we have an understanding with Mr. J. A. Devitt, of Oskaloosa (a warm personal friend of Laffer) and he assures us that we can absolutely count on Laffer supporting both of the above measures. Laffer would vote for resubmission, but if the issue depended upon his own vote, Devitt assures us that he can induce Laffer to be absent at least.

As to PLATT, there is some mistake. I notice that he was not personally interviewed, but that the information was obtained through others. Platt has pledged himself unqualifiedly to be with us on all of the propositions we put up to him. He has promised to oppose Prohibition; to vote with us on the other questions. He comés from a very "dry" district, but he is receiving and accepting help from us and we feel confident that if elected (which is doubtful) he will make his promises good.
H. T. 9/24/14.

DISTRICT NO. 18—CASS-SHELBY COUNTIES.

Since your report Vorhees has been consulted again. He has promised absolutely to be unqualifiedly for us. As a Democrat, and in view of the aid we are rendering him, we cannot see how he can avoid being for us.
H. T. 9/24/14.

EXHIBIT No. 748.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Oct. 30, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.,

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE, I am enclosing herewith copies of two letters sent to Pechstein & Nagel Company, of Keokuk, Iowa, in regard to the National Association of Commerce & Labor tax, which explain themselves.

I am sending these copies to you so you would know what was going on in this regard. When they are of no further interest to you, you may destroy same, and forget the matter.

We are in the midst of a battle royal, as you no doubt know by this time through Mr. Keller. Mr. Keller has been about the state some, and reports to me that everything was looking splendid; and that he had great confidence we would win. I hope his confidence is justified, but I can assure you they are making a dirty fight *on Mr. Hamilton.* No living man can predict what the result will be, with any degree of certainty.

One thing is certain, and that is that the liberal forces of the state have never been so united as they are to-day, and if we lose, it will only be because the republican majority is so overwhelming it cannot be overcome.

I am making no predictions. I am only hammering away, and the results will have to take care of themselves. I hope, however, to make a report to you within a week or ten days, and I trust I may be able to report something satisfactory.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.
M

Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 749.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Copy.]

ST. LOUIS, *Oct. 20, 1914.*

PECHSTEIN & NAGEL CO.,
Keokuk, Iowa.

GENTLEMEN: We have your favor of the 19th. inst., with check for $59.93, amount which with 1% discount of the National Ass'n of Commerce & Labor, we have placed to your credit in settlement of our invoice Sept. 18th.

In reference to the 1% discount, beg to say that we will allow same only on certain goods and for a certain time. Our brewers here, with the exception of one, have refused to become members.

Thanking you for the remittance and past favors, the continuance of which we solicit, beg to remain,

Yours truly,

(Signed) CHAS. EHLERMANN HOP & MALT CO.,
OTTO GIESECKE, *President.*

"P. S. The 1% is a confiscation of a large part of profit and has so far not done any good."

[Copy from Original.]

ST. LOUIS, *Oct. 24, 1914.*

MESSRS. PECHSTEIN & NAGEL CO.,
Keokuk, Iowa.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of Oct. 23rd. duly received, and contents had our careful attention. In reply wish to say that when Mr. Koenig was here, he told us that he would get all brewers to take the 1% from all supply dealers, but he did not succeed to get them all, also the supply dealer being a jobber only, should get the manufacturer to stand some of the 1%. We tried the manufacturers, but they would not allow us anything. Now if we take only a brokerage; for instance, on Anhydrous Ammonia and Cooperage, we cannot allow 1%, but we generally mark our invoices that way. If they are not marked, we are willing to stand the 1%. Wish to call your attention though, to the fact that if we sell $400,000.00 goods per annum, we have to pay $4000.00, which is a great part of our profit, and we know of no brewery which was willing to pay so much in proportion.

Now, in regard to giving up the fight, we will not do so. We have always contributed whenever a state had a fight against prohibition for sums that were

asked and will do so in future, but we cannot see why we shall pay such big amount for educational purposes. Annheuser-Busch here are the only ones requiring the 1%; no other brewery here consented to it.

Always at your service, we beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) CHAS. EHLERMANN HOP & MALT CO.,
OTTO GIESECKE, *President.*

"Maltsters, as manufacturers, pay only $2.00 on an outlay of $1000.00. We, as jobbers, are forced to $10.00 on same amount."

EXHIBIT No. 750.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel. Telephone Davenport 526.]

DAVENPORT, IOWA, *Nov. 10, 1914.*

Mr. L. H. GIBSON,
#3357 So. Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. GIBSON: I am enclosing herewith a report of our work in different counties wherein we were engaged, showing our successes and our defeats.

I am also enclosing a synopsis of the Senate and the House, showing the attitude which we expect the respective members to assume on our question, based upon the results of our investigations. This means your reports and our further investigations.

Trusting same will be satisfactory, I am

Your very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.
M.

SENATE.

	State-wide prohibition.	National prohibition.	Secret ballot.	Resubmission.	W. S.
NEW SENATORS.					
Allen, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Chase, R.	No	No	Yes	No	
Caswell, D.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Enger, R.	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Eversmeyer, R.	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Frailey, R.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Foskett, R.	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Foster, R.	Yes	Yes	No	No	
Fleck, D.					
Grout, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	
Greene, D.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Helmer, R.	No	(?)	Yes	No	No.
Henigbaum, R.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Jackson, R.	(?)	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Lindley, D.	No		Yes	No	
Laffer, R.	No	Yes	No	Yes	No.
Parker, R.	No		Yes	No	(?)
Schrupp, D.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Thompson, R.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Vorhees, D.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Whittemore, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
White, D.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
HOLDOVER SENATORS.					
Arney, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Balkema, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Boe, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Clarkson, D.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Crist, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Darrah, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Doran, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No.
Farr, D.	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Fellows, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.

SENATE—Continued.

	Statewide prohibition.	National prohibition.	Secret ballot.	Resubmission.	W. S.
HOLDOVER SENATORS—continued.					
Francis, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Hagemann, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Gillette, D	No	No	Yes	No	
Kimball, R.	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Heald, R	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Hilsinger, R	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Jones, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Larrabee, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Nye, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Perkins	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Quigley, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Ream, D	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Robinson, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Savage, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Sheean, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Taylor, R.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Thomas, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
White, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Wilson, R	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.

HOUSE.

County.	Representative.	Statewide prohibition.	National prohibition.	Secret ballot.	Resubmission.	W. S.
Adair	McDonald, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Adams	Cochran, D	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Allamakee	Heiming, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Appanoose	Schaefer, D	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Audubon	Wittauer, D	No	No	No	No	No.
Benton	Mackie, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Blackhawk	McFarlane, R					
	Bronson, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Boone	Herman, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Bremer	Miller, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Buchanan	Taylor, R					
Buena Vista	Murray, R	No	No			No.
Butler	Atkinson, R	No	No			Yes.
Calhoun	Gray, R	Yes	Yes	No		Yes.
Carroll	Rogers, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Cass	C. C. Smith, R	(?)	No	Yes	(?)	Yes.
Cedar	Petersen, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Cerro Gordo	Jones, R	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes.
Cherokee	Wilson, R	No		No	No	(2).
Chickasaw	Keppke, R	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes.
Clarke	Eggleston, D	Yes	Yes	No		Yes.
Clay	Gilmore, R			No		Yes.
Clayton	Decker, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Clinton	Ingwerson, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
	Tucker, R	No	No	No	No	No.
Crawford	Klinker, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Dallas	Brady, R					
Davis	Anderson, D	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Decatur	Thompson, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Delaware	Holbert, R					
Des Moines	Jameson, D	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Dickinson	Jones, R.[1]				No	
Dubuque	Horchem, D	No	Yes	No	No	No.
	Kane, D	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Emmet	Bingham, R	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Fayette	Wayman, R	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Floyd	Purdy, R	Yes	Yes		Yes	No.
Franklin	Darrah, R	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Fremont	Rees, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No.
Greene	Anderson, R.[2]				Yes	
Grundy	Greene, R	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes.
Guthrie	Moore, R	Yes	Yes	No		No.
Hancock	Durant, R	No		No		No.
Hamilton	Rube McFerrin, R	Yes	No	Yes		Yes.
Hardin	Schmedike, D	No	Yes	No	Yes	No.

[1] Known as wet.

[2] No direct report; considered liberal.

HOUSE—Continued.

County.	Representative.	Statewide prohibition.	National prohibition.	Secret ballot.	Resubmission.	W. S.
Harrison	M. B. Pitt, R	No	Yes	No	(?)	No.
Henry	W. F. Kopp, R	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes.
Howard	Elwood, R	(?)	(?)	(?)	Yes	(1).
Humboldt	Johnston, R	No		No	Yes	No.
Ida	Spotts, D	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Iowa	Turner, R	Yes	No		No	Yes.
Jackson	Kelso, R	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Jasper	Craven, D	No	Yes	No		No.
Jefferson	Ball, Ind					
Johnson	Coast, R	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Jones	Hale, R	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Keokuk	Nordyke, R	Yes	No	Yes	No	No.
Kossuth	Sullivan, D	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Lee	Sawyer, R	No	Yes	No	No	No.
Linn	H. C. Ring, R		Yes		Yes	No.
	J. Barry, R				No	No.
Louisa	Wilson, R	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Lucas	Johnston, R	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes.
Lyon	Oldenberg, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Madison	Lenocker, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Mahaska	Wilson, R	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	Yes.
Marion	Crozier, D	Yes	Yes	No		Yes.
Marshall	Gilbert, R	(?)	Yes	No	No	No
Mills	Ira Swaim, R	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Mitchell	Wilson, R	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Monona	Rowles, D	No	No	Yes	No	
Monroe	W. E. Giltner, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Montgomery	C. L. Anderson	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	Yes.
Muscatine	A. L. Richards, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
O'Brien	Swenson, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Osceola	D. C. Steelsmith, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Page	A. Wenstrand, R	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes.
Palo Alto	L. O. Wiedahl, R	No	No	(?)	No	No.
Plymouth	A. T. Stokes, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Pocahontas	Robert Bruce, R	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
Poweshiek	Mayburn, R	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes.
Polk	Brammer, R	No	No	Yes	No	Yes.
	Garton, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Pottawattamie	Neff, R	No	Yes	No		Yes.
	Grason, R	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No.
Ringgold	H. G. Roberts, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	(?)
Sac	Lee, R					
Scott	Kimberly, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
	Lueders, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Shelby	Bailey, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Sioux	Stone, R	No	Yes	No	No	(?)
Story	J. C. Jessen, R	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Tama	T. E. Shortness, R	No	Yes	No		Yes.
Taylor	C. A. Hall, R	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?)	Yes.
Union	Coakley, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Van Buren	S. H. Bauman, D	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes.
Wapello	Freeman, R					
	Slaught, R	Yes	Yes	No		Yes.
Warren	Wm. Buxton, jr., R	(?)	(?)	(?)		Yes.
Washington	Munroe, R	Yes	Yes			No.
Wayne	J. E. Dozo, D	(?)	(?)	(?)		Yes.
Webster	P. Hadley, R	Yes	Yes	No		Yes
Winnebago	Anderson, R	Yes	Yes	No		Yes
Winneshiek	Nicholson, R	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Woodbury	T. F. Griffin, R	No	No	Yes	No	No.
	J. S. Michael, D	No	No	Yes	No	No.
Worth	T. C. Rone, R					Yes.
Wright	J. H. Reese, R	Yes		No	Yes	Yes.

1 Favors local option for municipalities.

EXHIBIT No. 750.

STATEMENT OF DISTRICTS IN WHICH WE OPERATED AND THE RESULTS.

No. 1. Lee County—Joe R. Fraiely, Rep. elected.

This is a Democratic stronghold. Both candidates were liberal, but the Democrat was a negligible quantity, and Frailey, the republican candidate was judged to be a tower of strength in our behalf. We therefore centered on Frailey with great vigor and elected him by over 1200 majority.

No. 9. Des Moines County—Frank E. Thompson, Rep. elected.

This is an overwhelming democratic county. The democratic candidate, however, would have been very weak, if at all friendly, on our question; while the republican candidate was an out and out liberal. *We made a very vigorous and energetic fight for him, with the result that he was elected by about 300 majority*, although he is the only republican on the ticket who was elected in this county. He immediately telephoned us the result, and gave us the credit for his election. He will be a rock of gibraltor for our cause.

No. 10. Henry-Washington Counties—Jno. Lindley, Dem. elected.

This district is strongly republican. The republican candidate for the Senate was "dry"; and the Democratic candidate has been represented to us as liberal, and we have promises from several sources that he would be friendly to us, especially in view of the *fact that he knows we supported him vigorously, and that he owes* his election to us. We put up a *very vigorous fight against* great odds, and won.

No. 13. Wapello County—C. W. Whittemore, Rep. elected.

This County is a very close one. Webber, democrat, has represented the County and was "wet." We made one of our hardest fights to re-elect him, but failed. His defeat was due, however, entirely to his attitude on Capitol Extension, Labor Questions and other important matters.

No. 18. Cass-Shelby Counties—J. C. Voorhees, dem. elected.

This District is a republican district, and by reason of the slump should have overwhelming republican. Tobe Smith, republican, was a candidate to succeed himself, and was "dry." We therefore made a fight on him and succeeded in defeating him by 1224.

No. 29. Jasper County—D. S. Fleck, Dem. elected.

This is a very close district, but, in view of the slump, it was expected to go overwhelmingly republican. We had very little information in regard to the attitude of Mr. Fleck, the democratic candidate for the Senate, but had assurances from several other sources that he would be fair with us, while his opponent was very strongly opposed to us. We therefore centered on Mr. Fleck, and placed him under quite heavy obligations to us. He was consequently elected, and we have no fears but that he will be fair with us.

No. 34. Crawford-Harrison-Monona Counties—G. L. Caswell, dem. elected.

This is a very close district. The republican candidate was a very strong one, and was inclined to be fair by us, but he would have been dominated by the railroads and would make our issue secondary. We therefore threw our influence to Mr. Caswell, who was elected by a substantial majority.

No. 38. Black Hawk-Grundy Counties.

This District is also republican, but elected Senator DeWulf four years ago. We considered this one of our very important districts, and centered on DeWulf against a "dry" man, with *great vigor*. In view of the overwhelming republican slump it would be expected that a republican candidate would be elected by a large majority. It so happens, however, that DeWulf may be defeated by only about 20 votes, and if so, his defeat is clearly due to his attitude on Capitol Extension, and some local animosities.

No. 44. Chickasaw-Floyd Counties.—Geo. Jackson, Rep., elected.

In this District we centered on Mr. Legel to succeed himself, but before the campaign was over we discovered that his opponent was getting much support from a liberal contingent in his district, and upon an investigation found that he had made some pledges to justify this. The result was that Mr. Legel was

defeated, particularly on account of Capitol Extension and other matters in his record. While we were defeated in this District, we were really not hurt, because of the attitude of Mr. Jackson, the successful candidate.

No. 45. Benton-Tampa Counties.—H. C. White, dem., elected.

This is a republican district. Ames was one of the worst "dry" men we had against us during the last two sessions. We therefore made a very vigorous fight to defeat him, and succeeded in electing Mr. White, a democrat, who is at heart liberal.

No. 50. Buena Vista, Humboldt, Pocahontas.—J. H. Allen, Rep., re-elected.

Senator Allen was a candidate to succeed himself in this District. Four years ago he was elected by 3717 votes. He is quite prominent, and is a prospective candidate for Governor. There was no thought that he could be defeated, but we felt that a substantial reduction in his majority would help materially in eliminating him from the gubernatorial race two years hence, in favor of W. L. Harding, the present Lieutenant-Governor. The result of our work exceeded all our expectations. Allen was only elected by about 600 majority.

STATEMENT OF COUNTIES IN WHICH WE WORKED, AND THE RESULTS.

Adair County. A bitter fight was made in this County. We succeeded in electing Mr. McDermott, a democrat, to the House. This is a close county.

Audubon County. Although this is a republican county, we succeeded in electing a wet democrat, Mr. Wittauer.

Boone County. This is an overwhelmingly republican county. The republican representative two years ago was elected by 750 votes. We succeeded in replacing him with a wet democrat, by about 700 votes. Mr. Herman is the democratic representative.

Bremer County. This is a democratic county, but a bitter fight was made on C. W. Miller, the democratic candidate to succeed himself, on account of his attitude on many public questions. We found it necessary to go into that County and do some work, which proved successful.

Butler County. This is a very strong republican county. We made an effort to elect a wet democrat, but failed. We cut the republican majority considerably, but it was not sufficient. Atkinson is the republican representative-elect.

Cedar County. This county is republican by a small majority, and we waged a hard fight in favor of a wet democrat against a dry republican, and succeeded in electing the democrat, Mr. Petersen.

Cherokee County. This is a strong republican county, but we hoped to elect a wet democrat. We failed in this principally on account of the strong republican slump. Wilson is the republican representative-elect.

Clinton County. A strong democratic county. A desperate fight was made to elect two republican representatives, one of whom was "dry." The City of Clinton is a manufacturing town and there are a large number of unemployed. This helped the republicans amazingly. The result of the election was that we elected one "wet" democrat and one "wet" republican, although we had hoped to elect the two wet democrats. Mr. Ingwersen and Mr. Tucker will be the next representatives from this county.

Des Moines County. This is a democratic county. We elected a wet democrat, Mr. Jameson, to the House. This is a county in which we supported a republican for the senate and a democrat for the house, and were successful in both instances.

Emmett County. This is a strong republican county. We put up a bitter fight on account of the extreme bitterness of Bingham, the republican representative against our cause. We failed in electing a democrat, but cut the majority of Mr. Bingham, the republican, very materially.

Hardin County. This is an overwhelmingly republican county, but the republican candidae, Huff, was very dry. We put up a desperate fight and succeeded in electing a wet democrat, Schmedeke, by a small majority.

Howard County. This is a strong republican county. We tried to elect a wet democrat, but failed. Elwood is the republican representative-elect.

Ida County. We succeeded in electing a wet candidate, O. O. Spotts, a republican.

Iowa County. We lent our support to a wet democrat, W. G. Fletcher, and although this is a democratic county, we lost—principally on account of the republican slump. Turner, the republican candidate, was elected.

Jackson County. This is a democratic county. A very hard fight was waged by our enemies, in an effort to elect the republican. We succeeded in defeating the republican, however, and elected a wet democrat, Jos. Kelso, who succeeds himself.

Jasper County. This is a very close county. A bitter fight was waged. We succeeded, however, in electing a "wet" democrat, Craven.

Jefferson County. This is an overwhelmingly republican county, and we would have kept out but for the fact that there were four candidates. This gave us some hope that we might succeed in electing a wet democrat. We failed in this, however. Ball, the Independent Candidate, was elected. We have no report on this candidate, but have an intimattion that he will be fair.

Keokuk County. We made a losing fight in this county. Nordyke, a dry republican, was elected.

Kossuth County. This is an overwhelmingly republican county, but we succeeded in electing a wet democrat, Sullivan.

Lee County. This is a democratic stronghold, but we succeeded in electing a wet representative, Chas. Sawyer, a republican.

Louisa County. This is an overwhelmingly republican county, but we hoped to elect a wet democrat. In this we failed. We cut the majority from 1200 to 200. Wilson, the republican, was elected.

Lucas County. This is a republican county. We tried to elect a wet democrat, but failed. Johnson, the republican, was elected.

Lyon County. This is a close county, but we put up a hard fight and elected a wet democrat, Oldenberg.

Madison County. This is a republican county, but we succeeded in electing a wet democrat, Lenocker.

Mahaska County. This is a close county. We hoped to re-elect a wet democrat, but failed. Wilson, the republican, being elected.

Monona County. This is a republican county, but we made a desperate fight for a wet democrat and succeeded, Rowles being elected.

Osceola County. We threw our influence in favor of a wet democrat and succeeded in electing Steelsmith.

Pottawattamie County. This is a republican county, but we make a desperate fight to elect two wet democrats. We failed however, as two "dry" republicans were elected—Neff and Grasen being elected.

Sac County. This is an overwhelmingly republican county. We endeavored to elect a wet democrat but failed. The dry representative was elected by only 22 votes. Lee, republican, being elected.

Shelby County. This is a slightly democratic county. A bitter fight was made on the democratic candidate for the legislature, who is "wet": but we succeeded however in electing him. Bailey, the democrat, being elected.

Tama County. This is a republican county, but we hoped to elect a democrat who was wet, and failed. Shortress, the republican, being elected.

Union County. We made a hard fight for a democrat, and won out, Coakley, the democrat, being elected.

Webster County. This is an overwhelmingly republican county. The present representative was elected two years ago by 1,880 votes. On account of the fact that Ft. Dodge is located in this county, and has saloons, we had hoped to elect a wet democrat. We made a desperate fight, but failed. The republican was elected, but his majority was cut to 250. Hadley, republican, was elected.

EXHIBIT No. 751.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

DECEMBER 10, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THEUNEN,
Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. THEUNEN: Enclosed herewith please find a list of the foreign language papers in the State of Iowa including Bohemian, Hollandish, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, and German.

It is possible for us to work with all of these papers, and I believe we are in a position to reach their respective nationalities in a very effective manner.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

EXHIBIT No. 753.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

NOVEMBER 11, 1914.

Mr. HENRY THEUNEN,
Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa.

MY DEAR HENRY: I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. enclosing a résumé of the results of the election in your State November 3rd.

It seems to me, after looking them over that one Henry Theunen should pat himself on the shoulders for the excellent work accomplished by him in the year just closed. It is certainly gratifying to see the result of intelligent organization and application such as you have demonstrated during the campaign. I can not see how the situation could be better in your State than is shown by the reports which you have sent me.

Mr. Andreae and Mr. Hartley are out of the city, but will return tomorrow morning, and I am quite certain that they will be as much pleased to see the excellent showing made in Iowa as I can possibly be.

I want you to convey my very kind regards to the real manager of the Iowa campaign—Miss Mitchell. All I have said concerning you and your work I want to express to her with an addition of 100%.

I will be very glad to enjoy the dinner which you promised me some time ago, when I see you in New Orleans. My only regret will be that we cannot have it under the masterful guiding hand of Rev. Miller.

Again thanking you for your kindness in sending the reports, and with very best wishes, I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

EXHIBIT No. 755.

(From Andreae's file. Copy.)

At a special meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Iowa Brewers Association, held at the Congress Annex, Chicago, Illinois, on Monday, November 16, 1914, at ten o'clock A. M., the following resolution was unanimously adopted by said Board:

"*Resolved*, That this Association record its deep appreciation of the assistance rendered the industry in Iowa during the past year by the National Association of Commerce and Labor, the organization directed by Mr. Percy Andreae, and that the United States Brewers' Association, and the brewers of the country at large, be urgently requested to continue, and if possible extend, their support to that organization, the effectiveness of whose methods, under peculiarly unfavorable political circumstances, has been most strikingly illustrated during the recent campaign in Iowa.

"Believing that it is of paramount interest to the brewing industry throughout the country to learn in detail of the experience of the brewers of Iowa, this Association hereby records the following facts:

"That while we have heretofore successfully combatted prohibition, in recent years the enemy has made such aggressions in the matter of restrictive laws that a year ago we felt there was no escape from total destruction.

"That, after the organization directed by Mr. Percy Andreae had undertaken to survey the state and develope on the basis of such survey, an educational campaign throughout the state, a most surprising change in conditions took place, resulting in an awakening of the liberal elements throughout the community, and the spreading of a spirit of determined resistance against the prohibition element, which has culminated in such substantial gains in the number of liberal representatives in the legislature that we now feel sure a continuation of said work will soon remove us from all fear of prohibition, and the prospects of relief from existing intolerable laws appears almost certain in the near future.

"This Association is frank to admit that it believed a year ago that such results were beyond the range of possibility, and it has therefore felt it to be doubly its duty to bring the facts to the knowledge of the industry at large.

"Attest:

"JOHN NAGEL, *President.*
"F. P. MATTES, *Secretary.*"

EXHIBIT No. 757.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa. Telephone Davenport 526. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel.]

APRIL 9, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
 # 1132 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.,

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Our work with the legislature is now finished. After repealing the Mulct Law and passing about a dozen law enforcement bills, the legislature has finally declined to authorize the manufacture and sale of a non-intoxicating malt beverage which would contain less than 1/2 of 1% of alcohol.

This was the bill we have been fighting to get through during the last three or four weeks; but the pins were set against us and the "drys" seemed to have had a taste of blood and refused absolutely to listen to us.

This proposition is one which could be put through almost any session of the legislature, but conditions were just such that they would not listen to us this time.

At our recent meeting in Chicago it was suggested that we should have a conference with the St. Louis breweries and the Milwaukee breweries, and explain to them just how the whole matter happened. Our Board directed that this be done as soon as we finished the work at the legislature.

We are now ready to take this matter up and will be glad to do anything in our power.

As I understood the matter, you were to arrange a conference, first at St. Louis, and then at Milwaukee. If you will advise me just what you would like to have done, I will be glad to see that your wishes are carried out.

Was it your idea that Mr. Kemmerle and I should represent our Board at this conference; or that there should be a full Board at same.

I wish again to express to you our very high appreciation of your kindness and your assistance to us. I am as fully convinced now as I have ever been that your system or method of work is the only system that can possibly accomplish any permanent and satisfactory result. The fact that we were unsuccessful in Iowa does not in any sense detract from the system you operate. There is no method of handling this subject that can overcome conditions when they are once set against you. We had an herculean task in Iowa to begin with. We counted 12 out of 29 Holdover members of the Senate as friendly to us, but in fact only 9 out of the 12 stood pat. This left us only 21 Districts out of which to elect enough new members to make 25. This was impossible to accomplish. The bill repealing the Mulct Law had 27 votes in the Senate. The last vote cast would never have been cast against us if that vote would have saved us. It required 26 votes to pass the bill, so it will be seen that the bill had a bare constitutional majority. If the 2 or 3 holdovers that we had counted upon had stood pat, we would have been in a position to say that we had elected enough new members to hold our own, and with the application of the same system for the next election, there would have been no doubt about a safe majority in the Senate to head off any further adverse legislation.

We were defeated by a mere slip, but it was sufficient to do the work.

I feel that your friends among the Brewers should know the facts just as they are. Besides these facts there were at least two senators who can thank us for their elections but who nevertheless voted against us.

Please let me know your wishes in the matter and we will be very glad indeed to do anything for you, or to cooperate with you in any way possible.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 758.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa. Telephone Davenport 526. Henry Thuenen General Counsel.]

APRIL 16, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE, In pursuance of our agreement we have had a conference with the Anheuser-Busch Brg. Ass'n of St. Louis. I am enclosing herewith a brief report of the conference sent by me to the members of the Board of Trustees of our Association, which explains itself.

All I can say is that we were very highly pleased with the reception and attention which we received, and we are very satisfied that the Anheuser-Busch Ass'n is more alive to the situation than any of the larger brewing concerns with which we are acquainted. There would be a possibility to save the situation if all the larger breweries took the broad view of the situation which this institution takes.

Hoping I may be able to see you personally some time before your visit here in June, I am,

Yours very truly,

HENRY THUENEN

Enc.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa. Telephone Davenport 526. Henry Thuenen General Counsel.]

APRIL 16, 1915.

Fred Kemmerle and I were in St. Louis yesterday to keep an appointment previously made with Mr. August A. Busch, President of the Anheuser-Busch Brg. Ass'n.

This conference was in pursuance of our agreement and understanding with Mr. Andreae, and was asked in order to give us an opportunity to discuss the future of Iowa.

We presented the situation exactly as it is, and suggested that a vote on Woman's Suffrage would be had in Iowa next year at the Primary election and that the Constitutional Prohibition question had been passed at the present session of the legislature, and must pass the next session of the legislature when it would be submitted to a vote of the people in 1918.

We explained that the vote on Woman's Suffrage was set for the Primary in order that the woman might assist, if the proposition carried, in electing the next legislature which would have to pass the Prohibitory Amendment proposition. We also explained that in our opinion Woman's Suffrage could be defeated but that at the present time Constitutional Prohibition would carry. We further suggested that if Woman's Suffrage was defeated and the saloons were closed next January, one of two things would happen—either the law would be very strictly enforced and then a great many people heretofore "dry" might be unfriendly to Prohibition; or the law would be laxly enforced and blind pigs would be so common, a majority of the people would prefer the regulated saloons.

We explained to these gentlemen that we had absolutely no financial interest in the matter, but that under the circumstances we felt it our duty to explain the situation to the larger breweries of the West so that if they saw fit to take an interest in the situation in Iowa they would know the facts and circumstances in advance.

We suggested that in our opinion the Andreae organization could be, and would be, the most effective in this work. We explained to them that some prestige might have been lost Mr. Andreae on account of the result in Iowa but assured them that it was certainly not the fault of his organization, or the work done, explaining our situation as it was and the success we had really attained; and that our Lieutenant Governor ran 25,000 votes ahead of the Governor, and the liberal Democratic candidate for Governor was defeated by

25,000 which could easily have been made up in the Eastern part of the state, and that the loss in the Eastern part of the state was due absolutely to commercial conditions.

At this conference there were present Mr. Busch, Mr. Abraham Anheuser and Mr. Klaus. We spent about one and a half hours with them, and when we apologized for taking so much of their time, they expressed great satisfaction with our conference. Mr. Busch went so far as to suggest that it would be worth while to engage us to present this proposition to every large brewery in the country. They assured us that our conference was of the greatest interest to them, and that they were extremely pleased that we called on them and made the presentation which we did. They are enthusiastic supporters of Mr. Andreae, and Mr. Anheuser assured us that they were prepared to go down with the Andreae organization.

Taken altogether, Fred and I agreed that it was as satisfactory a conference as we could possibly have hoped for.

I feel we have done our full duty toward this concern, and am anxious now to get the matter off our hands with the Milwaukee concerns, and then I hope to have an opportunity to explain the results of our conference to Mr. Andreae so he will also know just how the land lays.

In a telephone conversation the other day with Mr. Hartley, he advised me that Mr. Andreae would stop off in Davenport some time in June on his way to San Francisco. I shall take steps to ascertain just when he will be here so that as many of our members as can make it convenient will be present to greet him.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) HENRY THUENEN.

EXHIBIT No. 760.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

[Iowa Brewers Association, Office of the General Counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa. Telephone Davenport 526. Henry Thuenen, General Counsel.]

JUNE 20, 1915.

To the Interstate Conference Committee of the United States Brewers' Ass'n.

GENTLEMEN: As you all know, Prohibition has now for many years been the law of the State of Iowa. This has been relieved by what we term the "Mulct Law." During recent years this law has been made more and more stringent by adverse Supreme Court construction, and by legislative enactment, until we have been very little short of actual state-wide prohibition for a long time. The little that was left to us was taken away at the recent session of the legislature by the repeal of the Mulct Law, which takes effect January 1, 1916.

At that time every saloon will be banished from the State of Iowa, and every brewery will be closed under the statutory law of the state.

In addition to this, the legislature at its regular session adopted a resolution submitting to the people of the state an amendment to the constituion providing for sate-wide constitutional prohibition.

Before this can be submitted, however, the identical resolution must again be adopted by both houses of the legislature at its next session which will be held in 1917. The amendment will then be submitted to the people (if the resolution is adopted) at the general election in 1918, unless some other date is fixed by the legislature for its submission.

A resolution for an amendment to the constitution providing for woman's suffrage has passed the last two sessions of the legislature, and the question will be submitted at the next state-wide primary which will be held in June, 1916. This question would have been submitted at the general election next year, but the legislature concluded that it would be an advantage to prohibition to have the question submitted earlier so that, if the proposition should carry, the women could vote at the next general election and assist in the election of "dry" representatives and senators in order to assure the adoption of the prohibitory amendment when the legislature again convenes.

In our state the constitution can be amended only by a vote of the people, after a resolution submitting the proposed amendment has been adopted at two

successive sessions of the legislature. It will at once be seen that to have prohibtion written into our constitution will remove Iowa almost permanently from the field of possible wet territory.

As we view the situation in our state there is a feeling that the fight which has been made by the brewers and the liberal interests of the state, is very little short of marvelous in that it has deferred the evil day so long. We believe there has been no way possible to avoid the results we now have, except by absolutely closing the state against the liquor traffic in order that the present generation may have the same experience with state-wide prohibition as the previous generation had from 1884 to 1892. Whether this experience will lead to the same result as it previously did, is a problem that time alone can solve.

Our breweries will be closed and the revenue with which we have conducted our past fights will be removed.

We therefore submit our situation to you in order that you may know all the facts and circumstances, and use your own judgment as to whether you care to continue the fight, or whether you are willing to surrender the state to the enemy.

The first battle that will be fought in the state will be on the Woman's Suffrage Amendment. A defeat in this would make a contest on constitutional prohibition very difficult.

We are of the opinion that Woman's Suffrage can be defeated, although we believe that the liquor interests should not be known as the contending force against this amendment. Action of some kind should be taken to assure a real and active campaign against this measure.

There are a great many elements in the state of Iowa which are dry but which are opposed to Woman's Suffrage. The Swedish and Norwegian population in the Northern part of the state is opposed to the saloon, but is practically unanimous against Woman's Suffrage. A great many of the Americans in Iowa are opposed to it, and it is my opinion that 75 per cent of the membership of both houses of the last two sessions of the legislature will vote against it at the polls.

The next battle will be at the next session of the legislature. The margin in the state senate in favor of constitutional prohibition is very small indeed. If the U. S. B. A. decides to make a fight against resubmission at the next session of the legislature, we believe they should concentrate their efforts on the senate. If this should fail, the only thing left would be a contest at the polls in 1918, when the question will be submitted to the people of the state.

There is a very powerful argument which can be brought against this proposition in Iowa which does not obtain in contests of this kind generally. The opinion is very commonly expressed that the legislature made a grievous error in repealing the Mulct Law. When the constitutional amendment is submitted the State will already be "dry" by reason of the repeal of the Mulct Law. and it will thus be demonstrated to the people that state-wide prohibition is a possibility without a constitutional amendment and that it would be quite useless to write a restriction into the constitution which can be had quite as effectively by a simple act of the legislature.

If constitutional prohibition is defeated the question will remain an open one and the legislature can at any session repeal the prohibitory law and substitute any regulatory measure it may consider wise.

To sum up, what Iowa needs at your hands, if you are disposed to interest yourselves in the state, is—

First. A contest on Woman's Suffrage at the Primary in 1916

Second. A contest for liberal senators at the election in 1916—and if this fails, then

Third. A contest at the polls on the prohibitory amendment, which will be held at the general election in 1918, unless otherwise provided by the legislature.

In this connection I desire to suggest that while the breweries of Iowa will go out of business on January 1, 1916, and will therefore be unable to contribute money to any great extent towards these contests, they have arranged to maintain their organization on an economical basis for some time to come. This organization and each individual member will be glad to co-operate with the U. S. B. A. in any effort to continue the fight, if, in your judgment and the judgment of the Board of Trustees of the U. S. B. A. this should be desired.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) HENRY THUENEN, *General Counsel.*

EXHIBIT No. 761.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Iowa Brewers' Association, office of the general counsel, 23–24–25–26 Davenport Savings Bank Building, Davenport, Iowa; Telephone, Davenport 526. Henry Thuenen, general counsel.]

AUG. 31, 1915.

To Iowa Brewers' Association,

In view of recent events in matters of legislation relating to our business, your Board of Trustees felt it to be their duty to submit a brief report to you of the work of the Association during recent years, and therefore directed that the following report be prepared.

After the enactment of the Mulct Law in 1894 by the 25th. General Assembly, there was comparative quiet in the state for a number of years. Occasional contests of petitions of consent were made; and here and there injunction suits against violators of the law were brought. These suits appeared to be largely a matter of revenue for the attorneys who brought them; but they resulted in keeping alive the "dry" organization.

At each session of the legislature "dry" bills were introduced, but none of great importance outside of law enforcement bills were enacted until the 31st. General Assembly, in 1906, amended the law to provide that all general consents shoud expire on July 1, 1911, and that thereafter such statements of general consent should remain valid for a period of five years only.

Resolutions providing for the resubmission of the question of constitutional prohibition were offered at practically every session of the legislature, but they were invariably killed or smothered in the committees.

Rumblings of the storm which was to come were heard as early as 1903 and 1904, when communities like Dubuque and Davenport were forced to recognize some closing hours. These regulations were gracefully accepted by the liberal people, but it was soon found that nothing short of absolute destruction would satisfy the "dry" forces of the state.

By 1907 the wave had reached such overwhelming velocity that in communities which had never before been restrained, all the restrictions of the Mulct Law were gradually but surely forced upon them. Naturally some resentment was felt by the liberal people of these communities, but, on the whole, they consented and the law became effective in a very short time.

Misrepresentations of the true state of affairs existing in liberal communities were circulated throughout the state with the result that the 33rd. General Assembly, which convened in January, 1909, threatened to retaliate by submitting the prohibitory amendment to the people. Through the efforts of this Association, business men, professional men, and even ministers of the Gospel, were induced to lend their support to defeat the constitutional amendment. After one of the most notable liquor fights in the history of the state, the resolution for resubmission was permitted to die in the committee of the Senate after it had passed the House by an overwhelming majority.

It was thought when this was settled that all adverse legislation would be defeated, and our representatives retired from the field confident that this would happen. During the closing hours of the session, however, tremendous "dry" influences were brought to bear, and the Sifting Committees to which all bills had been referred, were forced to report out a number of the most drastic ones, including the bill known as the "Moon" Law which limits the number of saloons to one for every one thousand inhabitants; and the so-called "Bennett" Law providing that no one interested in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors could be interested in any real estate or personal property used in the retail sale thereof.

These disasters, together with the close margin by which resubmission was defeated, convinced us that some very strenuous and effective efforts must be made at once if we expected to save our existence.

THIRTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Realizing that, with the growth of the "dry" sentiment throughout the state, and with our limited organization, it would be impossible to control the lower branch of the legislature, consisting of a member from each county and an additional member from nine of the larger counties, we concentrated all of our efforts on the Senate.

At the election of 1910 there were 21 Senators to be elected. We went into each of the 21 senatorial districts and labored with our friends and the political leaders for the nomination and the election of liberal senators. The net result of our efforts was to elect 14 senators.

When the legislature convened in January, 1911, we had the situation well in hand. Out of the 18 "dry" measures introduced we succeeded in killing practically every one in the Senate. A few liberal measures, particularly one to eliminate attorneys' fees in injunction suits, were passed by the Senate, but were killed in the House.

The resolution to re-submit an amendment to the constitution providing for state-wide prohibition (which was introduced at this session as it had been at every previous session) was permitted to be reported out by the Senate, and for the first time in the history of liquor legislation in Iowa, it was defeated on the floor of the Senate by a vote of 27 to 21.

We escaped this session without any adverse legislation.

THIRTY-FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Encouraged by the results of the 34th. General Assembly, we hoped for some constructive legislation at the next session of the legislature and concentrated our efforts in developing sentiment in favor of substituting the secret ballot for the petition or general statement of consent. In order to accomplish this, we organized a Publicity Bureau which we operated for a little over two years at a very great expense. We succeeded in having certain mild material in our favor published in over two hundred and fifty newspapers of the State. by paying the regular advertising rates for such material. We soon discovered that the newspapers were willing to take our money provided the material did not in any way commit the paper itself to our side. After two years' experiment we found that we did not gain the active support of a single newspaper whose support we had not had before.

In addition to conducting a Publicity Bureau, we again concentrated on the Senate, knowing that we could not control the House, but hoping that with our publicity work we could develope a sufficient sentiment for the secret ballot to carry it through the lower branch of the legislature.

Political conditions were so chaotic however, that, notwithstanding every effort we were able to make, we suffered our greatest defeat in this election, being the election of 1912. Out of the 29 senators elected we were able to count only 12, and not all of them firm in the faith.

When the legislature convened in January, 1913, our best friends assured us that we would be required to make some concessions and compromise on the various "dry" bills offered and introduced. We assured them that if they would stand firm, notwithstanding our losses at the election, we still had enough members to prevent adverse legislation. It was absolutely impossible to hold them in line, and the result was that a bill shortening the hours of operating saloons—two hours in the morning and one hour at night—was adopted; and the bill known as the "Five Mile Limit" bill prohibiting saloons and breweries operating within five miles of any state educational institution under the control of the State Board of Education was passed. This last bill was made to take effect at the expiration of the general statement of consent. The practical operation of this bill was to prevent saloons in Iowa City only, and the statement of general consent in that city does not expire until January 1, 1916.

The disastrous results of this session, together with our heavy losses at the previous election, and the fact that we would be required to make such tremendous gains at the next election, caused much anxiety and aroused us to the realization of the necessity of extraordinary efforts if we expected to escape destruction at the next, or 36th, General Assembly.

THIRTY-SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Even before the adjournment of the 35th. General Assembly, your Board of Trustees realizing the danger which confronted them, appealed to the United States Brewers Association through the branch conducted by Mr. Percy Andreae, for assistance.

Mr. Andreae came into our state in the spring of 1913, with his organization and made what he calls a "survey" of the state, investigating in detail the conditions in every legislative district in the state. As a result of his investiga-

tions, he expressed the belief that with a thorough organization along the lines he proposed we might still save our existence, and he agreed that the United States Brewers' Association would provide one-half of the cost of the campaign up to $75,000.00, providing said campaign would be conducted under his supervision and direction. This was promptly agreed to, as reported to you at a previous meeting of this Association, and the U. S. B. A. did in fact furnish more than the stipulated amount, the total actually furnished by said Association amounting to $40,000.00.

The campaign was conducted under the supervision of Mr. Andreae, and in strict line with his instructions and directions. The general scheme was to send representatives into every county and legislative district to induce persons of liberal persuasion to become candidates for the legislature—on both political tickets if possible; or on either ticket if both could not be obtained.

German-American Alliances were perfected and strengthened where organizations existed; Alliances were organized where none existed previously; lodges were visited and members induced to lend assistance; labor organizations were seen and operated upon; foreign language newspapers were sought and encouraged to aid us, and every element of organization which the human mind could conceive of was utilized wherever possible.

We engaged the services of a large number of representatives to cover the state of Iowa, and there was scarcely a county in which some representative of ours was not busy.

After the primaries were over and nominations were made, secret agents were sent into the state of Iowa to make secret investigation of the attitude of the different candidates in order that our own field men might be checked up in their reports on the attitude of these different candidates, and in order that we should not lend our aid to any unworthy or unfriendly candidates. After receiving the reports of these secret agencies, we carefully analyzed the situation in each county, and rendered such support as we were able to render to those candidates who were presumably most friendly to our interests.

During the campaign preceding the election no efforts and no money were spared in furthering the interests of those who were our friends, or were supposed to be our friends. We had as many as 25 men in the field at one time, and nearly that many constantly throughout the campaign. Wherever we found a chance to elect a friend of ours, we rendered such aid as was in our power, not infrequently conducting the entire campaign through friends of the candidate, always, of course, in a perfectly legitimate manner, and without the knowledge of the candidate.

Never in the history of the State of Iowa has so thorough a campaign been conducted in any interest as was conducted by us for the election of 1914. The results of the election were extremently satisfactory, authough we had very many disappointments as well.

Taking th reports of the secret agents sent into the State by Mr. Andreae, and accepting them as all correct, more than 60 members of the House expressed themselves as being opposed to the repeal of the Mulct Law. These were not all pledges made to us, but were expressions of the individual members. Of course, no one supposed that each member would vote his conviction as expressed casually to an outsider.

We also had some disappointments in some of the senatorial districts. Where we had confidently hoped for success, some of our friends were defeated; but it is also true that in quite a large number of districts our friends were elected where we had scarcely hoped for success.

Our greatest disappointments, however, were from members whom we had confidently counted on as friendly to us but who forsook us when the fight was on. Nevertheless, in spite of all these disappointments, had all the holdover members of the Senate upon whom we confidently counted, stood their ground, even as well as they did at the previous session, we would still have come out safely. Our disaster is not due to failure at the last election. It was due entirely to losses sustained at the previous election and in the treachery of holdover members. Had all the holdover members voted right, we would have won the day. Or, conceding the losses there, had all the newly elected members kept their promises we would still have won the day.

As it is, the last session of the legislature repealed the Mulct Law, leaving statutory prohibition the law of the state; passed a resolution to submit constitutional prohibition to the people, which resolution must be adopted by another session of the legislature before the people have a vote on the question,

and passed a large number of law enforcement bills, all of which have been submitted to you in printed form.

The net result of all our efforts, after a strenuous fight covering the last [illegible] years, is that we have been completely defeated, and that Iowa becomes a dry state on January 1, 1916.

LEGAL EFFECT OF LAW.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the legislature, this Board directed the General Counsel of the Association to engage the assistance of such attorneys as he saw fit, and to investigate carefully the legal effect of this enactment.

Ever since that time the General Counsel and his Associates have been laboring and wrestling with the problem until finally the General Counsel has submitted to this Board a report, of which we attach hereto a copy.

Believing that this report is a correct one, and that there is no hope of any relief whatever from litigation, we recommend that this Association as such take no action whatever in the matter of litigating any question that may arise, and that we submit to the law as enacted by the legislature.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN NAGEL,
F. W. KEMMERLE.
B. H. KINGSBURY.
JOHN W. SCHWIND.
Board of Trustees of Iowa Brewers' Association.

EXHIBIT No. 763.

(Copy.)

DUBUQUE, IOWA, *July 24, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, Sec'y,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Upon my return home from a trip to the coast, I find your report by Mr. Thuenen on the recent meeting of the Inter-State Conference Committee.

While I and all the other Iowa brewers feel that they are down and out, I have been engaged in the business for so many years (ever since my childhood and my father before me, I still feel an intense interest in the principles involved, and entertain a hope that the United States Brewers Association may see its way clear to interest itself in the Iowa situation. I am therefore writing you to say that I believe the report on the Iowa situation submitted at your meeting gives the exact conditions of affairs in this state. I want to ask you to bring this report before the Board of Trustees and urge them to give the matter careful consideration, and to definitely determine whether Iowa is to be abandoned, or whether they will take over the fight here.

If they decide to interest themselves in the state, they cannot get busy too soon. There is no time to be lost. I am satisfied that with an energetic effort constitutional prohibition can be headed off in this state, and if this is done, there is always hope of the future, even though it may take some time to get relief, whereas, constitutional prohibition would foreclose us from any relief for so long a time that this generation at least would never be able to enjoy the results.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) A. F. HEEB.

EXHIBIT No. 764.

(Copy.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

JULY 28, 1915.

Mr. A. F. HEEB,
Dubuque B. & M. Co., Dubuque, Iowa.

MY DEAR MR. HEEB: I have your favor of the 24th. inst. which I have taken up with our President, and we would suggest that inasmuch as the last leg-

in Iowa was conducted by Mr. Thuenen and Mr. Andreae who are particularly familiar with conditions in the State of Iowa, these gentlemen should undertake to conduct the next campaign if one is to be waged.

Mr. Andreae has repeatedly stated that his investigations in Iowa disclosed conditions which led him to believe that there is a sufficient liberal element in the State to positively prevent its going dry if this element is properly appealed to, and is shown the result of voting for illiberal laws. Mr. Andreae has claimed that although the State might not be redeemed in one or two campaigns, ultimately there was no doubt in his mind, of success.

As far as we are concerned, the United States Brewers' Association cannot undertake a fight until authorized to do so by the Executive Committee. This Committee met only recently, and will not meet again now until just preceding our Convention in October. If the Iowa brewers have any requests to make, therefore, they should be addressed to the Committee for consideration at that meeting. Our President, Mr. Edward A. Schmidt, is the Chairman ex-officio of the Executive Committee.

Appreciating your situation, and the motives which inspired you, and with kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Sec'y.*

The following additional exhibits are also offered in evidence:

EXHIBIT No. 765.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. Political.)

SUMMARY OF THE WORK IN THE U. S. BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

During the current year the United States Brewers' Association has taken an active part, and in many cases the leading part, in the direction of the following campaigns:

Maine, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey North Carolina, Ohio, *Pennsylvania*, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

In addition to this, investigations have been conducted and preliminary organization work started in Alabama, California, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Montana, Oklahoma, Oregon and Vermont.

This Association took entire charge of the recent campaigns in Rhode Island, and South Dakota; and handled exclusively the press end of the successful campaigns in Georgia, Ohio and Indiana.

This Association has distributed over two million pieces of literature, the educational effect of which has been recognized by our opponents; and in some of the campaigns we are informed that the statements of facts which were prepared in our office has turned the scale in the elections.

Through the efforts of the Organization Bureau, in co-operation with the Secretary, Merchants' & Manufacturers' Associations and Liberty Leagues have been organized, and these have been exceedingly effective in a number of States in handling the campaigns and in distributing literature to the voters.

Several of the State Federations of Labor and a score or more of the Labor Unions have passed resolutions in opposition to Prohibition, and we have rallied the forces of labor to our side most effectively in a number of the recent State campaigns. In several States the Wholesale and Retail Liquor Dealers' Associations have also been welded into compact bodies, and their influence used in the elections.

During the past month and on November 3rd, important victories were gained for our cause in the following States:

Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah and Wisconsin, in fact, the latest returns indicate that on November 3rd we won every contest in which we were engaged outside of New York State.

We are about to take up, in co-operation with the New England Brewers' Association, no license campaigns in Fall River, Worcester, Lynn and other Massachusetts cities.

There is, however, a long and hard fight ahead of us, not only to hold our ground, but to regain lost territory; and we cannot afford to relax at any point.

EXHIBIT No. 766.

(From U. S. B. A. Files.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

DECEMBER 23, 1909.

GENTLEMEN: Among the brewers who are not members of the United States Brewers' Association, or whose membership has been allowed to lapse, I find your name. I take the liberty of enclosing a blank application, which I trust you will fill out and return.

The notable victories which have recently been won in the South and the East have, no doubt impressed you; and I presume it is not necessary to call your attention to the way in which your interests are being guarded by the Committee on Federal Relations?

We are sending our literature to the newspapers, libraries, universities and colleges throughout the country, and have distributed several million pieces of literature in other ways. The result in the change of public sentiment, as reflected by the press, is so marked that it has become a matter of comment among the leaders of the Anti-Saloon League and the Prohibition Party.

There is hardly a single State in which we have not assisted in the work of organization and education during the past year. The war-area is, however, constantly increasing, and we must all stand shoulder to shoulder, if we are to continue our recent victories.

Can you afford to be outside the ranks? New members will only have to pay the initiation fee of $5.00 now, and will not be liable for dues until next April.

Requesting the favor of a prompt reply, I am,

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 768.

(Govt. Ex. 47. 3/16/16. D. D. S. From U. S. B. A. Files.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109 & 111 East 15th Street. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. President and Chairman Board of Trustees, Carl J. Hoster; Vice Presidents—1st, Jacob Ruppert, Jr.; 2d, William Hamm; 3d, Edward A. Schmidt; Treasurer, Anton C. G. Hupfel; Secretary, Hugh F. Fox; General Counsel, Robert Crain; Mgr. Organization Bureau, John A. McDermott; Chairman Vigilance Committee, Albert Lieber; Chairman Advisory Committee and Labor Committee, Louis B. Schram; Chairman Publication Committee, Rudolph J. Schaefer; Chairman Finance Committee, Jacob Ruppert, Jr.; Chairman Committee on Federal Relations, Julius Liebmann.]

NEW YORK, *January 17, 1911.*

Confidential.

GENTLEMEN: I presume that you have received a copy of our circular letter of November 17th, giving the results of the recent elections. In one way or another our assistance was sought in all of the States to which reference was made, besides a number of others that are not included in the list. Over a million pieces of printed matter were sent out from this office; and through our various departments, speakers and organizers were furnished, and in some cases, press agents also. As you can imagine, this involved a very large expenditure of money and a great deal of work.

There are several State-wide campaigns which will engross us during the coming year, besides the usual license elections and the local contests, so that the demand upon our activity and resources is unceasing. Our opponents are seeking to regain their prestige by starting new fights in places where our industry is least prepared to resist. For example, they are trying to make Vermont "dry" to offset their defeat in Maine, and are doing the same thing in the State of Washington to offset their defeat in Oregon. I cite these merely to illustrate their tactics.

The experience of the past year clearly shows that our opponents have so unified their forces that they can concentrate their strength at any point in the country; in other words, the Prohibitionists, under whatever name they call themselves, are now a molbile army, closely federated and practically nationalizd. I am sure you will see how futile it is for us to try to meet such an effective organization by merely local efforts! Every brewer in the country is therefore vitally interested in the continuance of the forward movement

which the United States Brewers' Association is leading. The extent of the Association's usefulness depends upon, and is limited by, the measure of support it receives from its members. *There is an urgent need for funds*, and I write to ask whether you will not send us your dues for the current year, or at least inform us when you are likely to be able to do so conveniently?

Awaiting your reply, I am

Yours faithfully,

_____ _____,

Secretary.

HFF/FG

EXHIBIT No. 769.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

[United States Brewers' Association, Association's Office, 109 East 15th Street.]

NEW YORK, *November 17, 1910.*

To the Members of The United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: The elections of Tuesday, November 8th, indicate a further marked decline of prohibition sentiment throughout the country. From the results in several important States it is evident that the so-called prohibition "tidal wave" has almost entirely subsided and that there is small likelihood of its gaining new ground or recovering what it has lost.

Concurrently it appears no less clear that the people are resolved upon a firm administration of just laws governing the liquor traffic. Reviewing the elections as a whole and in an impartial spirit, it must be granted that, taken by and large, they offer a remarkable popular endorsement of the American theory of home rule and the license system. Naturally, the change of sentiment is most striking in the South where scarcely more than two years ago the prohibition agitation assumed the features of a genuine crusade. But North and West and East the influences of reaction are equally at work, as the election results disclose in these sections.

Missouri, Florida and Oregon voted on a proposition to put Prohibition into their constitution. In Florida the form submitted would "prohibit forever the manufacture, sale, barter or exchange of all intoxicating liquor," with the usual exception of alcohol for medical, mechanical and scientific purposes, and of wine for sacramental use. The form of Prohibition offered for Missouri followed closely the constitutions of Kansas, Maine and Iowa.

Oregon voted on a proposition to prohibit not only the manufacture and sale, but "possession" or "giving away" of intoxicating liquors. At the same time Oregon voted on another amendment, giving to towns and cities "exclusive power to license, regulate, control, suppress or prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within the municipality."

Oklahoma, after a brief trial of prohibition, voted on a proposition to repeal the existing State-wide Prohibition and to substitute for it the local option system. South Dakota considered an amendment to give counties the right to exercise local option.

Following is a bare summary of the more important contests with a word as to their significance:

Alabama—Emmet O'Neal, Democrat, is elected Governor upon a local option platform, thus dsfeating statutory prohibtion. A legislature, Democratic in both branches, has been elected in harmony with the attitude of the Governor. Repeal of the Prohibition law is thus assured.

Arkansas—There was no general election in this State, the election in September having returned a majority of the legislature opposed to Prohibition.

Arizona—The struggle in the Constitutional Convention between Prohibitionists and the Antis for advantage in the operation of the initiative and referendum in cities and counties has resulted in the adoption of the minority report of the Legislative Committee, which leaves the question of the control of cities by counties, relative to local option, as it is in the present territorial law. Under the present law cities and counties are segregated in the matter of controlling the liquor traffic, each preserving its autonomy.

Delaware—New Castle County, the only wet County in this State, has again voted license by an increased majority over that of two years ago.

Florida—The proposition to amend the present Local Option feature of Florida's Constitution and insert in lieu thereof State-wide Prohibition forever

was defeated by a majority of 6,500 (in round figures) out of a total vote of approximately 50,000. The amendment was defeated in the *majority of the counties of the State*, and in the dry counties alone, *excluding the vote of every other wet county*, a majority was cast against State prohibition.

This campaign was inaugurated at the last session of Florida's Legislature, April 1909, by the Anti-Saloon League, which succeeded in passing through both Houses by a three-fifths vote this proposed amendment, leaving it to the vote of the people to decide.

Idaho—The Democratic candidate for Governor, who is opposed to State wide prohibition, was elected. The Senate will likely be Democratic, and thereby insure the defeat of the prohibition amendment.

Illinois—The House of Representatives will be Democratic and liberal. Only one avowed Prohibitionist was chosen.

Iowa—Republican platform declared for continuance of the mulct law. Democratic platform favored local option. About thirty of the fifty senators chosen are opposed to dry legislation.

Indiana.—A Democratic Legislature has been elected. This means a repeal of county option and a return to town and city option, as pledged in the State Democratic platform. Governor Marshall throughout the entire campaign pledged the Democratic party to a passage of a bill changing the unit as above indicated. The County Option law and the Anti-Saloon League were on direct trial, and the verdict was against the latter by the greatest majority in sixteen years.

Kansas—Stubbs, Republican, for Governor, dragged the liquor question into the campaign, charging that his Democratic opponent was the candidate of the liquor interests. Normal Republican plurality in Kansas is 40,000. Stubbs is re-elected by only 5,000 to 7,000.

Missouri—The license forces have carried the State, defeating the prohibition referendum by a majority exceeding 200,000. Leaving out the cities of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph, the Prohis are still heavily beaten. The farmer vote figured largely in the result. The victory greatly exceeds the expectations of the liberal element.

Minnesota—This State is now under license. The contest was for present conditions as against county option. A Republican Legislature has been elected, which is opposed to county option in both branches. Out of sixty-three senatorial or upper house districts, the Anti-Saloon League captured but twenty-three and fifty-one out of the one hundred and twenty legislative or lower house members.

Nebraska—Dahlman, the liberal Democratic candidate for Governor, was beaten, but a majority of the new Legislature is opposed to county option.

New Hampshire—General results favorable to liberal side. Three cities and twenty-three towns changed to license, among the cities being Concord, the Capital. Former license cities stood pat.

New Jersey—Election results in this State were disastrous to the Anti-Saloon League forces. Out of twenty-one members of the Senate the League will have but six supporters, five of these being holdovers. In the Assembly the League has only seven out of sixty members.

Ohio—As affecting the liquor industries, the contest in Ohio turned upon the Legislature and Governor. Indications point to the election of a liberal Legislature, which will restore to the towns and cities of the State the right of home rule, of which they are deprived under the present county prohibition law. Warren S. Harding, the defeated Republican candidate for Governor says: "A very important influence in the Ohio fight has not been generally recognized. The 'wets' in Ohio have achieved a significant victory, and the extreme 'drys' have helped them to it."

Oklahoma—It seems certain that the local option amendment is beaten by about 10,000.

Oregon—State-wide Prohibition is defeated by a majority of 10,000 and the unit of local option law is changed from county to city.

Rhode Island—Woonsocket and all other wet cities voted license again for increased majorities and four dry cities went wet. Westerly for the first time in its history voted license.

South Dakota.—County option is defeated by 15,000—a heavy blow to the drys.

South Carolina—Samuel Blease, Democratic Governor elected without opposition on a local option platform.

Tennessee—The election of Hooper, Republican candidate for Governor, is disputed and the contest will probably be taken to the Legislature, the complexion of which is in doubt at this writing, though both sides claim it. Chances favor the seating of Taylor, Democrat and anti-Prohibition.

Texas—Colquitt, liberal Democrat, chosen at primaries on local option platform, elected by 120,000. Legislature, Democratic in both branches, pledged to submit prohibition amendment to constitution in 1911.

Utah—This State rejected State-wide prohibiion as amended by the Democratic platform. The Republicans won with local option, and a Republican Legislature was chosen.

Washington—Increased number of towns voted wet. Wets made gains in the House, but lost in the Senate. No State-wide or county option question was in issue.

West Virginia—Great interest centered in Kanawha County, in whidh Charleston, the capital of the State, is located. Ex-Governor McCorkle was elected State Senator from the capital district (three counties) by 3,000 majority over Grant Hall, Republican nominee, who was indorsed by the Prohibitionists. Democrats carried the Legislature and elected four of the five Congressmen to which the State is entitled.

Wisconsin—No prohibition or option issue in general election. Majority of both branches of the legislature is strongly against county option. The Anti-Saloon League influence has fallen off greatly in this State.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 770.

(Political—From U. S. B. A. Files.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109 & 111 East 15th Street. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. President and Chairman Board of Trustees, Jacob Ruppert, Jr.; Vice Presidents—1st, William Hamm; 2d, Edward A. Schmidt; 3d, Gustave Pabst; Treasurer, Anton C. G. Hupfel; Secretary, Hugh F. Fox; General Counsel, Robert Crain; Mgr. Organization Bureau, John A. McDermott; Chairman Vigilance Committee, C. W. Feigenspan; Chairman Advisory Committee and Labor Committee, Louis B. Schram; Chairman Publication Committee, A. G. Hupfel, Jr.; Chairman Finance Committee, George Ehret, Jr.; Chairman Committee on Federal Relations, Carl J. Hoster.]

NEW YORK, *November 20, 1911.*

As President of the United States Brewers' Association, I write to ask you to become a member, both for your own sake and for the good of the cause we represent.

We have been guarding your interests at Washington continually, and but for our activity the beer tax would now be $2.00 a barrel, and the shipment of beer from State to State would be prohibited. With this accomplished, all Local Option areas would soon be made "dry," and so far as beer is concerned Prohibition would become really effective.

Through this Association, the brewing industry has had the benefit of the best legal counsel in dealing with the Internal Revenue Department, the Department of Commerce and Labor, the Agricultural Department, the Board of Food and Drug Inspection, the U. S. Treasury and the Patent Office.

During our recent Convention, in the Executive Session, testimony was given by some of the smaller brewers that five different States had been saved by our efforts within the last year, and that but for the U. S. Brewers' Association, it is probable that all of the Southern States and a number of the States west of Missouri would now be under Prohibition.

We have taken an active part in every State where the License Question has been a political issue, and have distributed during the past year alone, three million pieces of literature. The newspapers, magazines, libraries, colleges, universities and other educational centers are on our mailing list and receive our publicat ons. We are conducting a comprehensive campaign of education, covering every phase of the beer business and the so called liquor problem, and our office is now recognized by thoughtful students as being the best Information Bureau and Fact Station on all the related topics.

We employ a Labor Expert to act as business agent for the brewers, in adjusting local difficulties.

We have recently appointed a Crop Improvement Committee, which is entering upon a campaign of investigation and education in connection with barley and hops.

We are opposed by a compact organization of national scope, with abundant means and a large list of professional workers, who can be concentrated at any given point. We have studied their tactics and measured their strength, and are winning thoughtful leaders to the merits of our cause by the sincerity of our purpose and the intelligence of our mthods. There is however a long fight ahead of us. Our success depends on presenting a solid front to our opponents. Can you afford to be outside the ranks? I ask you to look upon our dues, which are only 1¢ per barrel, as a small but necessary premium for the insurance of your business. Will you not help me in this work, by signing the enclosed application for membership?

Very truly yours,

JACOB RUPPERT, Jr.,
President.

Enclosure.

EXHIBIT No. 771.

[United States Brewers' Association. Association's Office: 109 East 15 Street, New York.]

Confidential.

OCTOBER 23, 1912.

GENTLEMEN: There are pending before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives several bills, all intended to restrict and finally absolutely to prevent the inter-State shipments of liquor. The Anti-Saloon League is making a desperate effort to pass one of these bills. The Webb bill is its pet measure. We enclose you a copy of this bill, and ask you to bring it to the attention of candidates for Congress in your District. This is probably the boldest attempt ever made by the Anti-Saloon League to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States by Congressional legislation, and shows its utter disregard for the personal rights and liberties of the people of the country.

The Anti-Saloon League falsely claims that the bill aims only to prevent the sale of liquor in "dry" territory. This is a deceitful statement, made for the purpose of hiding the real intent. The State laws are absolutely supreme in the matter of the sale of liquor and every other regulation of the traffic. The Supreme Court has decided this time and time again, and the agents of the League, of course, understand this as well as they know how to collect money. The real intent of this proposed legislation is not only to make the inter-State shipment of liquors into "dry" territory impossible, but to break up inter-State commerce in liquors entirely. This is bound to be the practical effect of these measures, if any one of them should pass and be upheld by the Supreme Court.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 772.

[Christian Feigenspan, a Corporation. Brewers and Bottlers of Lager Beer, Ales and Porter. The Beer that Builds. From U. S. B. A. files. Political.]

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, *July 26, 1911.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secty.*,
109 E. 15th St., N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Confirming conversation with the writer yesterday, we herewith beg to give you a memo of the bills in which the New York brewers were interested and which we were able to defeat through the efforts of Messrs. Fitzgerald & Walsh, of New Haven, Conn., viz:

An act amending an act concerning prosecutions for violations of laws relating to the sale of spirituous and intoxicating liquors.

Had this amendment to the original bill been passed, it would have meant the elimination each year of at least fifty saloons in New Haven alone, and from 350 to 400 throughout the state. This statement is based upon the number of arrests and convictions in cases of licensed dealers.

Bill One to One Thousand was reported as unfavorable and was killed in the Senate.

The purpose of this bill was to get the number of saloons on this basis at once had it been passed.

The Inspection bill was defeated early in March. For some reason, instead of having it referred to the Committee on Excise, it was given to the Public Safety Committee. Committee report unfavorable.

The bill imposing a protective tariff of twenty-five cents per barrel on Beer which was made outside of the state was also reported as unfavorable by the committee.

Considering the work performed by Messrs. FitzGerald & Walsh with committees and the number of trips they made to Hartford in our interest, we think their bill of $3000.00 for services rendered very reasonable. As talked over yesday, we would thank you to notify the various members who attended the meeting a few months ago, as well as such other brewers who are doing business in the State of Connecticut, including the western brewers, to pay their proportionate share of this expense, as agreed by some of the brewers at our meeting. We would appreciate your getting in touch with them at an early date, so that the matter can be cleaned up.

We are herewith enclosing receipt for $3000.00 advanced by the writer, which explains itself.

Yours truly,

CHRISTIAN FEIGENSPAN (A Corporation).
By A. S. KOENIG.

ASK-T

[Fitz Gerald & Walsh (David E. Fitz Gerald, Walter J. Walsh), Attorneys and Counselors at Law. Law Chambers, 179 Church Street. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

NEW HAVEN, CONN, *July 20, 1911.*

Received of A S Koenig Three Thousand and $\frac{00}{100}$ Dollars in full for services and expenses at Legislature Session to date at Hartford Conn.

DAVID E. FITZ GERALD.

($3000)

EXHIBIT No. 773.

[This letter sent to Pabst Brg. Co. and Schlitz Brewing Co. From U. S. B. A. files.]

AUGUST 17, 1911.

PABST BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

GENTLEMEN: I have your letter of July 29th before me, relating to the Connecticut matter about which I wrote you on July 27th. I think the position you take is perfectly fair and proper, and it will be entirely satisfactory if you will contribute $100. I do not believe it will be possible to get the number of barrels which the various brewers are selling in the State of Connecticut, and we shall therefore have to approximate. I trust this will be satisfactory.

Of course you understand that this is not a matter with which the United States Brewers' Association has any official connection, and that I acted merely for the convenience of the parties concerned.

I may add that checks for $250. have been received from the following concerns, and there are several other important local brewers still to hear from. I do not think that their total contributions, however, will be sufficient to cover the amount expended by Mr. Feigenspan:

Ballantine Brewery, Newark, N. J.; A. Hupfel's Sons, Newark, N. J.; Henry Elias Brg. Co., New York; Clausen-Flanagan Bry., New York; F. & M. Schaefer Brg. Co., New York; and C. Feigenspan, Newark, N .J.

Very truly yours,

_____,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 774.

[Geo. E. Koehler, New York; S. Liebmann's Sons, Brooklyn; D. Stevenson, New York City; Rubsam & Horrmann, Stapleton, S. I.; Jos. Doelger's Bry., N. Y. City; Obermeyer & Liebmann, Brooklyn, N. Y. From U. S. B. A. files.]

AUGUST 17, 1911.

GEORGE E. KOEHLER, Esq.,
New York City.

DEAR SIR: This is with reference to my letter to you of July 27th, relating to the Connecticut matter, to which I have no reply.

Checks for $250.00 each have been sent by the following concerns:

Ballantine Brewery, Newark, N. J.; A. Hupfel's Sons, Newark, N. J.; Henry Elias Brg. Co., New York; Clausen-Flanagan Bry., New York; F. &. H. Schaefer Brg. Co., New York; and C. Feigenspan, Newark, N. J.

This comprises half of the amount paid out by Mr. Feigenspan's representative. Several other brewers have replied that their trade in Connecticut was small and that they do not see the justice of contributing an equal amount irrespective of the business which they do in that State. I do not think it would be feasible to get the exact amount of barrels sold by each of the outside brewers in Connecticut, and suggest therefore that you make your contribution according to what you think is fair.

It is evident that such action will be necessary if Mr. Feigenspan is to be re-imbursed for his outlay.

You will, of course, understand that the United States Brewers' Association has no official connection with this matter, and that I am merely acting personally for the convenience of the parties concerned.

Yous very truly,

———— ————,
Secretary.

HFF/FG

EXHIBIT No. 775.

[S. Liebmann & Sons, 36 Forest St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; D. Stevenson Brg. Co., 521 Tenth Ave., N. Y. C.; Rubsam & Horrmann Brewing Co., Stapleton, S. I.; J. C. G. Hupfel Brg. Co., 220 E. 38th St., N. Y. C.; Jacob Hoffmann Brg. Co., 211 E. 55th St., N. Y. C.; Beadleston & Woerz, 295 W. 10th St., N. Y. C. From U. S. B. A. files.]

OCTOBER 3, 1911.

GEORGE E. KOEHLER, Esq.,
H. Koehler & Company, 29th St. & 1st Ave., New York City.

DEAR SIR: May I take the liberty of calling your attention again to my letter of July 27th, in regard to the Connecticut affair? In response thereto, contributions have been received totaling $2,150.00 from eleven brewers, including Mr. Feigenspan's own contribution of $250.00. This still leaves a balance of $850.00 due to Mr. Feigenspan, and I am asked to write to you to inquire whether you are willing to make a contribution!

This is not a U. S. B. A. matter, and I am merely acting for the convenience of the parties concerned!

Yours very truly,

HFF/FG ————— ————.

Dictated, but not re-read.

EXHIBIT No. 776.

[From U. S. B. A. files.]

AUGUST 17, 1911.

J. C. G. HUPFEL BRG. CO.,
New York, N. Y., and

Col. JACOB RUPPERT,
1639 Third Ave., New York City.

MY DEAR COL. RUPPERT: This is to ask if you will kindly reply to my letter of July 27th, regarding the Connecticut matter. Checks have been received from the following:

C. Feigenspan, Newark, N. J.; Ballantine Brewery, Newark, N. J.; A. Hupfel's Sons, New York, N. Y.; Henry Elias Brg. Co., New York, N. Y.; Clausen-Flanagan Bry., New York; and F. & M. Schaefer Brg. Co., New York, making up half the amount expended. Several of the other brewers to whom I wrote replied that their business in Connecticut is very small, and while they are willing to contribute, they do not think that they should be expected to do so on the same basis as the concerns above mentioned. If I am correctly informed, however, your interests in Connecticut are sufficiently important to put you in the class of the larger contributors.

The United States Brewers' Association has no official connection with this matter, and my position has been explained in my previous letter.

Very truly yours,

HFF/FG

———— ————, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 777.

[Interstate Executives' Meeting. From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. Andreae.]

(PROBABLY JAN. 1, 14.)

DEAR SIRS:—It is of paramount importance, in view of the efforts now being made by the Anti-Saloon League to procure prohibitory legislation nationally on the floor of Congress, that certain systematic work be undertaken by the Inter-State Executives' Committee through its members in each State, with the object of giving those in charge of our joint interests in Washington as full and complete a knowledge of the political complexion of each Congressional district in the United States, with special reference to the sentiment of the component Counties on the wet and dry question, as most of us possess with reference to the political complexion of the Counties and senatorial districts in relation to their representation in our own particular State.

To this end it becomes necessary that our Committee, which has already outlined this work, should be immediately placed in communication with those to whose charge you have entrusted your interests within your State, so that the details of the policy to be pursued may be made known to them, and their attendance at a future meeting of all the active workers in the industry, to be held within the next two months, may be secured.

We urge you to give this your immediate attention, and to see to it personally that your State is represented without fail at that meeting by the person who actively directs or has directed the Anti-Prohibition campaign in your State. The expense involved consists of no more than the traveling expense incurred in attending the meetings of the Inter-State Committee, and we need hardly point out that such expense to your organization is out of proportion small as compared with the importance of the ends that are to be achieved.

We hope, of course, wherever convenient, to see the executives of the various organizations affiliated with the Inter-State Executives Committee themselves attend that Committee's meetings. But our chief object is to have the actual workers in each State in closest touch with the committee, so that they may form a compact body within the Committee acting with one purpose and along uniform lines that will place our national representatives in the position of commanding at any moment the local knowledge and experience possessed by them and of utilising the concentrated influence which such a body, acting in unison, cannot fail to wield nationally from one end of the country to the other.

Awaiting your prompt action in this matter, I am,

Very truly yours,

———— ————

HWJ*

EXHIBIT No. 778.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file. Govt. Ex. 39, 3/16/16. L. D. I. Political.]

Memorandum of conference at the office of Percy Andreae, Chicago, Ill., January 15th, 1914, called for the purpose of organizing the work in congressional districts:

There were present about thirty men, representing the states of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Nebraska, Wisconsin, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.

Mr. Andreae opened the proceedings with a general statement of the work to be done in the various congressional districts. Mr. Gibson was introduced by Mr. Andreae as a man who had been engaged in the work at Washington, and had made a very careful analysis of the vote on the Webb-Kenyon Bill. Mr. Gibson then read the role of states represented, and took up in detail the names of the congressmen from the various States, the districts they represented, and their record on the Webb-Kenyon Bill, and other information he had showing their general attitude on the subject.

The representatives from the different States then gave their information verbally as to their opinion of the stand that the various congressmen could be expected to take on the Hobson and other resolutions now pending for national prohibition.

Other States were referred to and discussed which had no representatives present, for instance, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Missouri and Rhode Island.

Most of the representatives from the different States were unprepared to state definitely the stand the congressmen would be apt to take on the proposed amendment. There were evidences of a lack of organized effort by the various States, consequently a lack of detailed information. In some States, however, the representatives had made a pole of their congressmen and had personal assurances from them, and told us the nature of the population of the various congressional districts and whether under local option laws the territory represented by them was wet or dry, and what the prevailing sentiment in the various congressional districts was.

Mr. Potts was the spokesman for the New Jersey delegation, and he made the statement that it was not necessary to call the role of the New Jersey congressmen or go into the details of the matter at all, as he could pledge the entire delegation from New Jersey to vote against the Hobson resolution.

During the discussion regarding Maine, Mr. Sunstein, (distillery representative) from Pennsylvania, stated that Secretary of State Davis, of Maine, is in charge of our interests there, and reports that enough men will be elected this fall to the legislature to resubmit the question of prohibition or not. The prohibition law in Maine is now being rigidly enforced, which has created a change of sentiment among the liquor dealers doing business in that State, and they are now in favor of the change.

Mr. Sunstein also called attention to the fact with respect to the general prohibition movement, that the leaders of the Democratic party were opposed to the Hobson resolution because they are afraid it will sweep the party out of power.

Mr. Leber (distillery representative) referring to the question of woman suffrage, pointed out the fact that the movement is gaining rapidly and that the liquor interests should not oppose it; that opposition would be futile, and that in his judgment the movement would succeed and that therefore it would be unwise for us to engage in a losing fight.

After the congre sional districts had been discussed and considered, Mr. Gibson read a list of those United States Senators whose term of office expires this year, and who will come up for election by the people under the new system of electing senators this year. There were quite a good many whose terms expire. Not a great deal of information was forthcoming from the delegates as to the attitude of their senators on this question.

Mr. Andreae read the form of petition which he advocates circulating for presentation to the congressmen and senators against the Hobson and other resolutions. Some objection was made by some of those present to the clause in the resolution stating that the passage of the resolution is a violation of the principle of States' rights. It is believed by the speakers opposed to it that a sectional feeling would be aroused, and that it would be unwise to say anything about States' rights.

Mr. Andreae explained that the form of resolution had been submitted to the trustee of the U. S. B. A., and that that particular clause had been inserted at the request of the trustees who considered it of the greatest importance.

Mr. Manchester, of Michigan, and Mr. Kaltenbach (representative of Fleischman's Distilling Co.) were very strenuous in their opposition to the words "States' rights."

Mr. Potts of New Jersey made a motion that it be the sense of the meeting that the resolution as drafted by Mr. Andreae be adopted and used in that form. That led to a long debate and a number of amendments to the motion, and a general parliamentary mixup. Someone, seeing that the undoubted sentiment of the meeting was against the motion as made and amended, moved to table the motion. Mr. Andreae, however, very cleverly restated the motion and read into it this added clause, that while the sense of the meeting was that the form of resolution was approved still the various States were to alter it to meet local conditions, if necessary. With the motion stated in that way it was carried but with one dissenting vote—that of Mr. Kaltenbach of New York.

Mr. Meyer of Nebraska stated that Nebraska brewers have always taken care of their State legislation, and successfully so, but had never done anything with their congressmen. He stated that the sentiment in Nebraska, in his opinion, would be against national prohibition if submitted to popular vote, but that he was afraid if the resolution passed Congress, that the legislature would adopt it.

Mr. Gibson spoke at some length on the importance of having the congressmen interviewed personally at once by representatives of each State, to get an expression of opinion from them as to their views on the Hobson and other resolutions. He therefore moved that a delegation of one or two from each State go to Washington for that purpose at the earliest possible date. That motion led to quite a discussion. It seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the pledge of a congressman was not worth very much. A great many cases were instanced where congressmen were absolutely pledged to vote against the Webb-Kenyon Bill, but when pressure was brought to bear from the other sid they disregarded their pledges entirely and voted for it. It was also pointed out that most of the congressmen would dodge the issue.

Mr. Howell, from Peoria, Ill., (distillery representative) suggested that if it was considered wise for the delegation to go to Washington for that purpose, that it wait until the petitions were in the hands of the congressmen.

Mr. Gibson still thought his proposition a good one, his point being that it was necessary to find out where our weak points were at once, especially so that we would be prepared at the fall elections to work against those who are opposed to us. The opinion was so strong against Mr. Gibson's motion that the matter was not pressed and the motion was not put.

Mr. Andreae made an address closing the conference, in which he outlined in a little more detail the work that he had in mind.

Referring to his alliance with the German American Alliance and the American Association of Foreign Newspapers, he explained the power of the latter organization, saying that there are thirty-two million foreign born in the United States, only eight million of whom are Germans; that these newspapers are printed in twenty-nine languages; that the organization is headed by a gentleman who stands so high in those circles that he is almost a demigod to them; that he rules the association absolutely, and their printing of Mr. Andreae's articles, and other articles for our side of the question, (all of which are first to be submitted to Mr. Andreae) will be of the greatest benefit.

Mr. Andreae has been invited to address the next banquet of this Association on "Personal Liberty" which invitation he has accepted.

If the representatives present were correct in their poll of how their representatives will vote, the Hobson Resolution will be defeated.

In those States represented at this conference there are more than a majority of Congress. While the poll was not tabulated, there was a decided minority of the representatives who were put in the doubtful or dry column.

N. H. P.

EXHIBIT No. 779.

(From Andreae's file by subpœna—Political—Suffrage.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *Jan. 17, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The Fred Miller Brewing Company write to inquire what is being done in the State of Illinois by our Association in connection with

the Spring elections, etc. I enclose copy of my reply and know that they will appreciate it if you will communicate with them direct!

Yours very truly,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF/FT
Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 780.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JAN. 17, 1914.

Confidential

FRED MILLER BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

GENTLEMEN: This is with reference to your query as to what is being done by our Association in regard to woman suffrage and the Spring elections in the State of Illinois.

As the Illinois Brewers have their own State Association, we feel that they are better able to look after such matters than anyone else. Their president, Mr. Fecker, is a member of our Board of Trustees, and of course, Mr. Andreae is now an active factor in Illinois, and I will refer your query to both of them.

In regard to the matter of woman suffrage, we are trying to keep from having any connection with it whatever. We are, however, in a position to establish channels of communication with *the leaders of the Anti Suffrage Movement for our friends in any State where suffrage is an issue.* I am under the impression that a new anti-suffrage association has been organized in Illinois, *and* IS A RETAIL LIQUOR DEALERS' AFFAIR. I consider it most dangerous to have the retailers identified or active in any way in this fight, as it will be used against us everywhere. The Illinois brewers had a meeting last week, and while I have no definite particulars, I understand that they have made plans for a very active campaign in connection with the Spring elections!

Yours very truly,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 783.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.—Copy.)

[William H. Hirsh, 15 William St., New York.]

JAN. 22, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: We have been directed by President Jacob Ruppert, Jr., of New York State Brewers' Association, to commence work on petitions to Congress in opposition to pending Resolutions providing for National Prohibition. This work is to be carried on through the agency of the State Association throughout the entire State, and therefore will require a large number of petition blanks. I have in hand a copy of the petition which I understand Mr. Andreae desires to have used in this work, and which has been furnished by him.

Will you kindly arrange to furnish our Association through its Secretary, Mr. Charles Warner, with 25,000 copies of such petition, and give us an early installment of 10,000?

Thanking you for your attention to the above, I am,

Yours very truly,

(signed) WILLIAM H. HIRSH.

EXHIBIT No. 785.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *March 16, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The enclosed letter to the brewers about the petitions, has already brought in a number of inquiries, and I am instructed by Mr. Schmidt to refer them to you. I enclose accordingly, copy of letter from Mr. Chas. C. Young, of the Orange County Brewery, Middletown, N. Y., and I have just had a telephone call from Messrs. Beadleston & Woerz, 295 West 10th St., New York City, who called up to say that they would get busy if they were furnished with petitions.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD
Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 786.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

MARCH 11, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: This is to inform you that at a joint conference of the Officers of the United States Brewers' Association, and the Chairmen of our Standing Committees, and the representatives of our Allied Interests, it was decided that our members be requested to get as many signatures to the petitions against National Prohibition, as possible, and forward them to Washington without delay.

It is desirable that these petitions should be secured by Congressional Districts, and sent to the individual Congressman from the constituency he represents, and a copy sent to the United States Senator.

It is also important that a record be kept of the number of signers to each petition by Congressional Districts, so that we may know how many have gone forward; and also the total number of names that all of the petitions finally represent.

Yours respectfully,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 787.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

[Orange County Brewery, Middletown, N. Y.]

MARCH 13, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secy.*,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I hasten to ask of you to get a form or two arranged so that I can copy same on our mimeograph. Just give the entire wording for the petitions, and I will get the paper, etc., and put out a number in this section. Would advise you to send a form or copy of the matter to each Brewery. This brings better and quicker results; otherwise there will be a slackness, and a number will give no attention to it. I have no office force, but one clerk and myself, you can

readily see that my time is fully occupied. I will get petitions started in this section and 100 miles from here just as soon as you send the matter for petition against National Prohibition.

Very truly yours,

ORANGE COUNTY BREWERY.
(Signed) CHAS. C. YOUNG.

EXHIBIT No. 793.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Fuller letter referred to Exh. 840.]

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
February 13, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. enclosing letter to you under the date of February 5th, of Mr. E. R. Fuller, of the Home Brewing Company, of Richmond, Va., and also the newspaper article which was attached to Mr. Fueller's letter.

A copy of the letter, reached me a few days after its publication and I have been more or less in touch with the situation, both before and since that date. My advices this morning are that the general proposition is in much better shape than it was at the time Mr. Fuller wrote his letter and I have so advised him to-day in my letter to him acknowledging the receipt of his letter through your hands.

With kind regards, I am
Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 794.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

March Ninth, 1914.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. GARDINER: Mr. T. M. Gilmore of Louisville sends me the enclosed letter which he has received from Mr. M. J. Buckley of Bangor, Maine.

What value attaches to Mr. Buckley and his suggestion I do not know. But I thought you should see the letter, and make such use of it as you may deem wise.

Very truly yours,

EXHIBIT No. 795.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

MARCH 12, 1914.

JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Have arranged for Gibson and Hartley to go from Washington to attend meeting in Richmond Monday. Very important engagements here prevent my being absent next week. I wish you every success and will do everything to aid in Virginia.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 796.

(From Andreae's files by subpoena.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
March 13, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th inst. enclosing copy of a letter sent by Mr. M. J. Buckley, of Bangor, Maine to Mr. T. M. Gilmore, of Louisville, Ky. The communication referred to does not impress me as being of any particular value, at least at this time.

I have just received your telegram of the 12th inst. and am very sorry indeed that you will not be able to meet with us in Richmond on Monday. I observe, however, that you will have Mr. Gibson and Mr. Hartley attend the meeting. I thank you very much indeed for the good wishes expressed in your message and agree with you heartily in hoping that we will meet the issue successfully in the approaching campaign. I think with the united effort of all of our forces, we ought to win out.

With kind regards, I am
Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 797.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
March 18, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Some time ago, I sent you some matters relating to the application of Mr. Edwin B. Lord to be of assistance to us in a general way. I now take advantage of this opportunity to enclose further communications upon this subject.

Mr. Gibson and Mr. Hartley met with us in Richmond on Monday and as they will have undoubtedly reported to you, the campaign has been outlined and is being pushed forward as rapidly as circumstances and conditions will permit. In conversation with Mr. Gibson, I asked him to kindly bring to your attention the way in which he and I agreed your Bureau can be of great service in this campaign and I trust the suggestions will meet with your approbation and approval, as I am sure they will.

With kind regards, I am
Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

(Enclosure.)

EXHIBIT No. 798.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MARCH 19TH, 1914.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. GARDINER: I send you the enclosed copy of a letter I have to-day received from Mr. Hessberg the Secretary of the Virginia organization, and of my reply to the same.

I trust this is satisfactory, and in line with your suggestion that I co-operate in your work in Virginia.

Very truly yours, ——— ———.

the Spring elections, etc. I enclose copy of my reply and know that they will appreciate it if you will communicate with them direct!

Yours very truly,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF/FT
Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 780.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JAN. 17, 1914.

Confidential

FRED MILLER BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

GENTLEMEN: This is with reference to your query as to what is being done by our Association in regard to woman suffrage and the Spring elections in the State of Illinois.

As the Illinois Brewers have their own State Association, we feel that they are better able to look after such matters than anyone else. Their president, Mr. Fecker, is a member of our Board of Trustees, and of course, Mr. Andreae is now an active factor in Illinois, and I will refer your query to both of them.

In regard to the matter of woman suffrage, we are trying to keep from having any connection with it whatever. We are, however, in a position to establish channels of communication with *the leaders of the Anti Suffrage Movement for our friends in any State where suffrage is an issue.* I am under the impression that a new anti-suffrage association has been organized in Illinois, *and* IS A RETAIL LIQUOR DEALERS' AFFAIR. I consider it most dangerous to have the retailers identified or active in any way in this fight, as it will be used against us everywhere. The Illinois brewers had a meeting last week, and while I have no definite particulars, I understand that they have made plans for a very active campaign in connection with the Spring elections!

Yours very truly,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 783.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.—Copy.)

[William H. Hirsh, 15 William St., New York.]

JAN. 22, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: We have been directed by President Jacob Ruppert, Jr., of New York State Brewers' Association, to commence work on petitions to Congress in opposition to pending Resolutions providing for National Prohibition. This work is to be carried on through the agency of the State Association throughout the entire State, and therefore will require a large number of petition blanks. I have in hand a copy of the petition which I understand Mr. Andreae desires to have used in this work, and which has been furnished by him.

Will you kindly arrange to furnish our Association through its Secretary, Mr. Charles Warner, with 25,000 copies of such petition, and give us an early installment of 10,000?

Thanking you for your attention to the above, I am,

Yours very truly,

(signed) WILLIAM H. HIRSH.

EXHIBIT No. 785.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *March 16, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: The enclosed letter to the brewers about the petitions, has already brought in a number of inquiries, and I am instructed by Mr. Schmidt to refer them to you. I enclose accordingly, copy of letter from Mr. Chas. C. Young, of the Orange County Brewery, Middletown, N. Y., and I have just had a telephone call from Messrs. Beadleston & Woerz, 295 West 10th St., New York City, who called up to say that they would get busy if they were furnished with petitions.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD
Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 786.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

MARCH 11, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: This is to inform you that at a joint conference of the Officers of the United States Brewers' Association, and the Chairmen of our Standing Committees, and the representatives of our Allied Interests, it was decided that our members be requested to get as many signatures to the petitions against National Prohibition, as possible, and forward them to Washington without delay.

It is desirable that these petitions should be secured by Congressional Districts, and sent to the individual Congressman from the constituency he represents, and a copy sent to the United States Senator.

It is also important that a record be kept of the number of signers to each petition by Congressional Districts, so that we may know how many have gone forward; and also the total number of names that all of the petitions finally represent.

Yours respectfully,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 787.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Copy.)

[Orange County Brewery, Middletown, N. Y.]

MARCH 13, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secy.*,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I hasten to ask of you to get a form or two arranged so that I can copy same on our mimeograph. Just give the entire wording for the petitions, and I will get the paper, etc., and put out a number in this section. Would advise you to send a form or copy of the matter to each Brewery. This brings better and quicker results; otherwise there will be a slackness, and a number will give no attention to it. I have no office force, but one clerk and myself, you can

tive that you prevail upon all friends possible to send letters and telegrams immediately to member from your district protesting against passage, also hasten protest petitions now in circulation to members of Congress. Act without a moment's delay and devote all your time to this matter for your entire existence depends upon it."

ANDREAE.

(86 words. Tel. by W. U. 4:00 P. M.)

EXHIBIT No. 807.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna—Political.)

[Western Union day letter.]

MAY 11, 1914.

EDWARD A. SCHMIDT
Robert Smith Ale Brewing Co.,
38th and Girard Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Following telegram signed by Directors of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers has been sent to-day to every Senator and Congressman in Washington. Telegram begins—The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers with circulation of over seven million and reaching twenty million citizens protests emphatically on behalf of overwhelming majority of those citizens against Hobson resolution providing National Prohibition. Our people consider same unwarranted interference with rights guaranteed them under Federal Constitution and will resent passage of resolution as designed to destroy their most cherished customs and deprive citizens generally of the individual liberty which is as dear to them as life itself. Almost entire Foreign Language Press has for past three months voiced this sentiment in strongest possible terms and with fullest concurrence of its millions of readers. Telegram ends.

ANDREAE

(131 words Silby, MW. 1.00 P. M.)

EXHIBIT No. 809.

(From files by Percy Andreae by subpœna.)

[F. V. Kander, Attorney and Counselor at Law, 602–3–4–5 American Bank Bldg., Kansas City, Mo. Telephones 1466.]

KANSAS CITY, MO., *May 9th, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR SIR: I have been requested by our local brewery interests to write you in regard to a matter which we consider of vital importance.

There has been presented to us the proposition to aid in the election of Mr. J. B. Billard, formerly Mayor of Topeka, Kansas, and a man known throughout the state of Kansas as a gentleman of probity, sincerity and of exceptional high standing. Mr. Billard is the proprietor of the Central Mill and Elevator, a concern of financial standing in Topeka. Mr. Billard is an outspoken anti-prohibitionist, and an advocate of the resubmission of the prohibition amendment to the constitution of the state of Kansas, and as such was a candidate for the nomination for governor by the Democratic party two years ago.

We representing the brewery interests in Kansas City, Missouri, believe that we are acquainted with conditions in Kansas, and are of the opinion that by proper management *and an intelligent, careful and aggressive campaign* Mr. Billard could be elected Governor of the state. The impression seems to be abroad that the state of Kansas is irrevocably committed to prohibition. This is caused largely by the fact that the Prohibition element of that state is constantly and loudly proclaiming that thought. A careful canvass of the state leads us to believe that a very large proportion of the voters in Kansas would welcome the opportunity to express their views by ballot, and in opposition to prohibition.

It must be remembered that the prohibition amendment was voted on about thirty-three years ago, and the electorate of the state has entirely changed since

then. There are large districts in the state thickly populated by foreigners, who have come into the state since that vote was taken, and there is a section of the state populated by large numbers of coal and lead miners, and other parts of the state where oil is being produced, have many foreigners. All of this class of people would be against prohibition.

The intention is that Mr. Billard would run as a non-partisan candidate, thus drawing from all political parties those voters who are in favor of resubmission.

The state of Kansas will use the Massachusetts ballot, thus doing away with the voting of straight party tickets. The names of the candidates being grouped under a heading for the office to which they aspire. Further, the element or influence of candidates for the United States Senate is removed by reason of the fact that the United States Senator is nominated by primary election. Besides all this, and what seems to us of paramount importance, is the fact that all of the political parties are so torn by dissension that this is the most opportune time in the history of the state to elect a man of Mr. Billard's stamp and kind. The Republican party will have as its candidate Mr. Capper, who will probably poll 115,000 votes. Mr. Allen will be the candidate of the Progressive party, and he will poll approximately 125,000 votes. Mr. Hodges, the present governor, and a Democrat, will poll approximately 100,000 votes. He has made himself exceedingly unpopular with his own party. The entire vote cast by the state is about 550,000. (This includes the women.) On the above estimate, it would leave 210,000 votes for Billard. In making the foregoing estimate, we have taken the full vote of the state, but it goes without argument that not over 80 per cent of the entire vote will be cast. But each candidate will lose in number, it is fair to say, an equal proportion by reason of this 20 per cent remaining away from the polls. Putting the proposition in another form, there will have to be three votes of the opposition cast to one for Billard in order to equalize the vote which Billard will get, and we are strongly of the opinion that this goes beyond the probable and reaches the impossible, in view of the fact that Mr. Billard has the support of a strong and active organization.

While we do not intend to be over-sanguine, or even optimistic, the conditions are of such hopeful character that we believe this is the opportune time to overcome the prohibition sentiment that is sweeping the country. The influence of the election of Mr. Billard on a pronounced and unequivocal anti-prohibition platform is inestimable, especially because of the fact that Mr. Billard's platform is non-political and has for its basis the single question of Anti-prohibition. With the canvass of the state for Mr. Billard, the selection of proper candidates for the state legislature will be coupled, and the same element of discord in the various political parties would obtain, and the probability of electing a legislature favorable to the policy of Mr. Billard would be reasonably good. About 45 per cent of the members of the legislature are elected in districts where the entire vote cast for all candidates will not exceed 350 votes. In these districts it would seem that we should have very little difficulty in electing men favorable to Billard, especially in view of the fact that the prohibition element would divide its vote among three candidates.

I might enlarge upon the conditions which I have tried to epitomize, but I am inclined to believe that I have stated the conditions fully enough to convey our reasons for asking your favorable consideration and I would suggest that some one in authority, come to Kansas City at once to take up this matter, at once, as active efforts must be commenced without delay.

The candidates must file with the Secretary of State on or before June 15th, so you see we have no time to lose.

Yours very truly,

F. V. KANDER,
CONRAD MANN,
K. C. Breweries, Co.
CARL MUEHLEBACH,
Geo. Muehlebach Brewing Co.
ALBERT P. SPAAR,
Val Blatz Brewing Co.,
Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 810.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna.)

MAY 11TH, 1914.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. GARDINER: Enclosed letter from Mr. F. V. Kander, and my reply, will explain themselves.

I have written Mr. Conrad Mann that in view of certain resolutions passed by the board of Trustees it is impracticable for me to act on my own initiative in matters of the kind Mr. Kander refers to, and that I understand it to be the wish of the Board that the work involved in such matters be considered as belonging to your organization.

I need not assure you, of course, that if I can help you in any way in Kansas, my services are at your command.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 811.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna.)

MAY 11TH, 1914.

Mr. CONRAD MANN,
Kansas City Breweries Company, Kansas City, Mo.

MY DEAR MR. MANN: I have just received Mr. Kanders' letter of May 9, and am replying to same as per enclosed copy.

I would very much like to be of assistance in any move of the kind indicated in this letter, but matters between what is pleasantly referred to as the Andreae organization and the powers that be in the U. S. Brewers Association have resulted in resolutions being passed by the Board of Trustees the nature of which render it impracticable for me to act in affairs of this kind on my own initiative. As I understand it, Mr. Gardiner's organization is to deal exclusively with political work, and I am therefore, in order to lose no time, forwarding Mr. Kanders' letter to him with the request that he give it immediate attention. Needless to say that if I can in any way cooperate with Mr. Gardiner in Kansas, I shall do so. But the time is very short within which to accomplish anything there in my line of work.

Of course, all this, as you know, is utterly at variance with the understanding under which I gave up my position in the brewery business to undertake the work I am doing. But, all my insisting that the agreement with me is not being carried out is utterly without effect, and as I cannot force the issue without precipitating a struggle that would injure all interests concerned, I have no option but to let things take their course.

Are you never in Chicago? I would so much like to have a talk with you, and it is so utterly impossible, with the work I have on hand, and which I would welcome an opportunity to discuss with you, for me to come to Kansas City.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 808.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna—Surveys—Va.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *May 14, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: On my return from a visit to Virginia I find your letter of the 11th inst. with enclosed letter of Mr. Kander appealing for assistance and support in a contemplated campaign in Kansas. I have no doubt an investigation would disclose the possibilities attending a campaign of the character indicated by Mr. Kander, but in view of the financial condition in which I am at present surrounded, it is impossible for me to take on any new assignments. I therefore return Mr. Kander's letter enclosed herein.

In relation to the Virginia campaign, I find that matters are progressing there rather slowly. There will be a public meeting held in Richmond to-night for the purpose of offsetting the influence of a smiliar meeting held by the opposition some few nights ago. At to-night's meeting there will be addresses made by prominent men from Virginia and also from other southern states and the call for the meeting has been signed by many of the most prominent business and professional men of the city who will likewise grace the occasion by their presence and also give it their patronage.

I saw Mr. Lesner and Mr. Holt, both of whom confirm the statement that while they were not progressing rapidly, still there was no need of speed and I am led to believe therefore, that our forces will become active in ample time to be efficient.

On my return, I stopped at Washington where I met Mr. Westheimer and Mr. Sunstein who were in attendance at the National Liquor Dealers' Convention. I went over the Virginia situation and in relation to the presence of the ten men whom you have in Virginia, I was told by Mr. Sunstein that he had no knowledge of their presence there but Mr. Westheimer told us that you had written him about sending the men there. Mr. Lesner did not know of the presence of the men in Virginia until I advised him of the fact.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

(Enclosure.)

EXHIBIT No. 813.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

MAY 11TH, 1914.

Mr. F. V. KANDER,
602 American Bank Building, Kansas City, Mo.

DEAR SIR: I have taken the liberty of forwarding your favor of the 9th inst. to Mr. John Gardiner, of the Continental Brewing Company, Philadelphia, in whose department the matter you refer to falls.

I am writing Mr. Conrad Mann by the same mail explaining somewhat more in detail the reason for my doing this.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 815.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Political.)

JUNE 18, 1914.

Mr. E. A. SCHMIDT,
Robert Smith Ale Brewing Co., 38th & Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: At the combined request of the Kentucky brewers and distillers I have arranged to make a survey of the State of Kentucky and the same is now in progress.

At the request of the Miller Brewing Co. of Milwaukee I have sent a man to Oklahoma to confer with a business men's organization that has been formed there for the purpose of campaigning for a local option amendment. I have intimated to Mr. Carl Miller that, in my opinion, the time is too short to attempt anything in the nature of an organization of the kind this business men's association is contemplating before the coming elections, and the purpose of the investigation is understood to be primarily to get in touch with these people and ascertain what this movement really amounts to, and in how far it may be made available at some future time.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 816.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. President Edward A. Schmidt; Treasurer, Gustav W. Lembeck; Secretary, Hugh F. Fox; Vice Presidents, 1st Gustave Pabst, 2nd Louis B. Schram, 3rd John Gardiner. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

JUNE 23, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I wish to acknowledge your communication of June 18th, advising me that you have undertaken a survey of the State of Kentucky, at the combined request of the Kentucky Brewers and Distillers. I trust this work will disclose conditions that will be useful to them in their future campaigns.

I also note that the Miller Brewing Company, of Milwaukee, have requested that you send a man to Oklahoma to confer with the Business Men's Organization there, formed for the purpose of campaigning for a local option amendment. I, personally, (and I think this is seconded by many of the larger brewing firms of the West) have no sympathy for the citizenship of Oklahoma if they find their prohibitory laws irksome at this time. I deem it unwise for the Brewers to make any expenditures in that State, until the citizens themselves make an effort to improve local conditions.

With kind regards, I am,
Very truly yours,

EDW. A. SCHMIDT, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 817.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

JUNE 30, 1914.

Mr. EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
President, United States Brewers' Assn.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: On Wednesday last, I attended a meeting of the joint interests of Ohio, at Cincinnati. At this meeting I advised and urged an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Ohio, to be submitted to the electors this coming November, which amendment is as follows:

"No law shall be passed or be in effect prohibiting the sale, furnishing or giving away of intoxicating liquors operative in a subdivision of the state upon the option of the electors thereof, or upon any other contingency, which has force within a territory larger than a municipal corporation or a township outside of municipal corporations therein. All laws in contravention of the foregoing are hereby repealed.

"Nor shall any law hereafter be passed prohibiting the sale, furnishing or giving away of intoxicating liquors throughout the state at large.

The joint interests in Ohio have seen fit to adopt the program as outlined and on next Thursday morning I shall, at the request of their interests, place into Ohio sufficient of my field forces to get the necessary signatures (something over 100,000) to have this amendment placed upon the ballot.

We are fully aware that this action may force the Anti-Saloon League to submit state-wide prohibition this year, side by side with our amendment. If it does this, I am satisfied what with public sentiment as it is to-day in Ohio on our question, it will arouse the liberals in the cities to such an extent as to make our success almost certain.

Very truly yours, ——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 818.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union; Day Letter; Theo. N. Vail, President.]

Received at 27 Chcl 37 Blue.

GA, PHILADELPHIA, PA., *July 16, 1914.*

PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ills.

Can you arrange to come to Philadelphia Thursday next, July 23rd, to meet Mr. Gardiner and myself at 1504 Land Title Bldg.; hour to suit your convenience. Wish to discuss Virginia situation.

EDW. A. SCHMIDT.

1.30 p. m.

EXHIBIT No. 818.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union; Night Letter; Theo. N. Vail, President. Send the following Night Letter, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.]

JULY 16, 1914.

EDWARD A. SCHMIDT,
Robert Smith Ale Brewing Co.,
38th & Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.:

Regret impossibility to be in Philadelphia July twenty-third. I am booked to deliver the address on Liberty Day in Cleveland Ohio on night of July twenty-second and must attend important conferences relative to Ohio campaign on July twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth. Would it be possible to have meeting in Cleveland July twenty-third, as I have engagements for week following in connection with which special meeting of national hotelkeepers has been called.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 819.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union; Night Letter; Newcomb Carlton, President. Received at corner Jackson Boulevard and La Salle Street, Chicago, always open.]

F, 425 P, 36 NL.

GA PHILADELPHIA, PA. 17

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago Ills.

Impossible to come to Cleveland on 23d. Am arranging for a short trip to Europe. Will defer conference with you until my return. If anything special turns up take it up with Mr. Gardiner.

EDWARD A. SCHMIDT.

EXHIBIT No. 820.

(From Andreae's file by subpœna. Political.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

AUGUST 21, 1914.

(Confidential.)
Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Thanks very much for your full and prompt reply to my wire about the Clague Agency.

I am advised by Mr. Schmidt and Mr. Crain, that our interests in connection with the revenue tax, are in the strongest and friendliest hands that could possibly be imagined, and that the matter is being discussed with as much care and consideration as if the Committee was composed of brewers themselves! If the additional tax is absolutely necessary, which seems likely, it is probable that it will not be over fifty cents a barrel, and in the event that such an additional tax is imposed, it will be accompanied by additional taxes on spirits and tobacco, and probably by the re-imposition of the sugar duty, and of the check and document stamp tax. It seemed certain last week, that action would be taken in thirty days, but there is a disposition in some quarters now, to try to postpone action until after the elections. In view, however, of the above situation, we are advised that it would be most unwise for the brewing industry to put itself on record as being opposed to any increase in a tax that may be absolutely necessary. I am writing you after consultation with Mr. Schmidt, who expects to sail for Europe next week to bring his wife home. He has been trying for nearly two weeks to locate her.

Yours very truly,

H. F. Fox.

EXHIBIT No: 821.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna. Political. Original sent to S. Hunt.)

Copy.

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASSOCIATION.

NEW YORK CITY, *Aug. 27, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Shelburne Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I received a wire today, stating you would be at the Hotel Shelburne instead of the Marlborough-Blenheim, and I wired you that I had sent an important letter to you at the latter address.

I had a visit today from our friend, Dr. John Wesley Hill, who has been filling some Chautauqua dates in Ohio, and he asks me to say to you, for the benefit of our Ohio friends, that Mr. Warren G. Harding, who is running for the U. S. Senate, has become heartily convinced of the futility of county option, and is a strong license advocate, and will vote and work against national prohibition in case he is elected.

I don't know anything at all about the matter, and am merely passing this on to you for what it may be worth.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Sec.*

EXHIBIT No. 824.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna:)

Nov. 4, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Your favor of October 27 has remained unanswered until today owing to the fact that my whole time has been occupied with Ohio affairs during the last days of the campaign.

I have already been in communication with Mr. Landsberg, and shall take pleasure in meeting the gentlemen you name.

You will no doubt be interested to know that we have not only defeated prohibition in Ohio, but have carried our home rule amendment, which takes from the legislature the power to enact prohibition by statute, and prevents local option from being operative in a unit larger than a township or municipality. This repeals county option, which is henceforth only possible by constitutional amendment.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 826.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union; day letter; Theo. N. Vail, president. Send the following day letter, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.]

NOVEMBER 23, 1914.

JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association have made urgent request that I send Charles Wirmel for a few weeks to Tampa, Florida. I understand you are sending Thompson there. Wirmel can be of considerable assistance, if it is agreeable to you that I send him and instruct him to work in conjunction with Thompson. Please wire me.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 827.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna.)

NOVEMBER 24TH, 1914.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. GARDINER: Is there any likelihood of your being sufficiently near Chicago during the next two or three weeks to make it convenient for you to spend a few hours with me here? I would like an opportunity of seeing you alone and discussing the entire situation with you. The reason I prefer Chicago as the place of meeting is that I have all my records here and would like to have them at hand when we talk.

I am not suggesting that you and I meet alone because I have any reluctance to meet others but because, owing to the peculiar nature of your work and associations and my own, I believe that a quicker understanding of the circumstances surrounding us can be reached between you and me than would be possible under other conditions, and the need of such understanding, prior to the next meeting of the Board of Trustees, is in my opinion essential to the interest we both have at heart.

Excepting the 16th, 17th and 18th of December I can make any date sent me for an appointment after the end of this week.

I received your wire in answer to mine regarding the sending of Charles Wirmel to Tampa, and I have instructed Wirmel to go there and work shoulder to shoulder with Thompson.

With kind regards, yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 828.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *November 28, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th inst. and in reply to it would say, that I will be very glad to meet you at your office during the coming month. I have information that a conference of some representatives of the brewing and distilling interests will be held in New York on Friday, December 11th, at which you and I will be expected to be present and I therefore conclude that my trip to Chicago should be previous to that date.

I suggest therefore that I meet you on Monday, December 7th. I will remain over night, leaving Chicago on my return, on Tuesday after-noon.

If there is anything in the information I have given you concerning the conference that influences you to desire a change in the arrangements for our meeting, then I will say that I will meet you on the 10th of December either in Philadelphia or New York previous to your going to the conference the next day; otherwise, the appointment to stand as I have stated viz. Chicago, December 7th.

With kind regards, I am, Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 829.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union; Telegram; Theo. N. Vail, President. 196 South Third St.]

Received at 23 D A 14 MR.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *Dec. 2nd—14*

PERCY ANDREAE,
Hartman Hotel Cols O.,

I will meet you on next Monday morning seventh instant at Hollenden Hotel Cleveland.

JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 830.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union; Telegram; Theo. N. Vail, President. Send the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.]

DECEMBER 10, 1914.

To JOHN A. GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co.,
2100 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

Westheimer says Lewis cannot go to Wyoming and other States because of important work he is now doing. He suggests that Dietrich should go. Will you take this up with Westheimer.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 831.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

21 East 31st St., Chicago Phone Douglas 4321
29CHCL 17 NI

PHILADELPHIA PA *Dec 11—14*

PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 Michigan Ave Chicago

I have matter referred to under consideration with Sunstein If Biederich is otherwise disengaged will send him

JOHN GARDINER.

111—PM

EXHIBIT No. 832.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

137 P FE 20 MLS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *Dec. 17th—14.*

PERCY ANDREAE,
Hotel Havlin, Cincinnati, Ohio.

See Westheimer today concerning Florida matter. On account of its importance think you would better phone St. Louis. I will telegraph.

JOHN GARDINER.

12.07 P. M.

EXHIBIT No. 833.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

DEC. 17, 1914.

JOHN GARDINER,
21st St. and Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

As you know Hillsboro County, Tampa Florida, voted wet. All precincts in Plant City voted dry. There are about four saloons in Plant City said to be

negro dives. There are about sixty-five saloons in Tampa. No other saloons in county. It appears that certain ill-advised retailers in Plant City led by Mr. Mugge, Annheuser-Busch representative in Tampa, are preparing contest with possibility of success. Unless this contest can be called off it will result in State-wide election. Annheuser-Busch representative, Mr. Mugge, is backing movement for contest. We consider it of the greatest importance that no contest be made. Please act promptly. Papers for contest will probably be filed today. [Telegram ends.] Also please ask Mr. Andreae to cooperate as Annheuser-Busch are only people can prevent disaster of State-wide election through ill-adviseed action of their representative.

MORRIS F. WESTHEIMER.

Charge: National Wholesale Liquor Deal. Assn., 301 United Bank Bldg.

EXHIBIT No. 834.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna—Surveys—Utah—Political.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 29, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I do not know if your attention has been drawn to and your services asked in the case of the State of Utah. If not, I should like to refer to it by saying that the legislature is in session now and is dry in quality. It is rather expected to pass statutory prohibition or a joint resolution submitting the question to vote. The Governor is not a dry man but he says he will have to sign any bill of the kind unless the business men of the State by an organized and expressed opposition to the measure shall formulate a basis upon which to build a veto.

This is about the situation as given to me and I would like, if you think well of it, to have you send a man to investigate the situation and to advise what had best be done. He should consult with Mr. G. L. Becker, of Ogden, who is the head of whatever local opposition there is which has appeared up to date.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 835.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna—Survey—Utah.)

FEBRUARY 3, 1915.

Mr. JOHN GARDINER,
Continental Brewing Co.,
2100 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. GARDINER: I received some weeks ago indirectly a request from Mr. Lippmann of the Salt Lake City Brewing Company for an expression of opinion on the Utah situation. I replied that without detailed knowledge of that situation, which I did not possess, I could offer no opinion, but that I would gladly co-operate in investigating the situation, if required to do so and if the necessary means were at my command.

Mr. Lippmann replied stating, briefly, that a bill providing for state-wide prohibition, effective in June, 1916, had been introduced in the senate, that no provision was made for any election or referendum, and that if the bill should pass there would be no occasion for the services or anyone.

If you think I can help, I will gladly do so. The greater part of my staff are now in Maine, and I have just arranged to send Wirmel into Michigan at the request of Mr. Fox, while my German-American Alliance workers are operating in Illinois, so that I am rather short-handed. But I will arrange to have Mr. John Lloyd call on Mr. Becker next week, leaving Maine on Monday, and get at the exact situation and its possibilities. I will then take it up with you again.

With kind regards

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 836.

(From files of Percy Andreae by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *Feb. 5, 15.*

PERCY ANDREAE,
1132 Tpn. Bldg.

Becker is at Chicago Athletic Club now. Suggest you send for him, go over situation, and let me know your conclusion.

JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 837.

(From files of Percy Andreae.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

FEBRUARY 5TH, 1915.

JOHN GARDINER,
Care of Continental Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Have seen Becker who has explained that situation calls for financial aid and that other assistance could not be utilized now. He tells me he has fully informed you of requirements.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 838.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

FEBRUARY 6, 1915.

MR. E. A. SCHMIDT,
Pres., United Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: The enclosed will show you that the press in Maine has obtained knowledge of the investigation now proceeding in that State. The chief reason why I always kept the knowledge of our men being in a state confined to the fewest people possible was because of the danger of such publicity as this. Fortunately, our men have nearly completed their work, but they have had to go back into the State under another guise.

I do not know where the press got its information from, but there are reasons for concluding that a discharged employee gave the facts to the papers.

May I suggest that it would be well not to have this incident discussed by others. We shall be doing work in other states, and the more people know of the existence of our staff the greater difficulty of obtaining the valuable information we gather, for, at the slightest hint of the real purpose of our investigation we find that both wets and drys immediately become unapproachable.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 840.

[Copy.]

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

HOME BREWING COMPANY,
Richmond, Va., February 5, 1914.

MR. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: The Virginia State Senate passed the "enabling act" with several amendments added to the original House Bill, this afternoon by a vote of 29 to 11. I am enclosing herewith Newspaper clipping, which will, in a measure, give you the details. The Act now goes to the House of Delegates for concurrence, in the Amendments. If the House fails to concur, the next step.

of course, will be the appointment of a Conference Committee. What the outcome of the proposition will be, is problematical. If the Bill as it now stands is concurred in by the House, we shall have a Statewide election by the people in September of this year, and providing the popular vote decides in favor of Prohibition, the State will become Dry effective May 1st, 1917.

The Senate has inserted in the Bill an amendment allowing Cider to be manufactured and Sold in and out of the State that Grapes and Fruit and their by-products in the way of Wines, Etc., can be manufactured in the State, to be delivered to a Common Carrier to be shipped outside of the State, and still another amendment allowing Beer, containing 3½% Alcohol, the same privilege as Wines—to be manufactured in the State, but not sold other than outside of the State.

This is the position today.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) E. R. FULLER.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibits 842 to 856, they being various documents showing cooperation between the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association and the United States Brewers' Association and allied interests.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 842.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Western Union Telegram.]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *March 2, 1914—March 3, 1914.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave.

Distilling interests have asked for joint conference with our organization committee and their committee. I have appointed Friday, March sixth, at eleven a. m., at our office in New York as the time and place of meeting. Please be present and bring with you complete data bearing upon the progress of your work please. Wire reply New York.

E. A. SCHMIDT.

EXHIBIT No. 843.

(From Andreae's files by subpœna.)

[Telegram.]

MARCH, 3, 1914.

E. A. SCHMIDT, *President*
United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

Your telegram received. Will be present at meeting on Friday.

ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 845.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

THE MINUTES OF THE HARMONY COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
April 10, 1914.

A meeting of representatives of the various branches of the liquor trade was held in the Gridiron Club Room at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. The meeting was called to order by Mr. M. F. Farley, President of the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association at 10:30 A. M.

The following gentlemen were present:

Representing the United States Brewing Association: Peter Doelger, jr., New York; James R. Nicholson, Boston, Mass.; Hugh A. Koehler, St. Louis, Mo.; John A. Cervenka, Chicago, Ill.

Representing the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association: Frank Quinn, New Haven, Conn.; M. F. Farley, New York, N. Y.; Neil Bonner, Philadelphia, Penn.; Hugh F. Harvey, Washington, D. C.; Ernest Kunde, Chicago, Ill.

Representing the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association: William Culman, New York, N. Y.; Sol. Freiberg, Cincinnati, Ohio; Emil Nathan, St. Louis, Mo.; John Sinnott, Philadelphia, Penn.; Henry F. Westheimer, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. M. F. Farley of New York addressed the Committee as follows:

To the "Harmony Committee of Fifteen."

Gentlemen: Many years ago, at one of our great National political Conventions, the late lamented Barney Flanagan, from the Lone Star State, made himself famous by demanding in true Celtic language: "What are we here for?"

As the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association of America, of which I have the honor of being the head, undertook at its last Conference, to bring about the formation of the committees here today, I trust that it will not be out of place, in calling this meeting to order, for me to briefly explain to you the Retailers answer to the question: "What are we here for"?

Away back in 1893, when our National Association was formed, our venerable Secretary, in his address, after outlining the plans of the new National Association of Retailers, said: "In many cases we would not be alone; we would undoubtedly have the assistance of the two great branches of the Liquor Trade, the United States' Brewers Association and the National Distillers and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association. While the Brewers and Wholesalers require their National bodies to govern their own trade, yet in many cases, their interests are identical with ours and provisions should be made whereby we may co-operate as one great army in the fight."

So you see that this "Get Together" movement is as old as our organization and all through the twenty years of our existence, we have steadily maintained that for the general good there should be the utmost unity among all branches of the trade for "*a house divided against itself must surely fall.*"

In 1896, we were invited by the Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association to co-operate with that organization in the passage of the Bromwell Bill, and we believe that we aided, in our humble way, in the passage of that most desirable measure.

It was during that time we were more than convinced that it was absolutely necessary for all branches of the trade to work together, when we discovered that the Kentucky Distillers' Association were busy at work preparing bills, similar ones of which had been introduced in Congress several weeks before by the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association.—But all this is Ancient History.

It has now come to pass that the Ice has been broken between the various Associations by my being invited to appear before your National Conventions and express the sentiment of the Retailers. Those visits have been returned and the result of these fraternal greetings is your presence here today, representing the three great interests of the Liquor Trade and composing a Harmony Committee of Fifteen—and, as such I bid you welcome and hope and trust that our deliberations will be of lasting benefit to the trade at large.

But again the question: "What are we here for"? The United States Brewers' Association was organized in 1862,—fifty two years ago and, during all those years, has kept the watchmen on the outer walls—ready at all times to protect the interests of the trade. We all realize how well and faithfully that work has been done—and yet, after all these years and the great work achieved—it is to be regretted that not one-half of the Brewers of the country are members of their own organization. As regards to the barrelage of the industry, a very large percentage contribute but the great army of the small brewers are still willing to accept all the benefits of the past and present work of the United States Brewers' Association without giving one cent towards it's support—or aiding in any way, in it's defense.

The same may be said of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association, for, after twenty years existence, not one-fifth belong or contribute towards the support of that organization and its most efficient work.

Be it said, to the shame of the Retailers of this country, we also find ourselves, after twenty years of organization work, that our outposts are so weak that when a concerted attack, on the part of our enemy, is made—as in Illinois this week, that we find our friends retreating in utter defeat—losing their homes and business and the work of a life time completely wiped out.

To remedy this evil is one of the answers to the question: "What are we here for"?

The time has arrived when it is absolutely necessary that we must stand together and buckle on the armor and to be effective, we must "GET TOGETHER".

In the first place,—all animosity must be buried. We have heard in the past, of the strife between the Brewer and the Retailer. The Brewer has had his faults but the Retailer has been by no means, blameless. The e are simply trade questions that can and ought to be settled among the dealers in the locality in which they arise and settled quickly, before some "charlatan" comes along to fan the embers which ultimately bring about a conflagration—which has proven so detrimental to all concerned—in the past.

What we are here for is to allay all such disastrous disturbances within our ranks, which only breed distrust among ourselves and leave us "naked to the enemy."

We must go out into the highways and by-ways and enlist every one in the various branches of the trade, for no one, no matter how poor he may be, is without his weight and influence. It has been wisely said that the little saloonkeeper in the outskirts of the town, that plays pinnocle with his customers at night, has more political influence than the Brewer, in his handsome residence on the hill.

In this cause of enlistment—we must adopt the old Huguenot war cry "All For One"—"One For All". The Brewers and the Wholesalers can assist in the building up of the retailers and the larger the Retailers' organization becomes, the better they can reciprocate in assisting in the building up of both the Brewers and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Associations.

Within the last few months—a system of this character has been established in Pennsylvania where it is working splendidly. In Illinois, all branches of the trade have, for some time, been united for political work, under the Chairmanship of the President of the Retailers' Association, Mr. Kunde, and I believe that a system is being launched by which material additions will be made to the membership of the State Associations of the Brewers, Wholesalers and Retailers Associations, and quite recently the trade in the Empire State is working in perfect harmony and the Brewers are circularizing the retail trade, urging them to join their respective Associations.

All of this is as it should be. The "drone" who is too indolent or selfish to refuse to contribute to or aid in the defense of the business, should be drummed out of it.

But in this great plan of organization, which should extend all over the country, there are still imperfections that can easily be remedied.

The Retail Organization is a most compact one and it commences from the bottom up. The Individual member must belong to his Local Organization and there he pays his dues of whatsoever kind and nature. The Local pays the members proportionate dues to the State Organization and, in turn, the State Association pays the pro rata dues to the National Association. In this we carry out the idea "One For All." No man can belong to the Retailers Organization unless he is a member of the Local, State and National and he holds his certificate of membership, issued by the National; there is no shirking of financial duties; all must contribute.

It is to be regretted that this is not the case in either the Brewers or Wholesalers Associations. It is a defect that can be easily remedied now. A Brewer can belong to his National Association and shirk his responsibility to his State Association. In the Wholesalers' Association, a man may be mean enough to shirk his responsibility to his State Association, shirk his responsibility to his Protective Bureau and still be a member in good standng in his National Association.

It is therefore difficult for the average Retailer to know who are the men who honestly assist in the protection of his business and who do not. It was only recently that a certain Brewer was asked why he failed to contribute to the State Association. He at once produced his receipt from the National Brewers' Association and many similar instances have arisen with the Wholesalers.

The Retailers are willing to patronize only those who help protect the business, but, under these conditions, how is he to know? "Iron out" this little defect in your respective organizations and the plan of "you help us and we will help you" will be a substantial fact within a very short time.

Our Secretary has received many letters from the leading dealers in many of the States, revealing the condition that exists within their own borders and all breathe the same spirit that we must get together for "united we stand" "divided we fall" as Ben Franklin said when he signed the famous Declaration of Independence: "We must hang together or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

It will also be for you to decide whether the work of this Committee will be of such a nature as to warrant us in recommending to our respective National bodies that it be made a permanent affair. My own opinion is that it should be and that a stated yearly meeting should be held, either a short time before or after Congress meets, in order to have some definite understanding as to the line of action to be taken in regards to pending or prospective Legislation.

These are only a few answers to the question "What are we here for?" As we progress with our deliberations—others may arise and doubtless each one of you have ideas of your own, which will be revealed later.

Now Gentlemen, let us get down to business and the first thing to be done is to complete our organization by the selection of a Chairman and a Secretary.

I am now prepared to receive nominations for Chairman of this Joint Committee.

At the close of Mr. Farley's address nomination of Chairman of the Joint Committee being in order on motion of Mr. Hugh F. Harvey of Washington D. C., Mr. Peter Doelger, Jr., of New York was nominated as Chairman of the Joint Committee and there being no other nominations Mr. Doelger was elected and immediately assumed the duties of his office.

On motion of Mr. Nathan, Mr. Westheimer of Baltimore was elected Secretary and there being no other nomination Mr. Westheimer was elected with Mr. Hugh F. Fox and Wm. R. Halle as assistant Secretaries, on motion of Mr. Westheimer. Mr. M. F. Farley of New York was elected Vice Chairman.

A number of communications were read by the Secretary addressed to the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association of America, relative to the condition of the trade in the several states and the actions of the several branches of the trade as regards to working in harmony with each other in legislative matters. The States of Ohio, Massachusetts, Iowa, Arkansas, New Jersey, Michigan, Colorado, Nebraska, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Idaho, New York and District of Columbia all recommending in the highest sense the "Get together" movement on the part of the different branches of the trade and the beneficial effect that it would have on threatened legislation. Letters from Missouri and Wisconsin were not so satisfactory owing to local conditions which were fully explained by Mr. Nathan and Mr. Hugo A. Koehler of St. Louis and it was suggested that the matter be left in the hands of the officers of the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association to straighten out existing contentions.

Mr. Bonner of Philadelphia explained the effect of co-operation on the part of the Brewers, Wholesalers with the Retailers in building up the organization in Pennsylvania and what was a chaos sometime back was now peace and harmony.

Mr. Quinn of Connecticut presented the following resolutions for consideration:

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas it appears for the best interests of those engaged in the legitimate business of buying and selling liquors, beers ales, etc., that the men engaged in such business should for their own interests associate together to learn about a legitimate consideration of said business, and

Whereas the persons engaged in such business should in every way protect themselves by lawful asssociation and organization, and

Whereas it appears the National Brewers and Wholesale Liquor Dealers are interested in various cities and towns in their state, it is for the best interest of those so engaged in said business to have in each and every State in the Union an organization composed of men who by reason of their standing and business ability in their community be members of their Locals and State organizations. Therefore, be it

Resolved, that we, a committee on conference, from the National Brewers and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association and the Retail Wine, Liquor and Beer Dealers Association of America, do hereby recommend to our respective Associations, that they devise ways and means whereby the Retail Wine, Liquor and Beer Dealers Association in each and every State in the Union, where an organization exists, do their utmost to get within the ranks of said organization each and every dealer, who by reason of his standing in his community, shall be considered a proper and suitable person to join and become a member of said organization, and further be it

Resolved, for the purpose of carrying out this recommendation, that the Secretary of the National Brewers and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association communicate with the State Secretary of the National Brewers and the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association in each and every State in the Union and forward to said State Secretary a copy of these resolutions.

Respectfully submitted.

PRESIDENT CONNECTICUT WINE, LIQUOR & BEER DEALERS ASSOCIATION.

Mr. John A. Cervenka of Chicago explained the plan that was being adopted by the Brewers of Illinois by which each member of the Brewers Association were to be furnished with a label or sign designating that he was a contributing member of that organization. The plan was favorably discussed.

Mr. Nathan of St. Louis explained the stamp plan of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association which was having a most beneficial effect in building up their organization.

It was decided that the meeting adjourn until 3 P. M. to give the several delegations an opportunity to confer:—

At three o'clock the Committee again met and the following telegram was read:

[Telegram.]

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *April 7th, 1914.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New Willard, Washington, D. C.

Complications in the local situation makes it impossible for me to leave to attend this committee meeting as I had planned.

I trust and hope the meeting will be of great importance to our cause.

(Signed) AUG. LINDEMANN.

On behalf of the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association Committee Mr. Bonner of Philadelphia submitted the following resolution:

RESOLVED.

We recommend the present "Harmony Committee" of Five (5) members from each branch of the trade to wit: Brewers, wholesalers and retailers be continued in force until the annual convention of each branch and thereafter subject to the agreement of each branch to participate and select delegates to the number as at present constituted.

A meeting of the said Harmony Committee shall be held at least once every three (3) months and at other times as necessity demands. One of the aforementioned meetings to be held prior to the convening of the United States Congress at Washington, D. C.

On behalf of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association of America, Mr. Nathan of St. Louis submitted the following resolution:

RESOLVED.

Whereas at a meeting of representatives of the United States Brewers, National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association and the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association at Washington, D. C., April 10th, 1914; plans for co-operation between the three bodies were considered. It was resolved that the representatives present should report back to their respective organizations the desirability of the formation of a permanent joint committee on co-operation to consider matters relative to the sould licensing, regulation and control of the liquor traffic.

On behalf of the Brewers Association, Mr. Nicholson of Boston submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, It is the sense of this body that the President of each National Association appoint one (1) member of a joint Executive Committee of three (3) on organization, co-operation and standardization, of the liquor business, with power to act until the Committee of fifteen (15) is permanently organized.

After a general discussion of the several resolutions submitted they were withdrawn with the exception of the one submitted by Mr. Nicholson of Boston which was finally adopted and the President of each organization requested to select one member from their respective organizations in order to complete the organization of an harmony committee to report to a future meeting of this joint harmony committee of fifteen to be called at the discretion of the Chairman and that the present officers be requested to retain their respective offices until the completion of a permanent organization.

It was decided that any publicity given to this meeting would be left in the hands of Mr. Hugh F. Fox but the consensus of opinion was that it would not be advisable to give out any statement to the press.

EXHIBIT No. 849.

[United States Brewers Association, Bureau of Organization, 709 & 711 Schiller Building, Chicago. Organization Committee: William Hamm, St. Paul, Minn.; Gustave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; Edward Faust, St. Louis, Mo. J. A. McDermott, manager of bureau.]

JUNE 30TH, 1908.

Mr. JULIUS LIEBMAN, *Pres., U. S. Brewers Assn.*

MY DEAR MR. LIEBMAN: Enclosed find report on the Florida situation from Senator Buckman, who wanted me to meet him at Niagara Falls last week or New York this week. As I had the Tennessee situation on hand, I could not do so and this week is out of the question, on account of work here, preparatory to my going to Denver.

Senator Buckman is going to be in New York and I wired him to call on you. I fell satisfied that the acquaintance would be of mutual benefit, as the way the Senator handled things in Florida, shows him to be a man of executive ability and a reliable friend of ours. I merely wanted him to lay matters before you, and, in the mean time, I am going to write to Mr. Simms and Mr. Muller, of Jacksonville; in regard to whose business it is to make up this balance.

In regard to the Tennessee situation, I wish to report fully as follows: I have had several reports from there, and while they were not encouraging, Colonel Pabst and others interested thought I should go down and stay on the ground until after election. Mr. Thompson has been there for two weeks and the Union Labor vote was lined up solidly in the large cities, which is the only place they have any strength.

When I arrived at Memphis, I went over the situation with Mr. Schorr of Tennessee Brewing Co., and Mr. Resher, the Schlitz representative. I then went to Chattanooga between trains, and then to Nashville, where I met Mr. C. M. Lewis, who represents the Distillers Protective Assn., and who has done very excellent work in the campaign in Tennessee. I then called o Mr. Gerst and went over the situation with him. Afterwards, a meeting was arranged between the Chairman of the Patterson Campaign, Senator Austin Peay and Mr. Lewis, Mr. Gerst and myself, and we canvassed the situation thoroughly. From reports received throughout the state, we found twenty five doubtful counties containing 200 delegates, where it was absolutely necessary that something be done at once toward getting the vote our way. The Patterson committee did not have enough money to buy a postage stamp, and were in debt. Our people had contributed all and more than they had agreed to and Mr. Gerst, after consultation with Chattanooga, agreed to pay ⅓ of the amount we were to contribute in the fight against prohibition in Tennessee. We saw that this went to the counties where it was absolutely necessary and I stayed there until 10 O'Clock the evening of election.

The result was that Patterson was victorious by 10,000 popular vote and 150 delegates.

In the state convention which will be held July 7th, this kills prohibition, as far as the Democratic party is concerned for the declaration in their platform, and is going to make it easier for our people to elect a liberal senate.

I had the pleasure of having an hour and a half conference personally with Governor Patterson Saturday afternoon and went over the situation with him. He is opposed to prohibition and is our friend. I will tell you more of our conference when I see you. This check should immediately be sent, if possible to Mr. Wm. Gerst, Nashville, Tenn. I am writing Mr. Schorr to-day so that he will understand.

I wish to say that the Distillers Assn, are going to make a large contribution for the legislature. I also met a representative of the American Tobacco Co., who are also going to make a large contribution. You can see where it was necessary for me to call and have conferences with the principal parties. I am satisfied that our act was a good one and that it saved the state.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. McDERMOTT,
Mgr. Organization Bureau.

(J. L. P.)

P. S. In other words of the 15M set aside by our Assc in Tennessee fight 5M should be sent at once to Mr. Gerst as it was advanced by him and used by the Patterson people as I explained and it will be satisfactory to Schorr & Reib, so please send it soon as possible. I regard Patterson's victory as most important and ½ the battle.

McD.

[Copy. H. H. Buckman, attorney and counsellor at law and solicitor in chancery, Chambers 215 and 219 Dyal-Upchurch Bldg., Jacksonville, Fla.]

JULY 17, 1908.

Mr. J. A. McDERMOTT,
709 Schiller Building, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. McDERMOTT: Your telegram of yesterday afternoon received saying that the matter had been arranged and that checks to the amount of $6,000.00 would be mailed, and I expect the arrival of the checks to-morrow or the next day. I assure you I appreciate your prompt action in the matter, which relieves the situation immensely and relieves me of a personal strain, aside from the enormous annoyance of getting letters from all over the State intimating that there is no reason for not having the funds on hand to pay these obligations, and this was getting a little galling. While I might have been able to stand that personally, you can realize it was breeding discontent in quarters where we could not afford it. Had I made these obligations directly myself, it might have changed the situation somewhat, but a great deal of the conducting of such matters at the last moment has to be left to the agents you have selected in the different counties, and while they exceeded their authority in creating obligations without my direct authority for it, as these obligations were made to others, there was nothing to do but settle them. It is a chain in which there are many links, and one broken effects all the others both ways in a more or less degree. Until these obligations were paid, I was hampered in my further work. Pardon, therefore, if I have seemed persistent.

I know you appreciate the situation, otherwise I should not have had your prompt acquiescence and help. I do feel that these people should have readily seen that the work accomplished was worth so much to them, that they should not have hesitated a moment, or that I should have been embarrassed at all in relation to funds.

I want to say to you personally that but for your ready grasp of the situation in the beginning, your confidence in me and the influence that you brought to bear upon Mr. Pabst and a few others, who were intelligent enough to take a proper view of the situation, and the further fact that I happened to be in such a position with the business people here as to have their confidence, that the result could not have been accomplished. To you, therefore, must be due and should be given the credit of making this result possible.

This business is a perpetual warfare. You have to climb the ladder one round at a time. You can only build a building by one stone or brick at a time. Therefore, while we have won this fight, it is simply one round of the ladder, one

brick or one stone in the wall, and we have to proceed to climb another round or lay another stone. That means the organization of the House and Senate. When you really come to look at the situation, it is astonishing how many men there are that will follow if somebody will lead, but that somebody must have their confidence and must now and then produce some measure of success. On the other hand, the leader cannot always work for glory, and the rank and file too often fail to appreciate the work and strain and the fact that it requires oil to keep the machinery in motion, namely, funds to keep things working.

I have about decided on a president for the Senate, and have written to-day to have him come and see me to see how he lines up. These things have all got to be determined beforehand. While the Speaker of the House is not so essential and may be difficult, that also must be attended to. In addition to that I have organized each county or am doing so as fast as I can. Everybody seems to look to me to do this, when personally I would prefer to step down and out.

For the past year, namely, since the fight commenced in this County last June a year ago, I have given up my time to the matter, and practically I cannot afford it. However, I realize that I am into it. I have some pride in the matter and I am going to do the best I can with the situation, but of course there must be a limit to which I can go. I am writing you thus frankly and freely because you appreciate what all this means. I also appreciate this that at the present time that if I do not keep my personal fingers on the strings (do not construe this as any egotism on my part. Anybody else in my place could do the same. I simply happen to be the instrument at this time) that things would go to pieces for want of a head. It is I, personally, at present that people have confidence in. It is to me that they look to; it is I from whom only they want suggestions and under whom they will act quickly, if at all. It is the situation at present that I represent which can hold things together, at least for the present. I am gratified however, with the appreciation that the business people of the State have shown for what has been accomplished, even though it has been made apparent in no other way than in words of commendation.

The liquor people as a class here seem to think, as they usually do elsewhere (there are some few exceptions) that somebody is always ready to be found to fight their battles, and have taken it for granted. Personally, I want to thank you above all and the people I met with you, who placed their confidence in me, feeling that they at least, since we have been able to make our judgment good, have not been disappointed. Let me assure you that in any way I can serve you, you can always command me.

Trusting to hear from you now and then, and hoping to see you personally before a great while, I beg to remain with regards,

Sincerely yours,

H. H. BUCKMANN.

EXHIBIT No. 850.

(From Andreaes files by subpœna.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

DEC. 12, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: This is to inform you that our President has arranged for a joint conference with representatives of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, which is to be held in our office in New York, on Tuesday, December 29th, at 10:30 A. M.

I am directed by Mr. Schmidt to request and urge you to be present at this meeting. Will you kindly notify me of your acceptance in due course, and oblige,

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX *Secretary.*

HFF/W.

EXHIBIT No. 851.

DEC. 12, 1914.

The following brewers have been appointed by the President to represent the U. S. Brewers Association. The Secretary of the U. S. Brewers' Association, Mr. H. F. Fox, will act as Secretary of the conference.

Mr. Louis B. Schram, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mr. Gustave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; Mr. August A. Busch, St. Louis, Mo.; Col. Jacob Ruppert, New York, N. Y.; Mr. C. W. Felganspan, Newark, N. J.; Col. Chas. Pfaff, Boston, Mass.; Mr. Julius Liebmann, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mr Percy Andreae, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. John Gardiner, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mr. Edward Landsberg, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. Carl J. Hoster, Columbus, Ohio; Mr. Edward A. Schmidt, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hugh F. Fox, Secretary, New York, N. Y.

EXHIBIT No. 852.

THE TREND IN THE UNITED STATES.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Digest for distillers' meeting, Dec. 29/14.]

The trend of sentiment in the independent American Journals is against whiskey, and either frankly in favor of beer and other light beverages, or their attitude is one of tolerance towards them. Witness the Hearst papers, and recent editorials in Harpers' Weekly, Collier's, and Detroit Journal, and many other publications.

It is the concensus of opinion that the recent defeats in West Virginia, Virginia, and also in Colorado, Arizona, Washington and Oregon are due to the overwhelming sentiment in the rural districts against whiskey, and against the saloon where whiskey is sold. In Ohio and in California the same adverse sentiment was recorded in the rural districts, and we were only able to win because of the vote polled in our favor in the large cities. It is said to be a fact that we should have lost California if it had been a straight-out vote on the saloons, and the California wine interests appear to be convinced that whiskey and the saloon must be divorced if the present advantage is to be maintained.

The industrial efficiency and safety first movements are likely, during the next five years, to be more far-reaching than the whole prohibition crusade, for the reason that they have back of them the enlightened self-interest of the large employers of labor, in every field of commercial activity. From their standpoint the whiskey-saloon is under the ban, but it is known that some of the largest employing corporations are willing to let their men drink beer in moderation. This means that the whiskey-saloon which adjoins the factory must go. The saloon which caters to the factory hands must be a beer-saloon only.

The attitude of the business world reflects the sentiment of the leading medical writers, and of the men who train college crews, baseball clubs and athletes generally. Whiskey is only allowed medicinally, but beer is recognized as a useful article of diet.

THE EUROPEAN TREND.

The whole trend of the same temperance movement, and of legislative action in European countries is towards a discrimination between spirits and the mild alcoholic beverages. Witness the progressive class system of alcohol taxation in Norway, which, by a slow process moves the consumption from the strongest to the lightest drinks. The lightest beverages are put in a privileged class, not only from the standpoint of taxation, but in the matter of their sale at retail. Sweden and Denmark follow somewhat the same principle, while Belgium also discriminates in favor of beer, wine and cider in its system of municipal taxation.

At the International Congress Against Alcohol, which was held in Italy in 1913, Dr. L. Barette, a celebrated Italian physician advocated an alcohol monopoly so far as distilled spirits are concerned. Her views were not well received by the prohibitionists, but she was overwhelmed with letters of commendation from the foremost men of science, and was promptly invited to present the matter to the Medical Congress which was held the next week at Milan. At the opening of the International Congress against Alcohol, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Falcinni, speaking for the Italian Government, declared that heretofore the anti-alcohol movement had been distrusted in Italy because it was believed to be directed not only against the

abuse of alcohol, but also against its proper use. He said that next to France Italy is the largest wine-producing and wine-consuming country and that the Italians have become noted for their sobriety, but that the Italian Government was greatly concerned because of the recent increase in the production and consumption of distilled spirits.

The recent prohibition of Vodka in Russia needs no comment. The Russian Government is not opposed to the sale of beer and light wines, if their sale can be so regulated as to shut out vodka completely.

The International Committee for the Study of Alcohol which is made up of various national groups comprising the pick of the statesmen and publicists of the respective countries, is entirely distinct from the International Congress against Alcoholism, which is made up mainly of fanatics. The sentiment of the International Committee is believed to be in favor of the milder beverages, and the rigid restriction or control, or possibly even prohibition, of all ardent spirits.

WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT IT?

There is reason to believe that Georgia and Tennessee would be willing to give legislative sanction to the sale of beer in beer-saloons in the cities. There is a fair possibility that North Carolina would follow suit. West Virginia and Virginia are not believed to be ready for any new legislation at this time, but if they are to be brought back at all, it can only be along this line. In Colorado, Washington and Oregon, such legislation can be initiated by the people, and there is a strong sentiment for it in the cities.

On the other hand, we must expect to lose a number of other States within the next two years if we are to make a defensive fight for the maintenance of the whiskey saloon, though they might, and probably can, be saved so far as the cities are concerned, with a constructive program for beer-saloons. Among these States are: Maryland, possibly Delaware, Nevada, Idaho, and possibly Utah and Montana. It is believed that Kentucky would go dry if the people of the State voted upon it directly.

On the other hand, it may be conceded that in nearly all cities of the first and second class, the sentiment against whiskey over the bar is not yet strong enough to warrant the separation of spirits from beer, and the demand for spirits is so great that it is doubtful whether a saloonkeeper who took out a license for the sale of beer only, could succeed: Certainly he could not afford to pay the present high license fees.

It is evident that the attempt to prohibit the sale of whiskey entirely would break down, as it has in all places where it has been tried without qualification. So long as the distiller can continue to sell to the individual, whether in prohibition territory or in places where the beer-saloon only obtains, his business can and will continue. Of course, methods of distribution, and the character of the business may undergo great changes, and in the process of readjustment serious losses may be faced. The brewer, however, will have to make even greater sacrifices in this transition period, but the distiller cannot fight successfully to maintain the right of selling whiskey over the bar except, possibly, in the thickly populated States and cities.

The brewing interests must be allowed to promote legislation for the beer-saloon as a matter of salvage and reclamation in prohibition territory, without opposition from the distillers. They must be allowed to advocate such action in prohibition campaigns in all doubtful States, without arousing the antagonism of the distilling interests. They must also utilize all the literary material that is helpful to them in the promotion of their interests. To this extent they can and must play their own hand without let or hindrance.

EXHIBIT No. 853.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Govt. Ex. 29, 3/16/16, L. D. S.]

REPORT OF CONFERENCE BETWEEN BREWERS AND DISTILLERS HELD AT 50 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 29, 1914.

The following were present on behalf of the brewers: Louis B. Schram, Brooklyn; August A. Busch, St. Louis; Jacob Ruppert, Jr., New York; C. W. Feigenspan, Newark; Julius Liebmann, Brooklyn; Percy Andreae, Chicago; John Gardiner, Philadelphia; Edward Landsberg, Chicago; Edward A. Schmidt, Philadelphia; S. F. Fleming, Fort Wayne; Eberhard Anheuser, St. Louis;

Robert Crain, Baltimore; Hugh F. Fox, New York; John A. McDermott, New York.

The following were present on behalf of the distillers: A. J. Sunstein, Pittsburgh; Geo. C. Dempsey, Boston; C. H. Hermann, Chicago; Thomas C. Dunehy, Chicago; E. M. Babbitt, Louisville; J. Walter Freiberg, Cincinnati; Geo. F. Dieterle, Cincinnati; Morris F. Westheimer, Cincinnati; H. F. Cellarins, Cincinnati; Joseph Debar, Cincinnati; A. J. Strasser, New York; H. J. Kaltenbach, New York; C. M. Lewis, Levi Cooke.

Meeting was called to order at 11 A. M., Mr. Edward A. Schmidt acting as Chairman, and Mr. Hugh F. Fox as Secretary.

Mr. Schmidt stated that this was a mutual conference to consider conditions, and to discuss the question of whether the relation between the respective interests should be continued along the same lines as before.

Mr. FREIBERG. We want to continue to co-operate with the United States Brewers' Association very much as before. We have found faults in our own organizations that need correction. We believe that we have spread ourselves out too thin, and that we have too many branches which waste money and energy. We believe that our organization should be made more compact, and that we need state organizations of a permanent nature, instead of getting men for local campaigns and letting them go when the campaigns are over.

Mr. GARDINER. The distillers want to know if the rumor is true that the brewers desire to separate from the distillers, and to run their state and other contests alone? I have held that this was not our desire, and that a separation would be fatal. I am personally opposed to any separation of the two interests. (In answer to a question by Mr. Babbitt, Mr. Gardiner declared that he has never personally met any brewer who desired to separate.

Mr. SCHRAM. This conference is held at the request of the distillers, who have met and agreed upon a program. It is up to them to tell us what they want.

Mr. WESTHEIMER. While we expressed a desire for this meeting, it was just as much desired by the brewers. We must learn from the mistakes of the past; our failures this Fall may have been inevitable, or they may have been due to the faults of method. During the recent New Orleans Convention of the brewer, an interview with Mr. Oscar Schmidt of Milwaukee was printed, which stated frankly that whiskey was responsible for the laws of the Western States. The rumor to which Mr. Gardiner alluded was confirmed to some extent by the Report of the Board of Trustees of the U. S. B. A. For example, in the comments on the European trend of the anti-alcohol movement, the inference is drawn that the brewers welcome such a trend. Editorials along this line are, we believe, inspired by brewers, and the advertisements of many brewers, referring to beer as a temperance drink, etc., are not only untrue, but are putting the whiskey men constantly on the defensive. The alcoholic content of the average drink of whiskey is no greater than the average drink of wine or beer. A tonic is regulated by its strength, and the quantity of the dose is regulated or diluted accordingly. In the State of Washington the Olympia Brewing Company advertised, during the recent campaign, that all the evils were due to whiskey, and claimed all the virtues for beer. The constant cropping out of anti-whiskey publicity in Texas seems to be inspired by the brewers. We feel that the U. S. B. A. ought to use its influence with its members to have such advertising discontinued. Remember that the tax on the alcoholic content or unit is only half on beer that it is on whiskey. Some of us think that there should be more publicity and less gum-shoe methods in the state campaigns. These campaigns have been run by the U. S. B. A. men, and there should be a report from that side as to what is being done, and as to the whole method of conduct of these campaigns.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Mr. McDermott was then called upon by Mr. Gardiner for a report on the recent campaigns. Mr. McDermott explained the conditions in the various States where the campaigns had been conducted, and showed that in Virginia the campaign was regarded as a very doubtful one from the start, and that the sentiment there is against the saloons as now conducted. In Colorado we faced the loss of a large number of miners, and the opposition of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, and a Billy Sunday Revival. Rockefeller sent two men from New York, and financed the republican party in order to control the Governor. The conditions of the saloons were also dubious. The people in the trade in Colorado feel that everything was done there that could have been done. In Oregon and Washington we had woman suffrage for the first time, and this, with the condition of some of the saloons, beat us. There are only a few important cities in these States, and the country districts all

went dry. The organization and publicity work there was exceedingly w. done. In Arizona the shutting down of the copper mines lost us 5,000 vote.

Mr. STRASSER. Mr. Strasser asked questions as to what Mr. McDermott mea. by changing the character of the saloon? He asked who selected the manag. for these campaigns? To whom was the money paid? At what point did . distillers lose control of the distribution of their funds? He thinks that the. must have been something very wrong with the campaigns, for the results . have been so disastrous. (In reply to those questions it was shown that n. of the money of the distillers went to pay the salary or expenses of any . the members of the Organization Bureau.) The funds were handled by le. people who were placed in charge of the campaigns by the joint interests.

Mr. WESTHEIMER. Mr. Westheimer asked how Mr. McDermott accounted f. the conditions in Colorado. In Los Angeles, for instance, where saloon con. tions are perfect, the people voted dry; whereas, in San Francisco where . conditions are rotten the people gave a large wet vote. Mr. McDermott repli. that Los Angeles voted wet by a small majority, and that the difference . probably due to the character of the people in the respective places, . especially to the sentiment in San Francisco for the Exposition.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. We have no doubt as to the validity of the expenditures. I. our feeling is due to the fact that our people are sometimes not recogniz. We have been called upon for assistance, and on both sides the money i. been paid to Mr. Gardiner, who in turn has paid it out to local committees. . Virginia we had great trouble in getting a man to handle the campaign. W. offered large compensation to two prominent local men in Virginia, who refus. it, and we finally had to go outside for a campaign manager. The coun. should be districted and men employed all the time to handle each distr. both in organization and publicity work, as it is hard to get good men becau. they know that their job is finished when the campaign is over. Our arran. ment with the brewers has gone on now for six years, and the conditions are worse than ever. The cry is for prohibition all over the country. We must divert this to a cry for regulation. We must give the people an excuse w. they should oppose prohibition. Great sacrifices must be made in reducing the number of licenses. Conditions in New Mexico, for example, will have to . remedied or that State will surely go dry. In some of the dry States we should organize and formulate rigid license laws, and then initiate legislation for them.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. There is a decided sentiment among a number of brewers for a distinction between spirits and beer. While I think they are on the wrong track, this is not a matter which we can control. Many of the brewers see their salvation in this separation. It is not a matter which can really be decided upon by either of our respective interests; it is the public that is say. ing it for us. Many of my friends outside of the trade have expressed th. sentiment to me. With many of the brewers it is a question of salvage, an. you can not stop the brewers whose business is destroyed or threatened wit. destruction, from taking a course of this kind if they think it will be to the. advantage. Personally, I am opposed to any such division, but the moment . for it is growing greatly outside of the industry.

Mr. DIETERLE. The attitude of the brewers is entirely wrong on this question. Our arguments are all based on personal liberty and when you differentiate be. tween whiskey and beer you are undermining our best argument. It is the Anti-Saloon League, and not the general public that you are fighting. Our plans of action have been wrong; our strategy board has failed; our generals are inefficient; we won Ohio because we have trained our soldiers there for 30 years, and have a standing army. The attempt to mobilize three months before an election is useless. The fight is a bigger one than we have ever admitted even to ourselves, and we must enlist in it for life.

Mr. DEMPSEY. We feel that the plans have not been just right. I have ever suggested abandoning the statewide fights and centering on the congressional districts. After we have secured those, we can pick our fighing ground. We have gone into these State fights because the other fellow wanted it. We have gone into fights at the eleventh hour that we should have kept out of. We thought a year or two ago that Mr. Andreae could change conditions by fighting with ideas, and that his surveys would determine the question of whether we should make a fight in a particular state. There is a feeling that his Bureau has not made good; that his work covers too large a field. Mr. Dempsey then pointed out that many States vote for prohibition under a general reformatory impulse, but that they come back as is shown by the number of States that

went dry 40 or 50 years ago, and that have now come back, but that to bring them back it is essential that we should keep the National Government in line. The States that were burned over by prohibition in the past, and that have come back, have no sentiment to-day for prohibition, and in coming back they voted the saloon in again as a necessary institution. The real trouble is not with the saloon. Mr. Dempsey stated that the real purpose of this meeting is to bring about better understanding, better organization, and more concentration.

Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Fleming said that in Indiana seventy out of ninety-two counties were dry a few years ago. The distillers contributed $9,000 against a total of $200,000 that was raised by the brewers. In the following campaign they agreed to pay $5,000, but welched, and finally paid $2,500. Last year when the constitutional convention campaign was on they did not put up a dollar. The Terre Haute Brewing Company, which is owned by distillers, won't even affiliate with the State Association. In that State, he said, the distillers have been a absolute detriment to the brewers, and we do not even appeal to them any more for assistance—financial or otherwise.

Mr. FREIBERG. I am interested in a distillery in Indiana, and if no money from us found its way to the joint fund, it must have been lost on the way. The spirit distillers also contributed.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. The Terre Haute distillery sells only in carload lots, and practically all its business is outside the State of Indiana.

Mr. RUPPERT. The distillers are not paying their fair share; instead of paying one-third in these campaigns, they ought to pay one-half. It is clear that we have not checked the prohibition movement. We ought to have a committee appointed to go at the matter more thoroughly. The prohibition sentiment is growing; the question is whether we can keep our heads above water long enough to enable us to reverse this sentiment. We ought to have a joint committee appointed and employ the best man we can get, preferably a politician, to take charge.

Mr. FEIGENSPAN. Let's analyze the situation before we criticise. Nothing of a political nature that we can do is going to stop this wave. We are facing great health movements; the training in the schools and in the colleges; the action of insurance companies and other popular movements which are very far-reaching. We cannot fight such movements merely by political methods; the fundamental thing is an educational campaign. We are in the transition period in our institutional life: nothing could have stopped this wave in the West, especially when you realize that we were handicapped by woman suffrage and saloon abuses.

Mr. FREIBERG. The best educational work that could be done would be to regain one or two dry States. The State of Maine offers the best field for our efforts.

Mr. LIEBMANN. The real question is not about the men that we employ. We are well satisfied with our Organization Bureau and with our Counsel. What has been done by them is really marvelous. Take Alabama, for example, where the condition is better than in some of the great Northern States. The main thing we need is money. The distillers take it amiss that brewers say that their beer is less harmful than whiskey. I believe that it is, and many brewers feel that a distinction should be made, but we do not want a separation. We fought prohibition long before the distillers were organized. You must not take it amiss if we take advantage of the things that others say in favor of beer. It is up to you to show the difference between good whiskey made by the manufacturers, and home-distilled whiskey. Six years ago the French Academy of Political Science published a book by the President of the French League against Alcoholism, which showed that while drunkenness has always existed, "alcoholism" was unknown until distillation began. Mr. Liebmann then went on to say what has been done in Switzerland and in the Scandinavian countries, and stated that while he would like to see co-operation between the two industries continued, the brewers must not be muzzled. If the distillers think it is dishonorable for us to say anything at the expense of whiskey, the best thing to do is to agree not to have a common fund, and to give up our joint relations.

Mr. WESTHEIMER. You cannot prevent prohibition by maintaining that beer is less harmful than whiskey. The strength of the movement is due to the prejudice against the saloon. The members of the U. S. B. A. are responsible for the conditions of the saloons. The saloon is the property of the brewing industry. If we had wanted to do so, we could have joined hands with our opponents in this fight. The distiller gains business by the States that go dry. We have been urged for years to work for the destruction of the saloon,

and for the sale of whiskey in the original package. It would not hurt my business if all saloons were wiped out. You are making a tactical mistake in your attitude. The Texas Anti-Saloon League says that the saloon is the most pernicious thing. The distiller can prosper without the saloon. Your separation would force us to co-operate with the enemy. The saloons are dependent on the sale of whiskey and could not pay expenses without it.

Mr. ANDREAE. The crucial point is the question of the saloon and what can be done to remedy it. When I first started out with my work for the brewers, the question was how to convince the public that we are sincere in our plans for reforming the saloon. We have never had a plan presented to us that was concrete. I was called in conference a week ago with Mr. Nagel, who asked what would be the result of the suggestions he made at New Orleans, and that unless some move was made he and his friends would quit. Mr. Andreae was asked by Mr. Nagel if he had a plan, and admitted that he had no definite plan. He would like to demonstrate the obstacles in the way of the trade when they try to better conditions. We must bring home to the real leaders what the cause of the trouble is. This can only be done by a combination of sincere men outside of the industry, working in co-operation with us. Get men such as Mr. Nagel, Dr. Peters, Dr. Butler and Cardinal Gibbons to state what is in their minds, and then ask them to listen to Mr. Andreae for an hour while he gives them his practical experiences. The saloonkeeper is far more sinned against than sinning. They are the victims of a system that has grown up around us. The difficulty is due to corrupt municipal government. When you produce the evidence and go to the authorities and ask them to enforce the law, what do you get? We have found men who were forced to disobey the law. If we could get five or ten men of distinction and prominence to take this matter up nationally, and then appoint sub-committees, we should gain an educational publicity that would be invaluable. We must convince the men who lead the common herd of these difficulties.

[The meeting adjourned at 1.15 for lunch, and re-assembled at 1.50.]

Mr. LANDSBERG. What did the distillers come here for? What is their motive? Of course, this Committee has no power, and will have to put anything that is decided upon up to the Board of Trustees.

Mr. COOKE. The whole problem is a systematic one. There is no one aspect of it that is separate from the whole problem. We have made no progress during the past year. A year ago I urged co-ordination of every method of attack. There are at least six forces at work within our respective trades. The concentrated attack is not being driven home. We must have one unit. We have lost a year because we have failed to follow one consistent plan of campaign. If you divide responsibility and authority it will flow to the lowest level. Messrs. *Gardiner and Sunstein have charge of one aspect of* the case: Messrs. *Crain and Cooke have charge of* certain objectives which do not co-ordinate with the others; Messrs. *Lewis and McDermott* are conducting organization work throughout the country without close co-ordination. All of these activities should be collected together in one common undertaking. What we are fighting is the enemy of alcohol, and we are up against the fanatic. The beginning and the end of the whole fight is alcohol. We have got to defend alcohol, and the united alcohol industry is the only thing that will save them. In response to a question by Mr. Feigenspan as to what particular plan Mr. Cooke has in mind, he said: "If you cannot get an absolute co-ordination let us have two distinct armies, but with a common understanding. We should have a general staff under a common head for publicity, political organization and all our activities. We do not need to consolidate the two interests, but must have a joint scheme of co-operation. The whiskey interests are absolutely united."

Mr. BABBITT. Mr. Babbitt asked Mr. Crain to tell us what the sentiment is in Washington. Is it against alcohol alone or against whiskey?

Mr. CRAIN. This country has been undergoing a process by which a certain class of people want to get rid of alcohol. There is a tremendous force behind it. There are valid reasons why the South should be in favor of prohibition. We can not change the religious fanatic; he is against alcohol. The Anti-Saloon League understands that if whiskey was knocked out and beer substituted his job would cease. All the great interests have been attacked in Washington, even the courts themselves. No law has been passed in Washington, which is unfair to us, excepting the canteen. Nothing would please me so much as to have the Supreme Court say that the Webb-Kenyon Law is constitutional. If it is declared unconstitutional the doctrine of States' rights will be invoked for the passage of a law prohibiting all interstate ship-

ments. We have really suffered less than all of the other big interests in recent years. Some of our activities are criticised because they did not bring results. How could you have started a movement to save West Virginia? Resolutions do not win battles. Individual work with the legislators is necessary. We have been able to stand off fanaticism in Congress, and my judgment is that we have killed national prohibition for ten years. The great fight now will be to absolutely prohibit all interstate business. The States' rights men in Congress will be in favor of this; the very men in the South who voted for us on the prohibition amendment will be against us on this issue. Of course, no brewer is going to favor the prohibition of any kind of drink, but there are certain brewers who believe that they have a right to advertise to the world what beer is made of.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I believe that both our interests have a desire to preserve the saloon as an institution for the sale of our product. I believe that the saloon will stay, and that it ought to stay. Since the November elections I have had a hundred communications from our members, from trade papers, from editors, and from other people outside the industry, all stating that the trouble is due to the saloon. Prohibition succeeds in the agricultural communities where the sentiment against it is dominant, and where the saloon is particularly objectionable. Why not recognize this fact and meet it? Would it not be possible for us to get facts from representative bodies who would undertake a disinterested investigation of the country saloon? Many of our members are of the opinion that unless we remedy this condition the country will go dry. The action of the California interests is a case in point. Others say that they want the privilege and right to determine for themselves what they consider is best for their interests. Our people will insist on the right to say what they think about their product. They will insist on the right to go into a dry State and re-claim it on any plan by which they think it can be brought back. Our whole organization will go to pieces if we try to deny them this. I suggest the appointment of a small joint committee to see if we can not co-operate, and how far we can go on a common basis. Mr. Schmidt then referred to the cheap whiskey which is put up by rectifiers and sold at five cents a glass, and expressed the opinion that the rectifiers' license should be got rid of entirely, and that no whiskey should be sold for less than ten cents a drink.

Mr. KALTENBACH. We object to such advertising as that which has been running in the State of Washington. You can say all you can for beer, but don't condemn whiskey by declaring that it is dangerous or poisonous. [Mr. Kaltenbach then read from the advertisements of the Olympia Brewing Co. such phrases as "drunkenness and distilled liquor"—"whiskey is the real evil" etc.] We have no objection to you booming your own product; I have always been strongly in favor of having one organization controlled by one head which would supervise all publicity matter. We must all get together and work with one end in view. The Anti-Saloon League has attacked your weakest point—the saloon. We must get a committee to control all that is done. Referring to the rectifiers matter he stated that a saloonkeeper is not allowed to mix his whiskey with anything, and that some cheap whiskies only contain about 30% alcohol.

Mr. Dieterle stated that the Committee of Fifty report covers the rectifiers question.

Mr. WESTHEIMER. We believe that there is an opportunity to make North Carolina entirely dry. Our friends advise us to join hands in the movement.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. The superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League in North Carolina has a bill to prevent all shipments for personal use, excepting for medicinal and sacramental purposes. There is a growing sentiment for a campaign to repeal the present law. There is a difference of opinion in different parts of the country as to what would be the result of making a state entirely dry. In the Northwest some of our people feel that if a state is entirely dry the people will eventually be satisfied.

Mr. KALTENBACH. I move that a Committee of 6 be appointed to confer in regard to the feasibility of bringing about closer action and co-operation. Motion seconded by Mr. Landsberg.

Mr. ANHEUSER. We are in favor of Mr. Andreae's plan. We are trying to bring out the broad principle of moderation in our advertising.

Mr. HERMANN. I understood that we were invited to come here and that you knew as much as we do about the object of the meeting. Post-mortems are not very valuable, but I feel that we have not had an equal say as to what should and should not be done. Your field men have had too much leeway. There was

too much money spent in Virginia, and I believe it would have been better to stay out of that fight entirely. Spending money does not win campaigns.

Mr. McDERMOTT. The campaign in Virginia was decided upon by the heads of both organizations. For 8 years Virginia has been held by an eye-lash. We have really carried on our fights throughout this country on a shoe-string, and our Organization Bureau has always been under-manned.

Mr. HERRMANN. I do not consider it making a campaign by just giving people what they ask.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. We are too liberal with the Virginia people. We must organize so that we can supervise these fights, and not leave them in the hands of local people.

Mr. Fox. In response to a question put by Mr. Cooke as to whether the prohibition sentiment in the country is growing, Mr. Fox made the following statement: An important part of my job is to follow the trend of public sentiment. We maintain elaborate machinery for this purpose. I think everything that is printed on the alcohol question here or abroad comes to this office and is carefully analyzed and digested. It is my conviction that the anti-alcohol sentiment is growing very fast. I believe it is a mistake to assume that we are merely fighting the Anti-Saloon League. If the Anti-Saloon League was wiped out of existence to-morrow, we should still have the same old fight on our hands, because the Anti-Saloon League is merely the organization of the sentiment against the saloon and against alcohol for political purposes. While it is an exploitation movement it could not succeed if the sentiment did not exist which gives it its backing.

The anti-alcohol sentiment is now being advanced by the large employers of labor from the standpoint of industrial efficiency, and the movement is one which has immense weight because it is backed by self interest. The employer is insisting that the saloon at the factory gate must go, or at any rate, that it must not be allowed to sell whiskey. There are many large employers who would be willing to allow their men to drink beer. This feeling on the part of the large employers is now being utilized and capitalized by the Anti-Saloon League. The Churches are possibly giving less money to the Anti-Saloon League than in former years, but this deficit is made up many times by the new contributions that they are getting from large corporations.

Referring to the Virginia campaign, Mr. Fox said: "It seems clear that the sentiment which had been growing for generations in Virginia against whiskey and the saloons, reached its natural culmination on election day. It was impossible to reverse this sentiment without having something tangible to offer. We have been preaching the continuance of the licensed saloon to the people in Virginia who were already dis-satisfied with it, and telling them that they had better keep what they had got and didn't like, rather than take something that might be even worse. Nearly all of Virginia was dry already It is perfectly futile to try and win back any of the present prohibition States, except possibly the State of Maine, on any platform which would permit the sale of whiskey over the bar. The best the distillers can hope for is the privilege of selling in the original package, and probably this would have to be restricted to the individual in re-claiming such States as Washington and Oregon. There is no use in shutting our eyes to the facts. The whole trend of sentiment in European countries, and in this country, is towards the encouragement of the mild beverages. In manufacturing States, and cities in this country the sentiment for whiskey is probably just as strong as it is for beer, but in the rural districts the whiskey saloon is under the ban. If you analyze the vote in Ohio and California you will see that it was only the large cities that saved us. We were badly beaten in the rural districts.

Mr. SUNSTEIN. Mr. Sunstein declared that it was his experience with manufacturers and mine owners in Pennsylvania that their sentiment is even stronger against beer than it is against whiskey.

Mr. FREIBERG. The army canteen would have been restored long ago if there was any real sentiment for beer, or if the separation of the two interests was possible. The country saloon is a bad institution; the city saloon takes its character from the population. The practical thing to do is to redeem the State of Maine.

The motion to appoint a Committee of Three from each side was then put and carried, with the understanding that the members of the committee would report to their respective bodies.

The meeting adjourned at 4.30 p. m.

_____,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 854.

(Separated from Ex. 30, 8/9/16, G.M.)

STATEMENT MADE BY MR. JULIUS LIEBMANN AT A MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION FEBRUARY 11, 1915.

The Committee which was appointed at the conference between the distillers, wholesale liquor dealers and brewers, met in New York on January 25th, 1915, and after a day's discussion, adopted the following resolution to be submitted to their respective associations:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that the two organizations, viz: the distillers and the wholesalers on the one hand, and the brewers on the other, continue to co-operate under the conditions that have been and are at present in force, and that the method of such co-operation be delegated to a Committee of Six, three from each side.

Furthermore, in case of a disagreement on the policy to be pursued in any particular contest, then the several state organizations, or either of the national organizations be free to conduct an individual campaign as they may see fit.

The second part of the resolution simply means that in any State in which the Joint Committee does not ask the brewers and distillers to take joint action, that both the brewers and distillers have a free hand to do whatever they see fit. This would also seem to cover the question of publicity on the part of the U. S. B. A. to advertise beer as a temperance drink—calling attention to the low percentage of alcohol contained therein. To this the distillers take very strong exception, claiming that it is impossible to explain the mild character of beer, and advocating its use in preference to distilled liquors, without implying that whiskey is harmful.

The Committee feels that this contention on the part of the distillers may be true, but at the same time it recommends to the Board of Trustees that we ought to have absolute freedom to say whatever we think is true of beer and beneficial to our industry, without regard to the susceptibilities of the distillers.

The Committee is of the opinion that if the distillers do not object to any plan of publicity on our part—to enlighten people as to the merits of beer, we ought to co-operate within the lines laid down in the resolution.

The Committee feels that in any case we are at one with the distillers in our fight against prohibition. Our arguments at all times have been and will be to maintain the right of every citizen to drink whichever alcoholic liquor he chooses. Our argument showing the futility of prohibition, in view of the impossibility of preventing illicit distillation, is an argument for the maintenance of legal distilleries.

The Committee is in favor of co-operation with the distillers. But it is of the opinion that inasmuch as the brewers have always contributed 2/3s of every fund, it would be better to refuse co-operation if the price of co-operation consists in being muzzled in its publicity relating to beer.

EXHIBIT No. 855.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

[Office Copy. Please Return This Copy to the File. Govt. Ex. 25, 8/16/16. L. D. J.]

REPORT OF THE MEETING OF THE JOINT HARMONY COMMITTEE HELD AT HOTEL BELVIDERE, BALTIMORE, MD., MARCH 6TH, 1915.

The following were present for the brewers: (Mr. Piel being absent because of illness in his family.) Messrs. Poth, Pennsylvania; Cervenka, Illinois; Nicholson, Massachusetts; Koehler, Missouri; H. F. Fox, Secy. New York.

For the wholesalers: Messrs. Sinnott, Pennsylvania; Westheimer, Maryland; Kaltenback, New York; Freiberg, Ohio; Nathan, Missouri; Mr. Cook, Counsel, Washington.

For the retailers: Messrs. Farley, New York; Bonner, Pennsylvania; Kunde, Illinois; Harvey, District of Columbia; Rinkenberger, Ohio; R. Halle, Sec'y, Chicago.

For the wine growers: Mr. Culman, New York.

Mr. Nicholson was elected President, Mr. Bonner, Vice-President, and Mr. Nathan, Secretary.

Mr, Farley opened the proceedings by making an appeal for co-operation and against any separation of the beer and whiskey interests.

Mr. Kaltenbach followed with an impassioned plea for one organization of all branches of the liquor trade and their allied interests under one governing body. He declared that there is at present no real co-operation between the brewer and the distiller; in fact, there is a lack of confidence between them. The brewer takes the superior position of knowing it all. The efforts of the various interests are scattered, and in the State of Washington the two interests are actually fighting each other. He declared that we only won in Ohio by a narrow squeak, and that Kentucky is on the verge of prohibition.

Mr. Culman said that as long as we have separate organizations we are bound to have trouble. "There must be one organization which should be national in its scope, having under its jurisdiction all state and local bodies; that all the money should go into one common fund and be spent by one governing committee."

Mr. Nicholson stated that in Massachusetts nothing was done in a legislative way without the co-operation of all the interests.

Mr. Nathan asked for an expression of views of the three organizations. The distillers, he said, want real co-operation, and are anxious for the closest relations and voted for it at a meeting of their governing body recently.

Mr. Bonner said that at the recent convention of the retailers, the members declared themselves as unanimously in favor of such co-operation, and that in Pennsylvania the interests worked together in all legislative matters, through a Conference Committee.

Mr. Kunde said that they had such a committee in Illinois for four years and that it worked very well. All legislative matters are referred to a Harmony Committee of five, representing each interest, and that in local option fights the three controlling parties contribute to one state fund, but the trouble is that each man wanted to draw out of the fund and make the contribution in his own district.

Mr. Rinkenberger said that in Ohio all the interests are working together, and that legislative matters are handled jointly.

Mr. Freiberg remarked that even the bottlers worked in harmony in Ohio.

Mr. Bonner stated that the first thing to do is to organize the retailers, and that this can best be done by the assistance of the brewers; and that the retailers' association will urge their men to deal only with organization brewers and wholesalers.

Mr. Nicholson said that such action would no doubt result in increasing the membership of the organizations and developing them.

Mr. Farley stated that the New York retailers had gone on record against any promotion scheme for breweries.

Mr. Nathan: "This is not the time to organize our separate and several organizations, but we want to find out especially where the brewers stand. All our efforts are futile unless we are united on one platform. It is not up to us to help organize the particular interests, but rather to form one vast comprehensive body."

The Chairman then called on Mr. Fox to state the brewers' position.

Mr. Fox said that the brewers did not come to this meeting of the Joint Harmony Committee clothed with any authority to take any action which was binding in any way upon the members of the United Brewers' Association. He understood that this was merely a conference, and that any action taken would necessarily have to be either a mere expression of sentiment of those present, or a recommendation, which would have to be referred back to the parent bodies. The members of the United States Brewers' Association had a perfect right to act as individuals in any way they saw fit. He believed, however, that it was utterly futile to talk about having one organization of all the interests and one fund with one management. The brewers would not consent to this, and it was no use wasting any words about it.

With regard to the State of Washington, Mr. Fox pointed out that the Washington brewers were on a sinking ship and that if they could save the vessel by throwing part of the cargo overboard, it was only human nature for them to do so, and no outside pressure would have any influence upon them.

Mr. Nicholson stated that we were in sympathy with cooperation.

Mr. Nathan said that the distillers had no authority either to speak for their organization.

Mr. Cervenka said that none of us are ripe for one organization; we can, however, come to some kind of a general understanding. The retailers have

the best system of organization, which is founded on the principles of the A. F. of L.

Mr. Koltenbach stated that with regard to reclaiming a prohibition State on a beer basis, he felt that we can only win our fight upon the principle of personal liberty; that we ought to have one organization watching all legislation and in matters of publicity we should have only one head.

The meeting then drifted into a discussion of the saloon question.

Mr. Bonner stated that the public demands that saloons and other places where liquor is sold must be properly conducted, and we can help regulate them best from within our own ranks.

Mr. Poth said: "Mr. Bonner has struck on something really constructive. The objection is really revolving about the saloon. There must be some reason for it or the public would not be so strongly against it. It is vain to talk about the States gone dry. The preservation of the wet States is the important question. If we can make conditions right in them we then have a basis of appeal for retrieving the dry States." He then presented his report of the investigations he had been conducting among the brewers of Pennsylvania as to the causes of the unpopularity of the saloon.

Mr. Fox summarized the data secured by Mr. Piel, showing that the causes for complaint are as follows: Selling in prohibited hours, gambling, selling to intoxicated men, rear rooms, unclean places, invading residential districts, the country saloon, the social evil, selling to minors, keeping open at night, brewers financing ignorant foreigners who are not citizens, the American bar, brewery-controlled saloons, cabarets, Sunday selling, treating, free lunch, sales to speakeasies, bucket trade, signs, screens, character of the men, too many saloons.

Mr. Cervenka said that his investigations had led to the same conclusions, and he emphasized particularly the need of limitation to the number of saloons, and the abolition of signs, stalls and cabarets.

Mr. Koehler said that his investigations and his questionnaire had led to the same results. "We must have a platform on which we can work together."

Mr. Kaltenbach said that we should not do anything to encourage the abolition of the saloon, and that if the saloon-keepers can improve matters themselves they should do so without going to the legislatures for remedy.

Mr. Bonner stated that the evils in the retail trade are admitted. In the Pennsylvania coal regions the conditions are very bad, because of the irresponsible men who have been established in the retail business by brewers and others. The free lunch and excess sales of beer in kettles, and the sales by brewers and others to illegal vendors is a serious evil.

Mr. Nicholson said that there is no necessity for the elimination of the saloon; that it can be made a helpful and developing influence in any community. The brewer is very largely responsible for conditions. He had made a similar inquiry in Massachusetts to that made by his colleagues on the committee, and got very similar replies. The Massachusetts Brewers' Association has decided to take up the question of eliminating outside display signs. He appealed for a constructive policy, and said that one reason why Massachusetts was in such good shape was because of the limitation of the number of saloons and the abolition of the screens. Treating on the part of the proprietor had been abolished by the action of the Boston Excise Board.

Mr. Fox then moved that the reports be summarized, and suggested that if all of the interests could agree upon a constructive platform it might be advisable to give it publicity.

Mr. Cook said that we cannot reform our line under fire; that the saloon can only be reformed from within. He said that Los Angeles with ideal saloon conditions, had barely defeated prohibition. The saloon is the most fundamental thing in the business. It is an American institution and part of our national life, and that there should be no publicity regarding saloon reform at present.

Mr. Fox withdrew his suggestion with regard to publicity.

Mr. Kaltenbach declared that we should admit nothing to our opponents.

Mr. Culman seconded the appointment of a committee to make a report to this body now, and suggested that there ought to be no limitation of saloons without compensation.

Mr. Kunde said that the man must be licensed and not the place. Under the limitation of places in Peoria, the brewers and distillers bought up every saloon and there are now no independent saloon-keepers. In Chicago 50 per cent of the places are thus controlled, and these comprise the most disreputable places because the saloon men who run them are not financially responsible. He also objected to the elimination of the residence districts.

Mr. Poth said that recommendations covered Philadelphia conditions and can be modified to suit general situations. We should recognize the right of the residence district to remonstrate. He strongly recommended advertising.

Mr. Harvey said that it is impossible to bring about any reform to satisfy the Anti-Saloon League. In the District of Columbia regulation is better than anywhere else. There are no signs, no stalls or back-rooms, no growler trade, and yet the Anti-Saloon League has brought charges against the Excise Board through the Prohibition Committee of the Senate, whose report is absolutely false. "We have been defeated because we lack organization, and we must concentrate our entire efforts in driving the Anti-Saloon League out of existence."

Mr. Nathan said there is no use trying to convince our opponents, but there is an enormous conservative element which can be impressed. We must do our work quietly and should appoint a committee to formulate this matter.

Mr. Cook said that if the issue could be put before the people of the District of Columbia, they would approve of the improved conditions. He urged the cooperation of the three elements of the trade, so as to solidify the sentiment of the public.

Mr. Kaltenbach then suggested a committee of three to put into proper form the suggestions that had been made by the speakers and that a recess be taken for this purpose.

The Chairman appointed Mr. Fox, Mr. Cook and Mr. Bonner as this committee.

(Their recommendations were subsequently adopted and will be reported later.)

EXHIBIT No. 856.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Joint Harmony Comm. Office Copy. Please Return This Copy to the File. Confidential.]

NEW YORK, *April 21, 1915.*

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: I am enclosing resolutions which were adopted on March 6th at a meeting of the Joint Harmony Committee, representing the United States Brewers' Association, the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, and the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association. These resolutions were approved at the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association on April 9th, 1915, and I am instructed to send them to the brewers for their consideration, to the end that each brewer may use his personal influence with his State and local Brewers' Association, as well as with the local Retail Liquor Dealers' Associations, for the furtherance of the recommendations that are made in the resolutions.

The United States Brewers' Association is represented on this Joint Harmony Committee by the following:

JAMES R. NICHOLSON, Boston, Mass., *Chairman*
HUGO A. KOEHLER, St. Louis, Mo.
JOHN A. CERVENKA, Chicago, Ill.
WILLIAM PIEL, Brooklyn, N. Y.
HARRY A. POTH, Philadelphia, Pa.

These gentlemen sent a questionaire to a large number of brewers in different sections of the country, before the Committee met, so as to get the concensus of opinion from our own members as to the reasons why the saloon is so frequently and so generally discredited, and we have endeavored to reduce the replies to a brief summary which is submitted herewith, for your confidential information.

Remember that these replies come from the brewers themselves and represent the diagnosis made by the most thoughtful men in the industry, of the cause of our troubles.

The substance of the enclosed resolutions, so far as saloon conditions are concerned, is as follows:

1. That licenses should be issued in response to a normal demand for them.
2. That the artificial stimulation of business by brewers, wholesalers or saloonkeepers is undesirable.

Resolutions Adopted at the Meeting of the Joint Harmony Committee Baltimore, Md., March 6th, 1915.

1. It is the sense of the Brewers, Wholesale Liquor Dealers and Retail Liquor Dealers, as represented, that licenses should be issued to meet the normal demand of the communities for licenses, with such regulations as will benefit the trade not only from the standpoint of commercial betterment but also by commanding the approval of the unprejudiced mass of the public in the communities furnishing licenses.

2. It is the sense of the meeting that commercial activity by the manufacturers and jobbers, under which sharply competitive conditions between saloons are created, or by which any individual attempts to accelerate sales in the individual saloon, whether he be a brewer, wholesale liquor dealer or the saloon-keeper himself, should be curtailed by those primarily responsible, as a matter of individual commercial safety as well as duty to the public as a whole and to the general trade.

3. It is the sense of the joint meeting that for commercial reasons regulations should be advocated by the trade itself, looking to (a) elimination of objectionable practices, (b) complete cleanliness and sanitation (c) elimination of treating by the proprietor, (d) refusal of service to habitual drunkards and persons apparently intoxicated, (e) elimination where possible or reasonable restriction of free lunches and the bucket trade. The sentiment of the trade is unalterably committed to suppression of any licensed business, connected directly or indirectly, with any disorderly house or gambling establishment. Licensees should arrange and conduct their premises so that disorderly men or women shall be excluded, and the charge that the saloon is a place of assignat on be made groundless in fact.

4. It is the sense of the meeting that the trade should consider the general elimination of screens, even though not forbidden by law or regulation, with a view to making the dispensing of liquors free of apparent mystery, secrecy or assumed ill-repute.

5. It is desirable that in future licenses should only be granted to American citizens of known good character.

6. The trade should refuse to sell to speak-easies, unlicensed clubs and other illicit vendors.

7. That it is desirable to encourage the establishment of public family resorts in which all kinds of refreshments shall be dispensed and in which the sale of alcoholic beverages shall be no more emphasized than any other beverage.

8. That the trade should organize within itself, measures to supervise, regulate and discipline its members to the end that all illegal practices should be abolished, in accordance with the Pennsylvania system, with the further determination to suppress all illicit sales.

9. That the three organizations should so co-operate that their trade relations should so far as possible be confined to the respective members thereof.

10. The meeting recommends that the trade advocate actively compensation for law abiding licensees, deprived of their licenses either through reduction of licenses or suppression of all licenses, on the firm doctrine that thereby (a) the individual will not have his investment destroyed and will not be made to feel the injustice of the law or executive action; (b) the public will, having paid therefor, respect its action and itself will respect and approve the law whether of restriction or total suppression of licenses; and (c) those remaining licensed will realize that their business and investment is on a firm basis and worthy of the best conduct under the licensing laws and regulations of which they are capable in the interest of its preservation as a permanent investment.

11. This meeting most urgently urges upon its constituent bodies and the individuals therein the following tenets: The whole trade will live or die by the ultimate decision of the present indifferent public on the question whether or not alcoholic beverages, vinous, malt or distilled, shall be manufactured and sold by a legitimately going industry and trade; co-operation by all branches, manufacturing, distributing and retailing, are essential if the affirmative of the above question is to be upheld by a majority of the public; if the trade as a whole, in all branches, does not present a united front, united in branches, and branches united in individuals, the mass of the public cannot be asked by the trade as a whole, or by any of the branches or by any individuals in the trade to give a united and favorable answer; supposed or possible individual interest, present or prospective, must be subordinated to the interest of the country, its communities and the trade itself.

12. This meeting urges a united purpose by the entire trade in opposition to Prohibition, if the people of the country and the eventual best interest of all branches and elements of the industry are to be subserved.

SUMMARY OF REPLIES TO INQUIRIES REGARDING THE CAUSES OF OPPOSITION TO SALOONS.

Replies were received from 118 representative brewers covering the States of California, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas and Washington.

It should be understood that their replies do not constitute an indictment against all saloons, or even any considerable proportion of the saloons, but that the evils they speak of are found to exist in a sufficient number of cases to cast discredit upon the business as a whole.

Over half of the replies refer to the bad character of certain saloon-keepers and bartenders, and of the careless way in which some of the saloons are conducted. Special reference is made in a large number of the replies to the noise and profanity which takes place, not only inside the saloon, but in front of it. Over forty references are made to gambling in saloons, and fifty-five brewers speak of the use of the dive-saloon as a rendezvous for loafers, gangsters, prostitutes and criminals. No less than sixty-seven brewers state that the selling to known drunkards and intoxicated persons is one of the serious evils, while forty-eight brewers cite the selling of intoxicants to boys and girls.

Among the other evils which are commented upon by at least thirty brewers are unsanitary conditions in the saloons, empty kegs on the side-walks, unclean conditions surrounding the saloon, and the window-display of bottles of liquors and of unsightly signs and advertisements. It is the opinion of forty-four of the brewers that there are too many saloons and that the brewers have financed indiscriminately, persons who are unfit to serve as saloon-keepers. Thirty-three brewers refer specifically to such breaches of the law as selling in prohibited hours, and a considerable number of brewers refer to the dance-hall evil.

Among the recommendations made in the replies referred to, the largest number advocate a reduction in the number of saloons, and a system of sane regulation which will be consistent with the desire of the community, together with the strict enforcement of such regulations, under a system of co-operation of the liquor interests. Thirty-five brewers report that they believe brewers and wholesale liquor dealers should be prevented by law from furnishing fixtures and financial assistance to saloon-keepers, or from controlling leases, licenses, etc.

3. That the trade should advocate regulations looking to
   (a) The elimination of objectionable practices.
   (b) Complete clealiness and sanitation.
   (c) Elimination of treating by the proprietor.
   (d) Refusal of service to habitual drunkards and to persons apparently intoxicated.
   (e) The reasonable restriction of free lunches, and of the bucket trade.
   (f) The absolute suppression of any connection, direct or indirect, of any licensed premises with any disorderly house or gambling establishment. To this end licensees should so arrange and conduct their premises that disorderly men and women shall be excluded.
4. The Committee recommends that screens and other obstructions to the view of the premises from the outside should be done away with so that the saloon may be free of apparent mystery and secrecy.
5. The Committee recommends that licenses shall only be granted to American citizen of known good character.
6. The trade should refuse to sell to speak-easies, unlicensed clubs and other illicit vendors.
7. The trade should encourage the establishment of public family resorts in which all kinds of refreshments shall be dispensed, and in which the sale of alcoholic beverages shall be no more emphasized than any other beverages.
8. The trade should organize within itself measures to supervise, regulate and discipline its members to the end that all illegal practices shall be abolished and that the illicit business may be suppressed.

It is hoped that with your co-operation a strong sentiment may be created within the trade itself for the correction of all real abuses, and for the development of a constructive plan which will give the licensing and police authorities the practical co-operation of all the people engaged in the license trade, in the enforcement of existing laws and regulations and in the development of better conditions.

A determined effort should be made to bring all the reputable vendors into their respective organizations, so that their full weight may be brought to bear in an organized way, against any men who are conducting the license business improperly. We believe that the trade can win the encouragement of all fair-minded men, by itself showing its good faith in a practical manner.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

2 Enclosures.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibits 866 to 868, inclusive, relating to financial and other affairs of the United States Brewers' Association.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 866.

[Govt. Ex. 19. 3/16/16. L. D. S.—From U. S. B. A. files, 880.—Office Copy. Please return this copy to the file.]

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

The total amount of 1912 dues received up to January 1st, 1913, in round figures, is $319,000.00. Payments that are positively promised will bring this up to $350,000.00, which will be Ten Thousand Dollars more than the total of the previous year, in spite of the decrease in the beer sales. In addition to this the voluntary assessment, levied in June 1912, yielded a total of $146,000.00.

There are 1,434 brewing plants now in operation in the United States, of which 634 are enrolled as members of the U. S. Brewers' Association, leaving 800 non-members. Our 634 members include, however, 83 brewers whose membership has lapsed according to our By-Laws for the reason that they have not paid dues for more than two years. Some of these have been in arrears for five years, but we have continued to carry them under instructions from the Board of Trustees.

Neither does it include 31 brewers who have not paid dues since 1910, and will therefore be subject to suspension next April. Deducting these from the nominal membership list leaves us only 520 active members, of whom 51 are in arrears for the 1912 dues.

Your committee has sent an individual letter to every one of the 800 non-members, as per copy which has been mailed to the members of the Board. We enclosed stamped and addressed envelope for reply, and have received a total of 24 answers, and nine of those were applications for membership; and 15 stated the reasons why they could not join. We also sent a special letter, with copy of the non-member letter, to all of the old delinquents. Only two or three of these have taken the trouble to reply. Although numerically only about 35% of the brewers are now entitled to enrollment as active members their output represents nearly 60% of the beer production of the country.

The total dues collected for our fiscal year ending March 31, 1909, were $90,217.67, which represented 64% of the total production for the year so that we have lost 4% since the dues were raised in 1910.

An analysis of the dues for the current year shows that we have received, roughly speaking, from the States East of Ohio, 50%; from the middle Western States, 44%; from the Western States 3%; from the Southern States 3%.

Taking the record of the largest brewing States, we find that our rec... in proportion to the output of these States, show the following percentages:

State.	Per-centages.	State.	...
New York	63	Indiana	...
Pennsylvania	39	Minnesota	...
Illinois	43	California	...
Wisconsin	64	Maryland	...
Ohio	29	Washington	...
Missouri	88	Kentucky	...
New Jersey	93	Connecticut	...
Massachusetts	70	Texas	...
Michigan	52	Rhode Island	...

The replies from non-members stating the reasons why they cannot or d... join the Association do not indicate any dissatisfaction with the work of ... U. S. Brewers' Association. They either plead poverty or speak of the h... assessments that they are paying to their own State Association, or else c... plain of what they regard as unfair competition on the part of outside brew... or the failure of such brewers to respect the resolution passed by this As... ciation at our (1909) Atlantic City convention with regard to serving dis... table places. One brewer complains that our By-Laws do not limit the am... of the annual dues, but allow assessments to be levied at the discretion of ... Association.

Your Committee finds that many brewers doing a local business cannot ... made to realize the importance of political campaigns in which they have ... direct interest. The service rendered by the U. S. Brewers' Association n... somehow relate itself to their own conscious needs, if we are to win the... support.

The By-Laws provide that if any member shall fail to pay his annual d... for two years his name shall be stricken from the roll of the Association, a... he shall cease to be a member. We recommend that the Membership Commit... be authorized by the Board of Trustees to take such action according to the... discretion; and that the Committee be also authorized to exercise its dis... tion in regard to resignations.

It is the desire of the Committee to follow up the letters to the non-membe... and delinquents in systematic and persistent fashion by a thorough campa... of letter writing and by personal appeals. The Committee recommends t... they be given authority to draw on the Organization Bureau for such servi... as may be needed in this connection, under the direction of the Chairman ... the Membership Committee. It is to be expected that the carrying out of p... will involve a considerable amount of additional labor, and perhaps the emp... ment of clerical help and expenses for traveling, etc. The Committee must ... authorized to incur such expenses, at its discretion, in the promotion of its pl... for the maintenance of the Association.

EXHIBIT No. 867.

(From Wayne Brewery file.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

JUNE 11, 1913

To the Brewers of the United States:

The Board of Trustees held a special meeting in New York City, June ... which was attended by the Executive Committee of the National Committ... and also the Committees on Organization and Education. After full consid... tion, it was unanimously decided that the brewers of the United States ... be asked to enter into a definite agreement to enable us to finance our un... takings during the next five years. I am instructed by resolution to send ... agreement to you for your consideration. You will notice that it is conditio... upon a total subscription of 3¢ per barrel upon 25,000,000 barrels annu... which is the minimum amount that must be secured to carry out our plans.

Brewers who have already agreed to this undertaking are requested to s... the enclosed agreement for the sake of uniformity.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary*

EXHIBIT No. 868.

(From Wayne Co. file.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

SEPT. 11, 1914.

WAYNE BREWING CO., *Erie, Pa.*

GENTLEMEN: I am instructed by the Treasurer to make an urgent appeal for the payment of outstanding dues and assessments at the earliest possible moment. There are no less than eight State-wide campaigns now in progress, and while the calls upon us are incessant, our funds are extremely low. The elections take place early in November, and we must meet these demands at once, if any good is to be accomplished.

According to our records you have not yet paid the first half of the 2¢ assessment, which was payable on August 1st. Will you kindly let us hear from you by return and inform us definitely when we may expect your remittance.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit 871, it being a report made by Mr. Andreae to an executive session of the United States Brewers' Association, at Springfield, Mass., October 15, 1915.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 871.

(Auditor accounts, p. 12. From U. S. B. A. files.—Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

Minutes of an Executive Session of the United States Brewers' Association, held at the Hotel Kimball, Springfield, Mass., Friday, October 15, 1915, at 11 o'clock A. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. Edward A. Schmidt.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, this is an Executive Session and none but members of the Association will be permitted in the room. If there are any present who are not members of this Association they will kindly leave the room.

I declare the session open for business. New business is in order.

Mr. ANHEUSER. I would like to ask a question, just what "new business" means.

The PRESIDENT. Any business.

Mr. ANHEUSER. All right, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that as a member of the Board of Trustees, I have read with very great interest Mr. Andreae's report upon the subject of what he has done for our cause in the past year, and I now request that Mr. Andreae take the floor and advise these gentlemen of the report he has made to the Board of Trustees.

The PRESIDENT. Does Mr. Andreae wish to take the floor?

Mr. ANHEUSER. Yes, sir, so that he shall read his report.

The PRESIDENT. Does Mr. Andreae wish to take the floor?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT. You have the privilege of the floor, Mr. Andreae.

Mr. ANDREAE. At the desire of the gentleman who has just spoken I will read to you the report I made to the Board of Trustees, as I read the report I made to the Board of Trustees last year. The report is dated October 9th.

To the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Assn., New York City.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to report the activities of my organization during the past year as follows:

PRESS WORK.

The personal liberty articles appearing in the American Leader are being republished, in thirty languages, in whole or in part by about 800 newspapers with a total circulation of 6,000,000 copies. There are thus being reached through

this channel 18,000,000 readers bi-weekly. The organization of this press and the elements surrounding it by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers has now reached the stage at which practical results can be obtained throughout the country by the application of proper organization methods in any locality where this press is represented. This has been proved beyond question in Ohio where in the last campaign through the instrumentality of the Foreign Language Press the registration of voters of foreign origin or foreign extraction exceeded in one county alone by over twenty thousand anything ever known in the political history of the county.

In March of this year I was elected a Vice-President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers and appointed the accredited spokesman for the organized foreign language newspapers of the country. In this capacity I delivered, at the invitation of the International Press Congress held in San Francisco, the address before that body on behalf of the Foreign Language Newspapers of America, and have since addressed various commercial bodies in the same capacity. Arrangements are now under way to have me deliver under the same auspices similar addresses before Chambers of Commerce or other commercial associations in the chief centres of the country, and I am informed by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers that dates for my appearance before such bodies are being arranged in about fifteen of our larger cities.

At my suggestion the Foreign Language Newspapers Association has decided to use its influence and efforts to bring about an organization of the general business interests of the country for the purpose of combatting by practical means the freak laws and coercive legislation, which are becoming an increasing menace to the property rights of the citizen and the business development of the country, and I have been placed in the position to interview and discuss plans for such an organization with some of the leading commercial men of the country.

The Association had recently in contemplation the summoning of a convention of the 1250 German and foreign language newspaper editors in Washington for the purpose of laying out a concerted policy to be pursued by this great press in its crusade against the destructive tendencies of those who are today controlling the legislation of the country, and to present resolutions embodying the views of this press to the President of the United States, and to the Governors of the individual States of the Union. The holding of this convention was made conditional upon my agreeing to deliver the address at the convention and take charge of the necessary work incident to the carrying out of the policy decided upon by all the newspapers concerned.

To my great regret, owing to the circumstances in which I have now been placed, with practically no funds under my control, and the funds actually promised me withheld, I saw myself unable to undertake this work, and this important move has in consequence, for the present at least, been abandoned.

For the same reasons, I shall be compelled to notify the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers that, unless present conditions are altered, when the arrangements now in effect between that Association and myself terminate, namely on January 1st and May 1st, 1916, I shall not be able to renew them, as they involve personal guarantees which I am no longer able to fulfill. I shall of course continue to maintain active relations with the Association in any direction in which I may be rendered able to do so, but the educational campaign in the press itself and the vast groundwork of the organization I have thereby been instrumental in creating during the past two years, will, I greatly regret to say, be destroyed at the very moment, when, with adequate means, it is capable of producing the most effective and far-reaching results.

The President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers has informed me that he has been repeatedly approached during the past eighteen months and urged to carry on this organization and general campaign work in cooperation with men other than myself in your Association, but that he has refused.

The same condition exists in reference to the organization bureau established by the German-American Alliance in conjunction with my own organization and in accordance with certain plans and policies suggested by me two years ago. The first Vice-President of the National Alliance and the Chairman of its Organization Bureau tells me that he has been approached through certain channels and informed that I shall not have the means after January 1st of continuing the arrangements under which his bureau and my organization are working, but that, if he will continue to carry on the organization established

through me along the lines hitherto pursued, the necessary financial means will be supplied through other parties in your Association, provided he will work under their direction instead of under mine. This, he has notified me, he will refuse to do, so that, unless other elements in the Alliance are willing to take over the work, so ably conducted by him, this important organization work will likewise be destroyed.

The German-American Alliance Organization bureau has done active work in holding meetings, forming new branches and societies and instilling new life into old branches in Illinois and Ohio, and, through the German Press and the German Clubs and societies in Texas, created a strong agitation in that State against the franchise amendment recently defeated there, which would have disfranchised a very large number of foreign born voters. The Foreign Language Press Association performed the same work among the foreign language newspapers published in Texas.

Since the field force at the command of the bureau of the German-American Alliance consists of only three men, when it ought to be five or six times that number, it is not possible to cover more than a limited amount of ground in one year. The whole force has for the past months been engaged in organizing in Ohio, where the most important campaign affecting the interests is now in progress.

Practically my entire available field staff (ten men) are today at work in Ohio, in charge of the campaign work in the various counties, or groups of counties, in which organization is in progress, and many of them have been at work there since the beginning of the year.

I should mention that the representatives of labor working with me have been so employed since the beginning of the year, Mr. Adolph Kummer in particular having, at the urgent request of Mr. Proebstle, been working at my instructions for the past ten months under that gentleman's direction in Ohio. This may prove of interest to your Board, in view of the fact that the statement was made at a recent meeting of your Executive Committee that Mr. Proebstle had expressed himself in a disparaging manner about Mr. Kummer.

I regret that in the case of my labor bureau also I am informed that intimation has been conveyed by a representative of the U. S. Brewers' Association to the Brewery Workers Union that it is intended to withhold from me the means to carry on my work in conjunction with labor, with the consequence that the elements cooperating with me have been thrown into a state of uncertainty and unrest and that the confidence between those elements and myself which is essential to effective joint work has been largely undermined.

Surveys have been made of Kentucky, at the request of the Kentucky interests, of Maine, at the request of Mr. Gardiner, and of Ohio, at the request of the Ohio interests.

GENERAL LITERARY AND PUBLICITY WORK.

Apart from my own speeches and writings, which through certain influential channels have been placed in the hands of the leading business men and other prominent men of the country, with the result that a considerable correspondence has ensued with many of them, the salient features of the past year have been the progress made with the nesw-bureau established last August, and the Hearthstone Magazine, which this August reached a circulation in paid individual subscriptions among the smaller communities of the country of 301,000.

The news-bureau now supples its weekly news-letter to over 5,300 of the 12,000 weekly papers of the country, all published in the smaller towns, and the list is steadily increasing. The total circulation of these papers is conservatively estimated at 1,000 copies each, so that the actual circulating medium of publicity here utilized represents 5,300,000 subscribers, and, since each copy of a newspaper is conceded on an average to be read by between three and four individuals, the total readers actually reached every week amount to between 15 and 16 million.

The actual pieces of literature reaching readers by means of this bureau and the foreign language press alone may be computed, according to another method of reckoning sometimes used in this connection, to be 431 million annually, namely:

Foreign Language Newspapers 6,000,000 reproductions of personal liberty articles 26 times a year	156,000,000
5,300,000 reproductions of our news-letters in 5,300 weekly papers, having a total circulation of 5,300,000, 52 times a year	275,600,000
Total	431,600,000

It is to be noted, also, that these pieces of literature not only go to the individual readers direct, but are paid for by them, and it may therefore be presumed that they are actually read.

The circulation of the Hearthstone was increasing so rapidly in advance of the advertising rates that it was thought wise, for financial reasons, to stop further increase until September, when the advertising rate increased from 40¢ a line to 70¢ a line, and the actual linage contracted for at the increased rate in that and the following months promises to more than double, thus enabling me to largely increase the circulation, while reducing the average cost.

At this juncture, however, your financial committee passed a resolution directing the discontinuance of this publication as soon as conveniently possible. As I was unable to convince the committee that it was destroying one of the most valuable assets I had built up, and one which within a year or two would double and treble in value, not only at no additional cost, but at a steadily decreasing one, I appealed to the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association to save this asset, with the result that I have the assurance that, provided this Association can secure the means, which it will know before the middle of October, it will guarantee me sufficient funds to carry on and extend the publication.

The play "The Passing of Hans Dippel", presenting the story of a German saloon-keeper of the highest respectability being gradually ruined by the dry movement and his business destroyed without compensation by the operation of the option law, was produced by an excellent company in November and December last in eight cities in Ohio and Missouri, but owing to the complete collapse of the theatrical business at that period, which was practically universal, was withdrawn at the end of the year.

The contribution of weekly articles to the labor press through the Brauer-Zeitung has continued throughout the year.

A complete collection of my articles and addresses on personal liberty and the prohibition question has been published in book form, with my permission, by a publishing firm, and I understand that the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association offered to pay a pro rata share of the cost of providing all the libraries of the country with a copy of this book, if the United States Brewers' Association would join in the undertaking. But the proposition was refused by the United States Brewers' Association, whereupon the N. W. L. D. A. undertook the entire cost, and the book is now available in every library in the country.

A compilation of the population of the United States of foreign origin or extraction by States and Cities, with their actual voting strength, and the location of the foreign language newspapers, has been prepared and is ready to be placed in the hands of campaign managers, wherever elections may be called.

STAMP PLAN.

Every effort has been made to extend and perfect the discount stamp plan inaugurated by the National Association of Commerce and Labor, and some progress has been made in certain directions. But the official disapproval of the Board of Trustees of the method of putting the plan in operation as originally devised has deterred the interests in many localities from cooperating in the plan, whilst all our endeavors to carry it out in those localities in conformity with the wishes of the President and Board of Trustees have met with insurmountable obstacles.

FINANCIAL.

My organization has received from the treasury of the United States Brewers' Association since September 1st, 1914, that is to say in fourteen months, including October 1st, 1915, $16,666.66 towards the funds for its support. I was summoned before your Executive Committee early in the year, and, after an exhaustive discussion of the estimates of expenditure for the ensuing twelve months and the fund I had accumulated, together with the probable income to be expected from the sale of stamps, I was informed that a sum of $100,000 had been voted by the Board towards my fund during that period. I have conducted the organization and laid out its work in accordance with that assurance, but as only $16,666 has been paid of that sum in the seven months including October 1, 1915, my reserve fund has now fallen below the amount necessary to enable me to discharge the personal liabilities I have undertaken. In fact, the brewers' fund which I had accumulated was exhausted in April, so that the $16,666.66 actually remitted from

your Treasury has not sufficed since then to pay my own personal reimbursement for more than six of those seven months.

I have been informed that your Executive Committee, when asked for remittance under the appropriation made by your Board, declined to make further remittances until an audit of my expenditures had been made, and a firm of public accountants was accordingly employed by the Finance Committee for that purpose. This firm, through six or seven of its employees, has since investigated down to the minutest and most delicate details all the dealings and operations of my organization from the date of its inception, and its voluminous report and figures, compiled from our books and vouchers, are, I believe, now in the hands of the President.

Respectfully submitted.

PERCY ANDREAE.

In support of the allegation that deductions of large sums were made from the income returns of the several brewing corporations, covering contributions made for political purposes in the nature of assessments to the brewers' association, the following copy of a communication addressed to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, dated January 5, 1916, and signed by the officers of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association admitting the erroneous and improper deductions, and agreeing to the reassessment of income tax on the several amounts, is herewith submitted, marked "Exhibit 870."

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 870.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 5th, 1916.*

Hon. W. H. OSBORN,
Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to interrogation by Revenue Agent, D. L. Frawley, in respect to contributions made heretofore to The Pennsylvania State Brewers Association by its members for the use of the Association, in the matter of deductions claimed by such contributing members in their reports under the Corporation Excise and Income Tax laws of the United States, the said Association by its undersigned officers submits the following through Mr. Frawley: The Pennsylvania State Brewers Association is an unincorporated association having its chief office in the City of Philadelphia; it is a business league or association and makes no profit; on account of a lack of records or books, it is impossible to give a detailed or systematic statement of the contributions heretofore made by its members or such a statement of the expenditure of said contributions.

The association has been advised that under the rulings of the Department that such contributions are not proper deductions of such contributions in making their reports, and that while the Association is unable to give the information asked in respect to contributions of its members for the reason above set forth, it will immediately advise all its members to make amended returns in respect to such contributions to the Association as have been deducted in previous returns and upon which an excise or income tax has not already been paid, and it will advise its members to pay without delay such taxes as may be properly assessed in respect to the same without protest or claim for abatement or refund, or to execute such waivers as may be deemed necessary or desirable by the Department. The Association believes that its members will act in accordance with such suggestion, and that the collection of the said taxes will be made possible without further delay or unnecessary expense.

A list of the contributing members of the Association for each year and other contributors, if any, is herewith submitted.

The Association does not desire to hinder or delay the Department in the collection of such taxes as may be payable, but to give such assistance as lies within its power.

Respectfully,

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE BREWERS ASSOCIATION.
By JOHN GARDINER, *President.*
EDW. A. SCHMIDT, *Treasurer.*
CHAS. F. ETTLA, *Secretary.*

Altoona Brewing Co., Altoona.
American Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Anchor Brewing Co., Brackenbridge.
Baltz Brewing Co., J. & P., Philadelphia.
Barbey & Con, P., Reading.
Bartels Brewing Co., Edwardsville.
Bergdoll Brewing Co., Louis, Philadelphia.
Bergner & Engel Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Betz & Son, John F., Philadelphia.
Brownsville Brewing Co., Brownsville.
Class & Nachod Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Clearfield Brewing Co., Clearfield.
Columbia Brewing Co., Shenandoah.
Consumers Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Crescent Brewing Co., Irwin.
Doehne, George, Harrisburg.
Emmerling Brewing Co., Johnstown.
Erie Brewing Co., Erie.
Fayette Brewing Co., Uniontown.
Feil Brewing Co., Fred, Philadelphia.
Fink Brewing Co., Harrisburg.
Finkenauer Brewing Co., Theo., Philadelphia.
Flock Brewing Co., Williamsport.
Ft. Pitt Brewing Co., Sharpsburg.
Fuhrmann & Schmidt Brewing Co., Inc., Shamokin.
Glennon, J. H., Pittstown.
Goenner & Co., Johnstown.
Graupner, Mary J., Harrisburg.
Helb, Theodore R., York.
Hornung, Jacob, Philadelphia, Pa.
Independent Brewing Co., Pittsburgh.
Kazmaier, John, Altoona.
Keystone Brewing Co., Dunmore.
Kittanning Brewing Co., Kittanning.
Koch Brewing Co., Williamsport.
Lehigh Valley Brewers Assn., care F. H. Horlacher, Sec., Allentown.
Liebert & Obert Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Masontown Brewing Co., Masontown.
Meadville Brewing Co., Meadville.
Mercer County Brewing Co., Sharon.
Moeschlin, J. & A., Inc., Sunbury.
New Lebanon Brewing Co., Lebanon.
Ortlieb Brewing Co., H., Mauch Chunk.
Oswald, V. A., Altoona.
Penna Central Brewing Co., Scranton.
Philadelphia Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Phillipsburg Brewing Co., Phillipsburg.
Pilsener Brewing Co., Hazleton.
Pittsburgh Brewing Co., Pittsburgh.
Poth & Sons, Inc., F. A., Philadelphia.
Premier Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Prospect Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Reading Brewing Co., Reading.
Rieger & Gretz Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Rieker Brewing Co., F. A., Lancaster.
Scheidt Brewing Co., Adam, Norristown.
Schemm & Son Branch, Peter, Philadelphia.
Schmidt & Sons Brewing Co., C., Philadelphia.
Schwarzenbach Brewing Co., Galeton.
Smith Ale Brewing Co., Robert, Philadelphia.
Standard Brewing Co., Scranton.
Star Brewing Co., Greensburgh.
Stegmaier Brewing Co., Wilkesbarre.
Susquehanna Brewing Co., Nanticoke.
Union Brewing Co., Sharon.
Victor Brewing Co., Jeannette.
Weissbrod & Hess Brewing Co., Philadelphia.
Windber Brewing Co., Windber.
Yough Brewing Co., Connellsville.
Yuengling & Son, D. G., Pottsville

There are also offered in evidence Exhibits 857 to 865, they being various reports of the publication committee and matters relating thereto.

(The exhibits referred to are here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 857.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Govt. Ex. 15, 3/16/16, L. O. S.)

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

From September 1, 1912 to January 10, 1913 we have printed 187,500 books and pamphlets, and have distributed 102,130 copies, besides mailing 16,575 circular letters. Our total stock of pamphlets, post-cards, books, etc., is now 707,763 copies.

During this period we have expended about $6000, which includes the cost of printing 7500 copies of the Year Book, and of our Monthly Bulletin, and the special illustrated pamphlet which was distributed at the various exhibitions in connection with our exhibits. It also includes about $600 paid to various newspapers and magazines, international labor journals, etc., for advertisements, and for special articles. It is impossible to conduct a publicity campaign without occasionally sweetening important publications when a direct appeal is made to us in recognition of accumulated favors.

Our Year Book has been sent to 3000 newspapers, and to the principal libraries and the principal educational, agricultural, religious, and labor magazines, besides, of course, to the trade. We also have a list of special names of publicists, authors, and professors who influence public sentiment to whom we sent the Year Book.

In the absence of any specific appropriation or clearly defined educational policy, it is impossible for the Publication Committee to consider any plans for the extension of its operations, and we are keeping expenses down to the minimum, and resisting all possible inducements to enlarge the scope of our operations.

The members of the United States Brewers' Association appear to be satisfied, judging from the absence of complaints, but there is no doubt that we could do much more along the line of educating public sentiment than we are doing, if it is desired, provided we are furnished with the means for it.

January 15, 1913.

EXHIBIT No. 858.

(Govt. Ex. 18, 3/16/16, L. D. S. From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

REPORT OF PUBLICATION COMMITTEE, JUNE 5TH, 1913.

The stock sheet in your hands speaks for itself. Our recent effort to secure the co-operation of individual brewers in distributing matter has had very meagre results. Only about ten brewers have written for a supply of our latest pamphlets.

We have arranged for the publication of articles of interest in several magazines, and have sent Miss Martin to Oklahoma and Kansas to work up literary material with excellent results. She is taking photographs for this purpose, and also for our use in educational exhibits. She will also visit North Dakota and the Carolinas, and possibly other prohibition States. We have supplied educational material for exhibits in connection with various fairs, expositions, etc., and had charge of an educational booth at the recent Exposition in Wilkes-Barre, which attracted much attention, and proved exceedingly popular. A notable feature of this work is that our literature is carried home, instead of being thrown about the floor as in other cases. At a cost of about $300. in apparatus local brewers can make a striking exhibit with our material, showing the composition of beer and its sanitary manufacturing process, its value as a real temperance beverage, and also a statement of our case against Prohibition.

There are many ways in which effective publicity and educational work can be carried on, but in the absence of a definite policy, and a specific appropriation, your Publication Committee cannot consider additional plans or entertain new projects of any consequence.

_____, *Secretary.*

For the Committee: Adolph G. Hupfel, Jr., Chairman; August Lindemann; Henry A. Rueter; William Peter; Percy Andreae.

EXHIBIT No. 859.

(Govt. Ex. 36, 3/16/16, L. D. S. From U. S. B. A. files.)

Report of the publication committee to the Board of Trustees, Oct. 2, 1913.

During the past twelve months the Publication Committee has spent $9,000., which includes the cost of our Year Book, and of our Monthly Bulletins, and special pamphlets, besides about $2,000. for reading matter and advertisements in various publications.

We have printed 234,000 pamphlets and distributed 214,000. Our stock of pamphlets; postcards, etc. at the present time, is 570,000. The reason that we have printed so little, and have let our stock run down so low is simply because of the limited demand for it from our members and from the State and

local brewers' associations. The extent to which such material can be effectively used depends largely upon their initiative and enterprise.

Our Year Book is now regarded among professional men of all classes as the standard book of reference in relation not only to the beer industry, but the whole alcohol problem. The forthcoming Year Book will be of great importance, and your Committee believes that it will be wise policy to place it in the hands of the men who mold sentiment in each State. This would require an edition of at least 30,000 bound copies, which would cost from twelve to thirteen thousand dollars, besides postage. Last year we only printed 7,500 copies.

During the past year we have maintained exhibits at the National Food Exposition, the National Land & Irrigation Exposition, the Hospital Exposition, all of which were held in New York, and the industrial expositions in Elizabeth and Wilkes-Barre, Pa., at a total cost of about $5000., which covered all expenses including the cost of special material. The exhibits at our Convention will indicate the possibilities of educational work of this kind, not only in local fairs and expositions, for the campaign purposes where speakers cannot be used to advantage.

We believe that good press work is needed everywhere to educate the public. Your Committee has called attention to the importance of this in the past, and is ready at any time to extend its operations in this respect to any extent that may be practicable, whenever adequate provision is made for it.

EXHIBIT No. 860.

(Govt. Ex. 12, 3/16/16, L. D. S. From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

The past year has been one of very great activity. The appeal which the Chairman of the Committee made to the members of this Association at the last Convention, for their co-operation in distributing our literature systematically and effectively, has met with a very general response, and the demands have increased to such an extent that we have distributed, during the past ten months, about six million pieces of literature, as compared with less than a million pieces in 1913. We now have standing orders from various members, totaling thirty-five thousand copies of our pamphlets monthly, which they are enclosing with every piece of mail that leaves their offices, or they are sending it out to carefully selected lists.

Discarding the traditions of the past, the lengthy pamphlets formerly issued by this Association, have been gradually eliminated, and concise, pithy, leaflets have been substituted. It has been the constant effort to keep the literature up to the minute in every detail, the arguments brief, but pointed, written in a light breezy style calculated to catch and hold the attention of the reader. Accuracy and reliability are the key-note of all of our publications. Through a complete press clipping service, we are constantly in touch with every line of matter appearing in the public prints, that in any way relate to the brewing industry or to the question of prohibition.

The Publication Committee has responded upon many occasion, for specific work in connection with various localities. We have furnished data and statistics for the speakers in State and local campaigns; have outlined exhibits for State Fairs and the like, sending in literature and material.

In January of this year, we began sending a Press Letter to the leading daily and weekly newspapers of the country, our list comprising some three thousand newspapers. While results can not be directly traced, that the work has had its effect in educating the editors is often indicated by the rather terse comment received. In many instances, editorials have been based on items taken from the Press Letter, and, in the case of great metropolitan dailies, have now and then led to feature stories covering events of exceeding importance to the industry. We have also sent the Press Letter to our members regularly each month, and in this connection, would like to make a suggestion. If the members will make an attempt to have at least one item from the Press Letter inserted in their local newspapers, either directly or through their advertising agents, much could be accomplished. Such work would be particularly easy

for the advertising brewers, and we urge our members to seriously consider this suggestion.

Our Legal Bulletin has been gratefully received, and the attorneys of various State Associations have written expressing their appreciation of its usefulness.

One of our constant and baffling problems is how to bring our literature to the attention of the public. No fair-minded person can read the splendid material that we have, without being impressed with it. A few of the State Associations are distributing literature for general educational purposes, systematically and thoroughly, but in many States such work is only done in the heat of a campaign, when everything that is put forth is considered partisan in its character, and has only a transient influence. We have a great deal of special literature which is applicable to particular classes, professions and occupations. It is utterly impossible for a national organization to reach and educate the mass of the people of the United States on any subject. Such work must be done from hundreds of different places. We appeal to our members to take up this work in their respective localities, both individually and with the State and local organizations to which they belong. There is room for a great extension of our work if we can get the co-operation of a larger number of brewers and of their agents and bottlers, who deal so largely with the family trade.

INVESTIGATIONS.

A number of important investigations have been undertaken during the past year. The study of the displacement cost of national prohibition, you are familiar with, as the preliminary report is before you. The completed report will be published in our Year Book and given currency throughout the country. The results should be tremendously impressive and astounding. The work has been done under the direction of the ablest statisticians in the country in their respective fields, and will, we believe, be absolutely unanswerable.

Other investigations include a first-hand study of the enormous increase in the use of drugs in the prohibition states of the South, with particular reference to the relation of drug addiction to insanity. Also a study of the action taken by certain large corporations, enforcing total abstinence upon their men. We planned an inquiry as to the relation of alcohol to industry in various European countries, but this has been stopped by the war. We are, however, conducting an investigation now in respect to the relation to industrial accidents. During the summer, a member of the faculty of Columbia University tramped through the Apalachian Mountains to study the moon-shine question. His report confirms the statements made by Mr. Kephart in his recent book "Our Southern Highlanders," which has been used effectively in recent campaigns, and which will be reviewed in our Year Book in connection with our own investigation. Other studies have been made with reference to the conditions in Maine, Tennessee, Kansas and other States, the results of which have been published in various periodicals of national circulation, over the signatures of the authors, and have been re-printed in pamphlet form.

CALUMET, MICHIGAN.

Several important investigations have been made by a member of our own staff, the value of which may be illustrated by the following instances:

Last Christmas, the newspapers were filled with stories to the effect that the frightful disaster in the copper country of Northern Michigan, where seventy-four women and children were killed at a Xmas tree celebration, was caused by a striking miner, who, under the influence of liquor, started the unwarranted cry of "Fire". We secured an affidavit of the Coroner who presided at the inquest, as well as of the Foreman of the Coroner's Jury, showing that, of the eighty-four witnesses examined, all declared that there was no drunkenness in evidence, that no liquor had been sold in the hall where the tragedy occurred, or in the entire territory on the fatal Christmas eve. Another incident developed as a result of that investigation. The striking miners left their work on July 23rd, 1913, and on July 24th, the brewers of the district, with representatives of the shipping brewers, met at Lake Linden, Michigan, and resolved to sell no beer or to deliver none in the strike zone, while the strike lasted. The resolution had been faithfully observed. The publication of these facts stopped the false reports that were in circulation and made a most favorable impression.

KANSAS.

In March, an investigator was sent to Kansas, to look into the much heralded prosperity of that State. Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita, Leavenworth, Arkansas City and various other cities and towns in the State were visited and the official records carefully examined and copied. Various State officials, including the Governor of Kansas, were interviewed, and a fair and impartial statement of actual conditions was the result. The "What is the matter with Kansas" pamphlet was issued by the Publication Committee, as a result of this investigation, the "deadly parallel" put upon the statements made for prohibition purposes, and those made for home consumption, the latter a matter of State record. Various newspapers and magazine articles were based on the facts obtained during this investigation, notably the "Injuring the Temperance Cause by Gross Exaggerations".

CATHOLIC PROHIBITION CONFERENCE.

Our representative attended a meeting which was called to organize a Catholic Prohibition movement, at Niagara Falls, and subsequently attended the convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Society. The leaders of the latter organization were kept thoroughly informed as to the calibre of the handful of men and women who backed the prohibition movement, and of the fact that it was the Anti-Saloon League affair. The whole matter was thoroughly exposed in representative Catholic papers, with the result that the prohibitionists were refused recognition by the Catholic Total Abstinence Society. We believe, that, by this action, we have stopped a movement that might prove dangerous, but it will have to be followed up with additional work later.

CHAUTAUQUA WORK.

Outside of the large centers of population there is perhaps no organization more important in shaping the sentiment of thoughtful people than the Chautauquas, of which there are now some five thousand throughout the country. It would probably be impossible for us to arrange a hearing with them directly, unless occasionally in the form of a debate, the value of which is distinctly dubious. We have, however, been experimenting for the past four months in a number of the principal Chautauquas in the middle western States, through the medium of an organization that advocates the peaceful solution of all vexed problems of the day, by the application of sympathy, respect and co-operation. Its platform is that the reconstruction of society depends upon individual rectitude, rather than upon civic or commercial revolution, and that the regeneration of the individual is more important than legislation. The argument against sumptuary legislation fits in very well with this program, and has been brought in, incidentally, without creating the antagonism that it would, if given special prominence.

This organization has been engaged in booking speakers for the next year, both in Chautauqua meetings and in the churches, colleges, lyceums, etc. You will, of course, understand that the matter is of a confidential nature, and that the success of the movement would be destroyed by the exploitation of it.

LIBRARY.

Our library is now recognized by all sincere students of the liquor question as being the best equipped clearing house of information on all related subjects. We are constantly supplying material for articles and debates, and have extended the facilities of the library to such men as Professor James Ford, who conducts a course on alcohol at Harvard University; Professor Samuel McCune Lindsey, who conducts a course on social legislation at Columbia, and to many other students, physicians, and writers, with whom we are thus brought into personal contact.

Mention should be made in this connection, of the "Rum Symposium" in EVERYBODY'S magazine, in which we got very much the best of it, and of the forthcoming series of articles on the "Saloon," which will appear in the AMERICAN magazine. The author of the "Saloon" series has discussed the matter with us at great length, and has been helped by us in his field work.

Many of the State Brewers' Associations now employ an experienced newspaper man, and the Organization Bureau has some very able campaign publicity men on its staff. You have heard, in the report of the Trustees, of the movement to improve the morale of the retail trade. We are co-operating

with the national, state and local retail liquor dealers' associations in this work, and are supplying them with suitable literature and posters. The International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America has now undertaken publicity work on a comprehensive scale, and has asked for our material assistance and co-operation.

One of the most notable addresses of the year "What shall we do about it," was delivered by Dr. Henry Smith Williams at Battle Creek, for which we supplied a good deal of the material.

A number of articles have appeared in the leading medical journals, as well as in economic and social welfare magazines, for which we have supplied material, or have provided for the necessary investigations upon which the articles were based. It is of exceeding interest to note that medical authorities of the highest repute have lately entered into the discussion concerning alcohol and its relation to every known subject, with the result that some of the most cherished hopes and dreams of the prohibitionists have been shattered.

We had Dr. Williams' book on the "Question of Alcohol," sent by the publishers to a member of the American Medical Association in some fifteen thousand small cities and towns throughout the country, as well as to the libraries. Our own Year Book was sent to a picked list of thirty thousand people, who are the leaders of thought and moulders of public opinion in the United States. This list was made up from the membership of some fifty national organizations of economists, educators, writers, and men of the highest standing in the professional and commercial world, besides going, as a book of reference, to the libraries and newspapers.

CONVENTION EXHIBIT.

We would call the attention of the members of the United States Brewers' Association to the exhibit arranged for this convention, by the Publication Committee. Last year, the exhibit was the means of securing much valuable publicity, and enabled the Association to get many potent facts and figures into the newspapers. This year, we hope to be equally successful from a publicity standpoint, and we also wish to emphasize the importance of this exhibit, when used in connection with State Fairs or with other events of local importance. Our aim has been to arrange a dignified presentation of facts and figures, and so marshal our forces as to make them invincible for publicity purposes.

We are also ready to help our members in arranging and preparing such exhibits, and we believe the stereomotorgraph machines could be used in various ways, with very effective results. We have the material and can aid our members in enlightening the public on the various phases of the problem that confronts us, and urgently request them to put their shoulders to the wheel, for greater progress and broader results for the ensuing year. The influence of the work of the Publication Committee of this Association is subject to only two limitations—the means at our disposal, and the extent of the intelligent co-operation of our members.

EXHIBIT No. 861.

(Pub. Com.—From U. S. B. A. files.)

	Publishing and printing.	Traveling expenses.	Sundry expense.	Salaries.	Advances.	Advertising.	Total.
Apr. 1 to Oct. 30, 1914...	$26,615.81	$2,285.47	$4,815.87	$28,958.28	.....	$855.96	$73,531.39
November, 1914.....	1,078.08	259.68	1,811.30 (M. P.)	1,393.33	$10,000	150.00	4,682.39
December, 1914.....	2,305.40	456.94	222.20 (Allen)	1,133.33	.....	200.00	4,317.87

EXHIBIT No. 862.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

JANUARY 6TH, 1915.

To the Members of The Publication Committee.

GENTLEMEN: The enclosed report covers the shipments of our literature for the year 1914. It shows that during the past year we have actually distributed more books and pamphlets than we distributed during the entire five years previously.

Among the important undertakings was the financing of special investigations for the Medical Record, and other publications, by Dr. E. H. Williams, such as the drug habit menace in the South and the conditions of the insane in Kansas and other States, which resulted in the publication of a series of most important articles in the leading medical journals, and also in the Survey, the National Monthly, the New York Tribune, and in a number of important newspapers in California, Washington and Oregon, and several other States. These articles were assembled in book form and the book sent to all the libraries and newspapers.

We also financed a first-hand study of the temperance movement in Germany, by George S. Vierick, which resulted in the publication of several articles in the International. The National Monthly has published a series of articles by J. G. Rice of Chattanooga, Tenn., Cyrus W. Davis, of Maine, Dr. E. H. Williams, I. T. Martin, and others, which have been very widely circulated. The National Monthly is one of the principal organs of the Administration, and goes to every Democratic Congressman and to every Democratic State Legislature, besides having a bona fide list of nearly 100,000 copies. Large extra editions were published for several State Committees in the November elections, in each of which we had a special article.

The National Municipal Review published in July a most important article by John Koren, entitled: "Some Aspects of the Liquor Question," which has been widely distributed. Mr. A. J. Nock, of the American Magazine, has been helped to study saloon conditions in various States, and his articles will appear shortly. We also financed a first-hand study of moon-shining in the Apalachian mountains, but the result of the investigation was not published because the matter was adequately covered in Kephart's recent book: "Our Southern Highlanders."

Under our direction Mr. E. B. Phelps made a study of the relation of alcohol to mortality and morbidity, in rejoinder to the essay on this subject which was published by the American Museum of Safety. Mr. Gustavus Myers was retained to make an investigation of the relation of alcohol to industrial accidents and industrial efficiency, and his report will be published shortly in the Journal of the American Statistical Society. The Secretary's reply to William Allen White, in the Saturday Evening Post, was based in large part on data supplied by Mr. John Koren. Mr. Sherwood's article on "King Alcohol Forced to Give Ground before a World-wide Attack" in the magazine section of the Tribune was the result of a number of personal conferences. In this connection it should be noted that all of these investigations and articles are planned with the greatest care after numerous interviews and the most thorough preparation.

Through the good offices of Mr. James R. Nicholson of Boston, and Mr. Conrad Mann of Kansas City, Missouri, we have been able to get several good articles in the papers published by the "Elks" and the "Eagles." Mr. Monahan has published several articles in his magazine, The Phoenix, and a series of articles were run in the New England Traveler and Tourist.

We have equipped educational exhibits for a number of local expositions, and are now running our moving picture film in about fifteen circuits, mostly in the middle-west. Our office serves as a clearing house for the matter that is printed by the various state and local organizations and campaign committees. We have a "live-wire" list of the men who are doing this sort of work in each state, which constitutes our mailing list for the exchange of all such data.

I enclose a list of the new leaflets that we have issued during the year. Besides these leaflets we have printed a large quantity of posters such as the Temperate Tavern League, to be hung in saloons, and other posters for the particular benefit of laboring men and voters generally in various campaigns.

We secured the publication of a series of short articles in the New England Traveler and Tourist and other special class organs. Our Year Book was sent to all the libraries and newspapers and to a selected list of over 20,000 individuals who are the leaders of thought and the makers of public opinion in the United States. This list was compiled from the membership list of some fifty national organizations, comprising about 120,000 names, and a card index system devised to avoid duplication.

Under the direction of Mr. Herbert S. Stone we have carried on a campaign of advertising in the country papers, and the experience we had in some fifteen States indicates that about two-thirds of the country papers are willing to run such advertising.

We have issued our Monthly Bulletin, our Press Letter and our Legal Bulletin, regularly. The Monthly Bulletin goes to our members only for their information. The Press Letter has not justified itself, and will be discontinued as a periodical, but sent out on special occasions. The Legal Bulletin is a compilation of all the information relating to the liquor cases that were adjudicated in the courts. It is not only very valuable for the attorneys of the state and local brewing associations, but serves to indicate the trend of judicial decisions and interpretations on all matters affecting our industry.

It would be impossible to give more than a summary of all the educational activities in this report. We receive over 13,000 newspaper clippings a month, besides several hundred periodicals and special publications. Practically everything that is printed on any phase of the alcohol question is gone over analytically and abstracted for our information department. We are called upon to furnish material and arguments for college and high school debates, and for the speakers who take part in the campaigns throughout the country, and for all sorts and conditions of people who are studying the question from every angle. Newspaper men, magazine writers, college professors and students come to us for data. The publicity men of the various State and local associations and the advertising agents of the principle breweries also look to us for material. The brewing interests in Canada and New Zealand rely upon us for most of the material upon which their campaigns are conducted.

Besides all of this obvious work, your secretary maintains friendly relations with many important bodies which concern themselves with one phase or another of the liquor question; such for example, as the National Municipal League International Committee for the Study of Alcohol, the American Medical Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Museum of Safety, the Efficiency Society, the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and a score of political, economic and social welfare organizations.

Report of literature Jan. 1st, 1914, to Dec. 31st, 1914.

5,662,650 books and pamphlets were printed during the year.

2,729,163 Books and pamphlets were sent to brewers.
2,983,212 Books and pamphlets were sent to State and Local Associations.
118,445 Books and pamphlets were sent to Private Individuals.
7,500 Books and pamphlets were sent to Newspapers.
6,000 Books and pamphlets were sent to Libraries.

5,848,320
184,500 Circular letters were sent out (including the Monthly Bulletin, Press Letter and Legal Bulletin).
204 Sample sets of literature have been distributed, (including our 5 Year Books, Text Book and over 200 different pamphlets).
165 Different pamphlets, etc., were sent out to 55 live wires.
In addition we have distributed 19,975 books, not included in our regular stock.

Comparison of yearly reports of literature from 1909 to 1914 (inclusive).

	Books and pamphlets	Circular letters.
1909	1,261,725	29,000
1910	1,424,210	40,000
1911	764,349	53,100
1912	1,489,604	71,600
1913	759,722	93,800
1914 (10 months)	5,695,755	175,500

Total ten months 1914, 5,695,755.
Total five (5) previous years, 5,699,610.

EXHIBIT No. 863.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

Confidential report of the publication committee—1915.

(To Be Read in Executive Session.)

During the past year a large number of articles have been published in ... of the leading newspapers and magazines, which have either been sug... by us, or have been based on our investigations and material.

MEDICAL VIEWPOINT.

Articles and editorials have been published in the Medical Record, Jo... of the American Medical Association and the British Journal of Inebriety.

SOCIAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL STANDPOINT.

Articles have been published in the Survey, Outlook, American Underw... the Journal of the American Statistical Association, the American Food Jo... and the National Municipal Review.

THE FINANCIAL VIEWPOINT.

Articles have been published in the Journal of Commerce, Commercial B... tin, Engineering and Mining Journal and the Manufacturers' News.

THE LABOR STANDPOINT.

Special articles and editorials have appeared in the American Federati... and in the organs of the leading national labor bodies.

POPULAR ARTICLES.

Articles of general interest have appeared in the Metropolitan Magazi... National Monthly, International Magazine, National Magazine, Leslie's, Ju... Puck and the Saturday Evening Post.

SPECIAL ARTICLES.

A series of special articles on the prohibition question are announced ... appear this fall in the North American Review and the Atlantic Monthl... These should prove of great value and importance. Many articles of m... interest are now appearing in a large percentage of the country weekl... Other articles have also been published and will continue to appear in the pu... lications of particular classes such as the Catholic Church publications a... the leading Negro publications.

INVESTIGATIONS.

A distinguished Southern journalist, who is a specialist in public finan... has been making investigations of the financial conditions in various Southe... prohibition States, the results of which have been published in a group of t... leading Southern newspapers and reprinted for general distribution.

We have sent members of our staff—special writers, and newspaper ph... tographers—to Kansas, Maine, Oklahoma, West Virginia and to such dry s... as Asbury Park, N. J. to get illustrated stories and to study the local conditi... Special studies have been made for us by the leading experts on the rela... of alcohol to industrial accidents, of the mortality from alcohol, and kindr... subjects which have been utilized in various ways.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.

Our correspondents in New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and in the war z... have supplied much material both to us and to the Associated Press. T... material has been further made over for us by certain publicity agencies, ...

sent out as a part of their special service to a large number of newspapers, and returns indicate that these stories have been published in over 300 of the leading daily papers, besides a good many of the smaller dailies and country weeklies. This kind of work can only be done when the articles have news value.

INFORMATION SERVICE.

We are supplying the Committee on Alcohol of the Socialist Party with much important data, which will be used in connection with their report next year. Reference libraries have been prepared, indexed and furnished to the Socialist Committee, the New York Board of Health, and to a number of other organizations, which will make effective and objective use of it. We are supplying data for hundreds of debates to students in universities, colleges and high schools, and are also furnishing much data to men who are speaking for our interests in the various State and local campaigns.

CARTOONS.

The cartoon campaign is well underway, and has been very well received. In the places where these cartoons have been properly displayed, much favorable comment is heard. This work, however, can only be made successful by the continued cooperation of our members.

ADVERTISING.

An experiment has been made of direct advertising in the country papers in a number of States for the purpose of informing the people in the rural districts regarding the merits of beer, and the futility of prohibition. These advertisements have appeared in the following States: Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, New Hampshire, Nevada, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Texas.

We have also conducted or assisted financially in the advertising campaigns which have been carried on for political purposes in Georgia, Louisiana, and Maryland, and during the Michigan campaign we furnished the services of three journalists.

The moving picture "Story of Beer" has been shown in Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, Wisconsin and in parts of New York and other States.

BOOKS.

An abstract of the Wasson book on "Religion and Drink" was sent by the publishers to every minister in the United States. Dr. Williams' book on the "Question of Alcohol" was sent by the publishers to members of the American Medical Association in 20,000 villages and towns. Our Year Book was sent to the libraries, to all institutions of learning, to the newspapers and to some 20,000 writers, statesmen, economists and other men of high standing who make public sentiment. We had Shadwell's book on "Drink, Temperance and Legislation" republished and sent to all the public libraries. Special articles such, for example, as those relating to financial conditions in Tennessee, or to industrial conditions, or alcohol mortality have been sent to special classes such as bankers, real-estate men, lawyers, industrial corporations, life insurance officials, ministers, doctors, etc.

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.

During the past twelve months we have sent out over nine million pieces of literature. In the distribution of this material we must rely upon the effective co-operation of State and local organizations as well as that of individual brewers. This co-operation has been given most willingly and ably in those States which have strong organizations. There are, however, several most important centers where practically nothing in the nature of an educational campaign is underway. We wish to emphasize the fact that the first requisite of every State organization is to have a well organized publicity department which should employ an experienced newspaper man. The issues which confront us must be put before the people on their merits and it is only by winning the public sentiment upon the proper presentation of the case, that we can stem the tide of opposition.

EXHIBIT No. 864.

(From U. S. B. A. files.—Confidential file.)

Recommendations by the publication committee, adopted January 21, 1916.

1. That the sum of $15,000 be requested for the purpose of purchasing and circulating the publication entitled "The Presidency of the United States of America," with statistical and other data, which would apprize the public of the merits of our cause. (Note: A considerable part of this sum can be returned through the sale of the publication. There is a possibility of an actual profit on the transaction.)
2. That $1,000 in addition to the amount already appropriated ($3,000) be placed at the disposal of the Secretary for the purpose of sending copies of the work by Dr. Williams "Alcohol, Hygiene and Legislation" to localities where there may be fights on the liquor question.
3. That an appropriation of $3,500 be requested for the purpose of financing a department of the Peoples Institute under Mr. Nock, which would establish model drinking establishments, engage in research work, etc.
4. That an appropriation of $2,500 be requested for the purpose of employing correspondents in prohibition States, and possibly other places where their services might be deemed valuable.

Note: The proposed changes with regard to the publication of the Bulletin to be explained.

EXHIBIT No. 865.

(Govt. Ex. 13. 3, 16, 16. L. D. T.—From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

REPORT OF THE ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT.

Our problem.—The chief thing that the Advertising Department of the United States Brewers' Association has accomplished during recent months, is to learn what cannot be done. The problem is by no means a simple one. In the first place, there are several States where it is even against the law for newspapers to accept alcoholic advertising, and in the second place, especially in the country districts, the sentiment is overwhelmingly against alcohol.

One important advertising agency, before whom the proposition was laid, spent some days trying to work out the problem, and finally gave it up. Their statement was that advertising acceptable to the newspapers would do the brewers no good, and that advertising of any value to the brewers would be turned down by practically every country paper.

The country editor.—The editor of the small town weekly must depend for his support on the community in which he lives. The center of social activity is the Church, and the Church stands for "Temperance," as they call it, which means total abstinence. We have, therefore, to induce the editor to run advertising which is frankly in opposition to the beliefs of his readers, in order to educate those very readers to our side of the question.

Experimenting.—With this situation confronting us, we have spent several months experimenting; experimenting with copy and with methods of approaching the country editor. We have sent checks in advance, and the average country editor, struggling to make a living, hates to return checks. We have prepared very mild, very inoffensive copy to start with, and in spite of all this, 64 papers out of 140 in Texas, declined the advertising.

Our copy called dangerous.—The attitude of the country editor is plainly shown in the letters we have received, declining our business. These letters show also that the advertising might be effective, if printed, for more than one editor referred to it as contrary to the public interest. Indeed one man wrote that in his 25 years experience, it is the most dangerous advertising that had ever been offered him.

Expert advice.—It has, therefore, been no easy task to break into the communities we wish to reach. Believing that only the most skillful handling of our business would enable us to make any substantial progress, we have consulted no less than eleven of the larger advertising agencies in various parts of the country, and have suggestions and advice regarding copy, from all of them. As soon as one paper declined our contract, we have offered the business to some other paper covering approximately the same territory.

Over 1,200 papers.—The result is that we have succeeded in placing advertising, which is now appearing every other week, in over twelve hundred country papers in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Illinois, Maryland, Iowa, Nevada, Texas, Arkansas, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Oregon.

The woman voter.—We have taken pains to vary our advertising copy to appeal to a widely differing class of readers. The farmer, the travelling man, the business man, the laborer, and even the woman voter. The increasing activities of the suffragist make it important that special attention be paid to her.

Starting on a small scale.—A start has been made in a campaign of educational advertising—but only a start. The appropriation of $40,000, for use in country papers, made it possible to feel out the editors and get knowledge and experience on which to base a larger campaign for another year. The value of advertising is always cumulative, and we cannot hope, on the present small scale, to make any great impression. Our advertising is not to be compared with the excellent advertising of the associated brewers in Baltimore, or with the impressive series of advertisements which Colonel Ruppert is now running. It is significant, however, that all of these ads. are made up largely from material furnished by the Publication Committee of the United States Brewers' Association, their skillful presentation and ingenious arrangement being the novelty. From which it would appear that there is no lack of matter to advertise—only money.

Handicapped by political consideration—Break away from the distillers.—The Advertising Department has been handicapped by local conditions in many States. Te political situation brought about an alliance with the distilling interests, and to advertise the fact that beer contains only 4% alcohol, was taken by inference as a direct attack upon whiskey. It is perfectly useless not to face conditions as they are. Beer and whiskey are both alcoholic beverages;—one of them harmless. The best thing an advertisement can say about beer is its small percentage of alcohol. If the brewers and their advertising representatives are prevented, by political alliances, from telling the best in their favor, it stands to reason that their whole campaign is weakened. It is time to get over squeamishness about the situation, and to face it with the most modern life-saving methods. Only persistent and energetic advertising, ample appropriation, universal co-operation, and definite distinction made between spirits and harmless beer, can accomplish the desired end; the effectual destruction of the opposition to the industry you represent.

Aid of Brewery Advertising Managers.—In order to make as forceful and intelligent a fight as possible against the opposition, we recommend the organization of an association of brewery advertising managers and publicity men. They are peculiarly qualified to undertake to change sentiment. Through their advertising, they are in closer touch with the public than the brewers themselves, and through their newspaper connections, they are better able to secure publicity than anyone else. If the brewers will allow their advertising men to combine in a sort of Advisory Board, to work with the Advertising Department of the United States Brewers' Association; if they will put squarely up to those men the problem of educating the public, there will be a chance to accomplish a great deal. Each brewer should keep in mind the need of educating the public, and endeavor to work into his advertising, instructive matter. Through an interchange of ideas between advertising managers, the most serviceable copy, and the most sympathetic attitude on the part of the press can be assured.

One object of our advertising is to lay a foundation for general publicity. We should have a card list of every sympathetic paper in the country. Changes should be made daily as new papers accepted our contracts. We should have a preferred list and a secondary list, and to these we should sent, with such frequency as they would stand, appropriate reading matter. This should be sent in plate form and might be supplemented by sending electroes of cartoons on the prohibition question. Only the leading dailies can afford their own cartoonists, and it is not unlikely that many papers would be glad to use cartoons in keeping with the progress of the prohibition discussion, provided they got them free of charge.

The Advertising Department has brought about a closer working arrangement between the campaign managers in various States, and so done away with needless duplication of work and expense. A number of posters of an educational nature have been prepared by the Department, and a collection of poster stamps of a general advertising nature, is now in preparation.

Moving Pictures.—In connection with the advertising work, this Department has had charge of the preparation of the moving picture film, entitled: "Liquid Bread, from Field to Family," which will be shown in connection with this Convention. Prints from this film are being supplied to fifteen moving picture exchanges in various parts of the country, and through them to numberless moving picture theatres. We are assured a large circulation for the film, and we have hopes that it will interest and instruct the public, especially along the sanitary lines of the brewing industry. We have also arranged to have this film shown under the auspices of the United States Department of Labor at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, where it will naturally be seen by large numbers of people.

The Future—Influencing the Publisher.—As to the future, it must be remembered that the propaganda of the prohibitionists is an intensely active movement, marked by great bitterness and fanaticism. Such public opinion as is influenced in favor of prohibition, becomes strongly tinged with this feeling. On the other hand, such public opinion as favors the tolerance which your campaign seeks to promote, is a mere passive force. Prohibition is shouted from the housetops; advocates of legitimate license are always more or less on the defensive. The result is that when your advertisements appear they at once become the targets for bitter and direct attacks on the part of an influential, though prejudiced section of the public. Up to the present time, there has been little or no direct revenue to the country editor, as a result of advocating the cause of prohibition. It is rather a fear of loss of revenue from restricted circulation that furnishes the commercial motive for keeping the publisher in line, or, at least, neutral. Nor can it be expected that the space now being offered the small town publisher represents sufficient inducement for him to take the other side. Those publishers who now accept this advertising, are not always the best. They give value for the money expended, and the advertising undoubtedly has a good effect, but it does not, by a long way, measure up to the emergency.

Results of Adequate Appropriation.—By making an adequate appropriation, two vital results will be achieved. One—The advertisements themselves would be big enough and strong enough to make actual and definite progress. Two—A much larger appeal would be made to the commercial instinct of the publisher—a larger contribution made to his income. In other words, the financial inducement would undoubtedly lead a far larger number of papers to accept your advertising, and this tendency would increase as time went on. Even that publisher, who perhaps never would be brought into line, would not have his prohibition sentiments strengthened by realizing the revenue that his competitors were getting.

One Hundred Thousand Dollars.—The fact that the Hobson National Prohibition Bill is likely to come before Congress in December, and that the Anti-Saloon League has raised $1,300,000 to carry on the fight, makes this an opportune time to increase your educational advertising. We, therefore, suggest that your appropriate One Hundred Thousand Dollars to be used in country papers during the coming year. Such an appropriation would enable us to place a 1 inch double column advertisement in 2,658 small town weekly newspapers, every other week for twelve months. The papers chosen in this estimate are published in towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants, and it should be noted that in the majority of cases, the circulation is not confined to the town proper, but spreads out throughout the county in which the paper is published. This covers every State in the Union, except New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Missouri and Indiana, which States are carrying on their own campaigns.

Reaches 10,000,000 people.—We have estimated that something like ten million people in rural districts would see each of these advertisements, and as these are people who, up to the start of our recent campaign, have heard nothing of the brewer's side of the story, your cause could hardly fail to receive great benefit.

MANAGER ADVERTISING.

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit 846, it being a letter from Charles J. Liebmann, of S. Liebmann & Sons Brewing Co., to Hugh F. Fox.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 846.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy; please return this copy to the file.)

NEW YORK, *March 11th, 1909.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
109–11 East 15th Street, New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: This letter will introduce to you Count Louis Skarzynski who is in America as a representative of the Russian Government, studying the Prohibition movement in our country. I met Count Skarzynski through Prof. Seligman of Columbia University.

As stated to you by Mr. Julius Liebmann over the telephone this morning, he is about to make a trip through the Southern States and is desirous of securing letters of introduction to some of our friends in the South who can give him the needed information.

With kindest regards, I remain

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES J. LIEBMANN.

(Written and financed by U. S. B. A. From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy; please return this copy to the file.)

SOCIETY OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ECONOMY,
Hotel Continental, Paris, 15th April, 1910.

THE INFLUENCE OF PROHIBITORY LAWS UPON THE MANUFACTURE AND CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS IN THE UNITED STATES.

(By COUNT SKARZYNSKI.)

1. At the request of the International Union against the abuse of alcoholic liquors, I was sent by the Russian Government to America to study the effects secured in the different States by the laws enacted against alcoholism.

2. In preparing for this voyage, and in studying all that has been published concerning the methods employed in America to carry on the struggle against the abuse of intoxicants, my attention was attracted by the very remarkable articles published on this subject by Mr Yves Guyot, who was also good enough to give me some extremely useful information with regard to my tour of investigation.

The results of all the researches that I made in America in all the Southern and Western States, and then, in returning from California, in the Central States and the Indian territories, corresponded almost entirely with the views expressed by Mr Y. Guyot; and I am glad to have the opportunity of enlarging upon the subject before a Society of which he is a member and which he esteems so highly.

3. The struggle in which the Liquor Industry in America has been engaged, the reasons which provoked that struggle, and the results, as much for society in general, as for the trade itself individually, are subjects which I believe will interest you; and therefore I have taken the liberty of rising to address you.

4. *The Bitterness of the Struggle.*—Never, perhaps, in the history of humanity, has there been a struggle so pronounced and so acute against a branch of industry, as the struggle which we are now seeing in America. Arthur Brisbane, one of the most conspicuous writers of New York, and editor of several newspapers and reviews, said in the Outlook: "For the moment the Drink question in America is almost as serious as the negro question was fifty years ago. The animosity of one part of the population against the other surpasses all limits."

The Clergy, especially the Baptist and Methodist ministry, preach a Holy War. Mrs Carrie Nation has destroyed, hatchet in hand, hundreds of saloons, without being arrested; Mr William Johnson, a representative of the central Government, to whom Congress has voted an appropriation of $50,000 to finance the struggle against alcoholism, caused to be destroyed, from July 1st to November 16th, 1907, 35,657 bottles of spirits; 130,009 bottles of beer, 1,829 bottles of wine, 1,062 bottles of mineral waters, and 1,574 casks of cider.

An action was brought against him claiming $180,000 damages, but he won the case, and is continuing his work of destruction by causing to be burnt

$6,000 worth of Pellote, a cactus-fruit which the Indians take to give themselves agreeable hallucinations when they are not able to obtain liquor.

Nine States, and many counties, containing altogether more than 38,000,000 inhabitants, not only prohibit all commerce in alcoholic liquors, but also close by sumptuary laws every establishment connected with the industry, since, as the leaders of the movement assert: "In a well regulated State, no one has the right to manufacture poison."

5. *The Origin of the Struggle.*—It is interesting to record the causes which have led to this campaign against alcoholic liquors, and the reasons which have made it so acute.

Popular movements are always excited by various motives, and we will endeavor to pass in review briefly the most essential of the causes that have led to this excessive excitation of the masses in America.

One of the gravest causes of this movement is the feeling of reaction against the trend of political life and morals in the United States. The intrigues of Tammany Hall, in New York, are too well known for me to enlarge on the subject. Thanks to this organization, the elections of that great Metropolis depend on the dregs of the population, thieves, cadets, etc., who have organized associations of "Repeaters," or people who vote in the names of absent electors—ill or dead—taking money for their services, and demanding also the protection of the politicians elected by this universal suffrage.

Unhappily, Tammany Hall is not the only institution of its kind in the New World, and corruption in political life, in election, and in municipal administration, is the same in almost all the towns of America. The moral level of political life has been lowered to such a point that a serious candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, Mr Bryan, to aid his election was obliged to ask for the support of a Senator, Mr Sullivan, who had been denounced publicly and openly in the Senate as the head of an organization of thieves and professional beggars, and who, in spite of that, was constantly re-elected.

"The dishonesty in the industrial and commercial affairs of America is familiar to all the world," says Professor Münsterberg.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr Leslie Shaw, calculated that the Sugar Trust by means of false weights defrauded the Treasury of $100,000,000, on the sugar that they imported into America without paying customs duties. Twenty-one criminal actions were instituted against the Oil Trust, and other actions against other Trusts,—but all without the slightest result.

On March 25th, 1892, the Courts dissolved the Standard Oil Company: in 1888 the Sugar Trust was dissolved: in spite of all, the Trusts have only developed more and more, and their abuses, their depredations upon the public treasury and the pockets of consumers, have assumed with impunity unheard-of dimensions.

Criminal offences and murders are also committed with impunity. Professor Münsterberg states that there are twenty times as many crimes in America as in Europe; Mr H. C. Weir quotes statistics, showing that in France 61 per cent of murders meet with judicial retribution; in Italy, 67 per cent; and in the United States 2 per cent. More than three thousand men were lynched by incensed mobs in the last twenty years; and this certainly was due largely to race-animosity, since the majority of the victims were negroes: but the lack of confidence in the judicial courts of the country was also a very important factor in the outrages.

All this has necessarily given rise to a feeling of need, an ardent desire for social amelioration, of which all good American patriots dream.

But to struggle with corrupt politicians is not a simple affair: still more difficult is the struggle with the multi-millionaires who are the absolute masters of the country and who dictate the laws. However, it is necessary that something should be done; the need for action with a view to amelioration makes itself felt more and more. The movement is strengthened by the feeling of disgust aroused by the dominating position of saloon keepers in the country and the influence which they exercise over elections, with the assistance and protection that they sometimes give to criminals and old convicts. "It is not so much the saloon as the saloon keeper, that the anti-alcoholic struggle is aimed at," says Mr Will Irwin in *Collier's Weekly*.

6. *The Clergy and the Women.*—The American clergy, especially the very numerous but usually narrow-minded Methodist and Baptist ministers in the United States, have recognized the rôle that they would be able to play in this struggle against drink. Their churches are abandoned, their creed meets with indifference from the masses. Something was necessary to stir up their

parishioners. It is always easier to combine against someone than for something. Therefore it was proclaimed: "The liquor-dealer—there is the enemy." A cry of hatred always finds an echo. The anti-alcoholic struggle gave the clergy an opportunity to interest Woman, who plays a supreme rôle in American society, and who is the first to suffer the consequences of intemperance on the part of her husband, the father of the family. The Baptist and Methodist ministers profited by the occasion; they put themselves at the head of the movement; they assisted at its inception and devised "The Temperance Union of Christian Women," an association admirably organized and working with all the ardor and enegy of which only American women are capable; the "Anti-Saloon League," which is the Union of almost all the Temperance Societies in America, was further organized, chiefly by representatives of the Methodist and Baptist ministry. This League is directed for the more part by pastors who find in the numerous departments of the League very remunerative positions. The annual revenue of this institution is $520,000, and the League, putting almost entirely aside the appeal to moral influence, has made itself a political lever for the election of the legislative bodies, of governors, mayors, judges, district-attorneys, police commissioners, and all those who wish to benefit by the influence of the League at elections. The League gives the necessary votes to those who wish to be elected, but the elected officials are under an obligation to support the League, to assist it in passing the legislation which it desires, and to devote themselves to augmenting its influence.

7. *Laws Regulating the Manufacture and Sale of Alcoholic Liquors.*—To comprehend fully the methods employed in the struggle against intoxicants in the United States, it is necessary to refer briefly to the fundamental laws of North America, regulating the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors.

The Federal Government receives the revenue from the duty on alcoholic beverages—fixed at $1.10 per gallon (or, approximately, one france forty centimes per litre) for 50% spirits; at $1.00 for a 31-gallon barrel of beer (approximately four and a half centimes per litre); and 3 cents per gallon of wine (approximately four centimes per litre). The Federal Government therefore issues licenses for the sale of alcoholic liquors—licenses coming under the designation "special taxes." Without paying these taxes, no one may sell, not merely intoxicating beverages, but also all preparations, medicines, etc. containing alcohol. These licenses do not convey the right to infringe the laws enacted by the legislative bodies of each of the States, nor the regulations of the different towns, since the permits do not give the right of sale where the sale of intoxicating liquors is forbidden by the local authorities. These taxes are not high (averaging $50), but whoever deals illicitly in the commodities designated by the law regulating these taxes, without paying the taxes, is severely punished: that is why even those who are obliged to trade calendestinely, in consequence of the prohibitory laws of the State in which they reside, habitually safeguard themselves by this special license, preferring to avoid any difficulty with the Federal authorities: the same dealers fear much less the local authorities, who are dependent upon the local electors and seek only to remain on good terms with them, in spite of the severity of the law.

Each State having its own legislative bodies, these latter have the right to fix the tariff-scale for licenses, to regulate the liquor trade at their pleasure, to forbid the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, or to give to the counties and districts the right of prohibiting the traffic within their own boundaries.

The prohibition of the industry throughout a whole State is called "State Prohibition," and the right delegated to the districts and counties to regulate their own affairs in connection with the liquor question, is known as "Local Option."

Thus there are now in America nine States which enforce total prohibition; twenty-nine States which have adopted "Local Option," and in which the districts and counties avail themselves freely of the right of prohibition. One State, South Carolina, has introduced a State monopoly in intoxicating liquors, and there are only six States which have refused to enact any special legislation in this connection, in spite of all the efforts of the Anti-Saloon League, the League which has its agencies everywhere in order to influence the ligislators of the different States.

The great majority of the States exact a high price for their licenses, and this brings in a considerable revenue to the State coffers. Prohibition in the State of Alabama—especially in the town of Montgomery—and in the State of North Carolina, had its effect in the reduction of the appropriations available for public education. In the latter State the best professors and teachers withdrew in

EXHIBIT No. 864.

(From U. S. B. A. files.—Confidential file.)

Recommendations by the publication committee, adopted January 21, 1916.

1. That the sum of $15,000 be requested for the purpose of purchasing and circulating the publication entitled "The Presidency of the United States of America," with statistical and other data, which would apprize the public of the merits of our cause. (Note: A considerable part of this sum can be returned through the sale of the publication. There is a possibility of an actual profit on the transaction.)
2. That $1,000 in addition to the amount already appropriated ($3,000) be placed at the disposal of the Secretary for the purpose of sending copies of the work by Dr. Williams "Alcohol, Hygiene and Legislation" to localities where there may be fights on the liquor question.
3. That an appropriation of $3,500 be requested for the purpose of financing a department of the Peoples Institute under Mr. Nock, which would establish model drinking establishments, engage in research work, etc.
4. That an appropriation of $2,500 be requested for the purpose of employing correspondents in prohibition States, and possibly other places where their services might be deemed valuable.

Note: The proposed changes with regard to the publication of the Bulletin to be explained.

EXHIBIT No. 865.

(Govt. Ex. 13. 3, 16, 16. L. D. T.—From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

REPORT OF THE ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT.

Our problem.—The chief thing that the Advertising Department of the United States Brewers' Association has accomplished during recent months, is to learn what cannot be done. The problem is by no means a simple one. In the first place, there are several States where it is even against the law for newspapers to accept alcoholic advertising, and in the second place, especially in the country districts, the sentiment is overwhelmingly against alcohol.

One important advertising agency, before whom the proposition was laid, spent some days trying to work out the problem, and finally gave it up. Their statement was that advertising acceptable to the newspapers would do the brewers no good, and that advertising of any value to the brewers would be turned down by practically every country paper.

The country editor.—The editor of the small town weekly must depend for his support on the community in which he lives. The center of social activity is the Church, and the Church stands for "Temperance," as they call it, which means total abstinence. We have, therefore, to induce the editor to run advertising which is frankly in opposition to the beliefs of his readers, in order to educate those very readers to our side of the question.

Experimenting.—With this situation confronting us, we have spent several months experimenting; experimenting with copy and with methods of approaching the country editor. We have sent checks in advance, and the average country editor, struggling to make a living, hates to return checks. We have prepared very mild, very inoffensive copy to start with, and in spite of all this, 64 papers out of 140 in Texas, declined the advertising.

Our copy called dangerous.—The attitude of the country editor is plainly shown in the letters we have received, declining our business. These letters show also that the advertising might be effective, if printed, for more than one editor referred to it as contrary to the public interest. Indeed one man wrote that in his 25 years experience, it is the most dangerous advertising that had ever been offered him.

Expert advice.—It has, therefore, been no easy task to break into the communities we wish to reach. Believing that only the most skillful handling of our business would enable us to make any substantial progress, we have consulted no less than eleven of the larger advertising agencies in various parts of the country, and have suggestions and advice regarding copy, from all of them. As soon as one paper declined our contract, we have offered the business to some other paper covering approximately the same territory.

Over 1,200 papers.—The result is that we have succeeded in placing advertising, which is now appearing every other week, in over twelve hundred country papers in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Illinois, Maryland, Iowa, Nevada, Texas, Arkansas, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Oregon.

The woman voter.—We have taken pains to vary our advertising copy to appeal to a widely differing class of readers. The farmer, the travelling man, the business man, the laborer, and even the woman voter. The increasing activities of the suffragist make it important that special attention be paid to her.

Starting on a small scale.—A start has been made in a campaign of educational advertising—but only a start. The appropriation of $40,000, for use in country papers, made it possible to feel out the editors and get knowledge and experience on which to base a larger campaign for another year. The value of advertising is always cumulative, and we cannot hope, on the present small scale, to make any great impression. Our advertising is not to be compared with the excellent advertising of the associated brewers in Baltimore, or with the impressive series of advertisements which Colonel Ruppert is now running. It is significant, however, that all of these ads. are made up largely from material furnished by the Publication Committee of the United States Brewers' Association, their skillful presentation and ingenious arrangement being the novelty. From which it would appear that there is no lack of matter to advertise—only money.

Handicapped by political consideration—Break away from the distillers.—The Advertising Department has been handicapped by local conditions in many States. Te political situation brought about an alliance with the distilling interests, and to advertise the fact that beer contains only 4% alcohol, was taken by inference as a direct attack upon whiskey. It is perfectly useless not to face conditions as they are. Beer and whiskey are both alcoholic beverages;—one of them harmless. The best thing an advertisement can say about beer is its small percentage of alcohol. If the brewers and their advertising representatives are prevented, by political alliances, from telling the best in their favor, it stands to reason that their whole campaign is weakened. It is time to get over squeamishness about the situation, and to face it with the most modern life-saving methods. Only persistent and energetic advertising, ample appropriation, universal co-operation, and definite distinction made between spirits and harmless beer, can accomplish the desired end; the effectual destruction of the opposition to the industry you represent.

Aid of Brewery Advertising Managers.—In order to make as forceful and intelligent a fight as possible against the opposition, we recommend the organization of an association of brewery advertising managers and publicity men. They are peculiarly qualified to undertake to change sentiment. Through their advertising, they are in closer touch with the public than the brewers themselves, and through their newspaper connections, they are better able to secure publicity than anyone else. If the brewers will allow their advertising men to combine in a sort of Advisory Board, to work with the Advertising Department of the United States Brewers' Association; if they will put squarely up to those men the problem of educating the public, there will be a chance to accomplish a great deal. Each brewer should keep in mind the need of educating the public, and endeavor to work into his advertising, instructive matter. Through an interchange of ideas between advertising managers, the most serviceable copy, and the most sympathetic attitude on the part of the press can be assured.

One object of our advertising is to lay a foundation for general publicity. We should have a card list of every sympathetic paper in the country. Changes should be made daily as new papers accepted our contracts. We should have a preferred list and a secondary list, and to these we should sent, with such frequency as they would stand, appropriate reading matter. This should be sent in plate form and might be supplemented by sending electroes of cartoons on the prohibition question. Only the leading dailies can afford their own cartoonists, and it is not unlikely that many papers would be glad to use cartoons in keeping with the progress of the prohibition discussion, provided they got them free of charge.

The Advertising Department has brought about a closer working arrangement between the campaign managers in various States, and so done away with needless duplication of work and expense. A number of posters of an educational nature have been prepared by the Department, and a collection of poster stamps of a general advertising nature, is now in preparation.

12. *Criminality.*—The development of illicit selling has also had its effect upon the development of criminality in the States where open sale is prohibited.

Thus, in comparing the official statistics of the number of prisoners in 1890 and in 1904, there was a decrease in almost all the States, with the exception of Kansas and North Dakota, where prohibition has been obligatory for forty years.

In 1904, there were in every 100,000 inhabitants of South Carolina (State Monopoly), 56.6 condemned to prison; in Arkansas, 53.4; in Texas, 66.7; in Illinois, 78.5; in Missouri, 86.9; in the District of Columbia, 39.9; and in the three States which then enforced total prohibition, both of manufacture and sale,—North Dakota, 122.5; Kansas, 138.9; and Maine, 248,8.

13. *Personal Observations.*—But what seemed to me much more demoralizing, is the systematic disregard in many districts of the law concerning the liquor traffic, a disregard which certainly passes on to other laws, when the attitude has once been adopted by the populace and by those who ought to safeguard the observance of the law.

At Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, the chief of police assured me that prohibition is observed in the strictest manner, and yet, in leaving his house, I came across three large saloons in the same street—Dekatur Street—in which were the offices of the chief of police: the saloons were wide open and business was going on as if there were no impediment to prevent it. At Savannah, in the same State of Georgia, I saw a policeman gravely patrolling before two saloons while the voices of the numerous customers resounded in the street.

In certain towns of Kansas, where the law prohibits even fuel-alcohol, I have seen numerous customers filling the establishments, and policemen profiting by the hospitality of the proprietor.

A special commission sent from Youngstown, Ohio, to study the question of prohibition in the large town of Birmingham, Alabama, was able to procure on the day of arrival spirits in twenty-two places, and during its sojourn it discovered 500 clandestine establishments, transformed into soi-disant clubs. On entering these clubs, there were graciously handed to me membership cards that I had not asked for, and receipts for annual dues that, naturally, I had never paid.

14. *Contempt for the Law.*—This flagrant contempt for the law can only have the most deplorable consequences upon the populace. This is also the opinion of a large number of thoughtful people who take an earnest interest in the social life of the populace.

15. *Opinions Expressed with Regard to Prohibitory Laws.*—Mr. W. H. Taft, President of the United States, in his book *Four Aspects of Civic Duty*, writes as follows: "There is nothing more ridiculous and more opposed to sound politics than to enact laws the observance of which cannot be enforced in the social conditions of the country. . . . . Such an example is sometimes afforded by the sumptuary laws forbidding the sale of intoxicants. . . The constant violation or neglect of a law leads to demoralization and desregard of all laws."

A distinguished physician at Washington, Mr. George Hober, wrote to me to this effect: "Statistics prove to us that prohibition of alcoholic liquors not merely does not prevent the consumption, but, on the contrary, only invites clandestine consumption."

"After fifty-seven years of prohibition in the State of Maine," says Mr. Holman Day, in an article in *Appleton's Magazine*, "the great problem of the sobriety of the people remains in the same condition as in the time of Noah, when that patriarch after a debauch degraded himself to the level of a beast."

16. *Effect of Prohibitory Laws upon the Trade.*—Now, some one may tell me that in the end, since the consumption is as great, and even greater, under the law of prohibition, the question of the repeal of the law cannot interest the trade.

I believe that this point of view is erroneous. In the first place, the prohibitory law ruins many manufacturers whose distilleries and breweries are closed without the slightest compensation; and commerce generally cannot regard with indifference this precedent, which will be a blazed path and a pattern for all who wish to reform human society by destroying all property and everything which has been created through the efforts and labor of many generations.

On the other hand, we can no longer remain impassive when we see the violent attacks upon the liquor industry in the United States. With the introduction of prohibitory laws responsible merchants, who respect themselves, cer-

tainly cannot desire to continue a business which may lead at any moment to their incarceration. All the responsible, upright element is being withdrawn from the industry, and even if the business maintains or even increases its profits, in view of the fact that taxes no longer have to be paid to the local authorities and to the State for licenses, and that a small bribe to the local police amply suffices, it will undoubtedly be the dregs of the populace, those who have nothing more to fear from the penitentiaries and prisons, who will carry on the traffic.

As the liquor dealer has always an influence over the populace, upon the customers who assemble in his establishment, the moral level of the populace will be debased under the influence of those who carry on the business in such conditions, and the odium of the crime of degrading the masses will react on the whole of the industry and discredit it.

I will now draw your kind attention to the lessons to be derived from the experiences that have taken place in America in the field of social amelioration.

Americans delight in law-making: this mania has a tendency to invade Europe, where also there is an inclination to destroy all social organization in order to achieve a phantasmagoric ideal. Well, America has seen herself carried away in this fashion when she wished to combat the evils of alcoholism, and it is thus that the best intentions have produced the most lamentable results, since enthusiasm, and not reason, has dominated the lawmakers.

"Single-mindedly, not zealously, Gentleman," said an illustrious statesman in the French Chambers. American legislators, and sometimes our own also, forget the counsel of Montesquieu, who maintained that mankind should be governed, not be extremes, but by the principles of moderation.

There is also offered in evidence a contract between the United States Brewers' Association and the Continental Brewing Co. by John Gardiner, president, providing for the payment of 3 cents a barrel for five years, which is offered as a sample of the form of contract which was entered into by the brewers generally as the result of the meeting in Chicago on February 20, 1913.

(The exhibit referred to is printed in the record, as follows:)

There is also offered in evidence Exhibit No. 847, it being a letter from the Seminary Endowment Association (Inc.), to the president of the United States Brewers' Association, relative to the financial support of that institution, in order that the desired number of teachers of German might be secured.

(The exhibit referred to is here printed in the record, as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 847.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Offic copy; please return this copy to the file.)

SEMINARY ENDOWMENT ASSOCIATION (INC.),
357 W. 117 St. New York City, April 27, 1914.

ED. A. SCHMIDT, Esq.,
President of the U. S. Brewers' Association,
127 Edward St., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with a conversation some of our directors recently had with Col. J. Huppert, jr., and following his suggestion we should like to ask the board of directors of your association to permit a committee of the Seminary Endowment Association, Inc., to present the cause, explained at length below, to your members at their next meeting, May 8, provided, of course, that you, dear Sir, deem the May meeting opportune for the hearing of our cause.

Because of the actual acute situation of the prohibition movement a prompt realization of the plan to be proposed should prove to be of mutual importance and benefit.

A goodly number of your members such as Col. Gustave Pabst and Jos. E. Uihlein of Milwaukee; Ed. C. Faust, St. Louis; Carl A. Strangmann and George Brendel of Buffalo; Rud. J. Schaefer; Gottfried Piel of New York and

many others from all over the U. S. have already identified themselves with movement and we trust they will also indorse this step.

If ever anyone in this country attempted to fight prohibition, as well as other intolerant attack upon personal liberty on the ground of honest conviction and disinterestedness it was purposely and consistently done by the German teachers in America.

You may say: How is it then, that, in spite of such good work, the prohibition movement could become so strong? We must answer: because we were not strong enough. There was never enough German taught in the public elementary schools, there were never enough teachers of German to hold or increase the number of our retainers, the friends of broad and liberal minded education. Why not? Because the only school we have in this country for the training of teachers of German in elementary schools, our German Teachers Seminary in Milwaukee, Wis., which has to supply the whole country with teachers of German, was left without the means to carry on its existence work on a larger scale.

The situation has now become desparate. At the national convention of the German-American Alliance which was held in St. Louis in fall 1913, representatives from the western states, especially, pleaded most urgently for greater output of teachers of German by said national training school.

German instruction could be easily increased to several times its present extent. All educated citizens demand it in the primary schools. School boards have no objections to voting the necessary appropriations, however, THERE ARE NO TEACHERS OF GERMAN.

If the German Teachers Seminary in Milwaukee is given support the desired number of teachers can be furnished.

The late Adolphus Busch of St. Louis, who was a man of great foresight said about this school in a letter to Secretary G. J. Lenz, that all factors should get together to develop this German Teachers' Seminary into a strong bullwark of personal liberty.

In the interest of personal liberty and of the brewing industry the trustees of these teachers of German should be handed over to the state, *under no circumstances.*

But the brewing industry which, by all means, may be considered the most German of all industries in this country could and should champion the cause of German instruction in America.

The number of students taking German in colleges and universities is trifling as compared to the number of children going to the public elementary schools only; the influence of the teaching of German in the lower schools would reach, therefore, to an infinitely larger contingent of people.

Now, therefore, apart from the fact that the captains of industry represented in the U. S. Brewers Association are excellent business men and know all about "advertising charity and advertising education" we trust they will realize what a tremendous impression on the sentiment of the nation it would make if your association, as a body, would agree on a substantial financial support of our German Teachers Seminary. On this occasion the people must be told too, just why the Brewers' Association help the school i. e. because it has courage enough to denounce the present abolition fake a national disgrace and calamity.

If our committee will be given permission to speak before your May meeting it should like to ask your association to vote a collective donation for the purpose of erecting a school building. It seems to us that we could not very well go before such an important and wealthy gathering with a smaller demand. If all would consent to be taxed pro rata it would be a small matter to realize such a plan. As was repeatedly said during the last few years: The German Americans have at present no task more urgent than to enable the rise of the German-American Teachers' Seminary.

Trusting this frank statement may induce you to procure us the request of hearing and thanking you in advance for any assistance you may care to give us, we beg to remain, dear Sir,

yours very truly

SEMINARY ENDOWMENT ASSOCIATION (Inc.)
H. CILLIS *Pres.*
G. J. LENZ, *Secr.*

Maj. HUMES. I also offer in evidence Exhibit No. 848, it being correspondence between the publisher of the La Union Publique and the United States Brewers' Association:

EXHIBIT No. 848.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone, 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National Headquarters Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

MARCH 16, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing copy of letter of the 15th from the publisher of L'OPINION PUBLIQUE of Worcester, for your consideration. I am writing to the Secretary of the Massachusetts Brewers' Association to get a line on the publication, and to find out if he is doing anything in the matter.

Yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD. Enc.

[Copy.]

L'OPINION PUBLIQUE,
Worcester, Mass., March 15, 1915.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York.

GENTLEMEN: As I expect to be in New York in the near future, I would like to know if your association would be interested in considering with me a proposition for conducting a campaign of publicity among the French voters of New England through the columns of L'Opinion Publique.

If I hear favorably from you I shall be pleased to arrange with you for an appointment to meet your representative at his convenience.

Thanking you in advance for the courtesy of a reply, I am,

Yours very truly,

C. EDWARD BELISLE, *Publisher.*

Maj. HUMES. The following additional exhibits are also offered in evidence:

EXHIBIT No. 1000.

[Terre Haute Brewing Co., brewers & bottlers of high grade beers. Capacity 800,000 barrels.]

TERRE HAUTE, IND., *November 15, 1915.*

Mr. G. W. LEMBECK,
Treas., United States Brewers' Ass'n, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 12th received and fully noted. Our Secretary, Mr. George Maier, was present at the meeting in Springfield, Mass., where, in the Executive Meeting of the Association it was made known that the Association members of a nearby State had not been paying their special assessment of two cents per barrel to the Association, but had diverted same to their own uses in their State.

The Terre Haute Brewing Company has for many years past borne the brunt of the fights in Indiana. This we expect to continue to do, and we therefore believe that we are not justified in paying any further dues or assessments until the special assessments we paid in the last two years for 1913 and 1914 of two cents per barrel have been applied against our annual dues, that is, we feel that our dues have been paid for the years 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1918, and we take this view of the matter because of the action of Association members in other States.

Yours very truly,

TERRE HAUTE BREWING CO.,
By C. FAIRBANKS, *President.*

Nov. 19, 19[illegible]

Mr. C. FAIRBANKS,
President, Terre Haute Brewing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 15th before me. I presume that you are referring to the Ohio brewers, who, as you know, have just been through a state-wide prohibition campaign, which taxed their resources to the utmost. They paid their dues and assessments last year, and thirty-two of them have paid their dues for 1915, but in view of their recent campaign we are not pressing them for the 1915 assessment.

You will, of course, undersand that whenever brewers of any State have a state-wide prohibition fight on their hands, we feel that they are entitled to special consideration. The Ohio brewers did not ask us for any assistance, and have always pulled their own weight, and there is no brewing State in the country which has had a sterner or longer fight than the Ohio brewers have had.

If the brewers of Indiana should have to face a state-wide prohibition issue at any time in the future, I am sure that they could count upon the same co-operation.

Perhaps I may say that none of our other members in Indiana have taken any exception to the consideration that has been shown to the Ohio brewers. We take it for granted that your Indiana competitors have also contributed their quota to the defense of their interests within the State of Indiana, as well as to the national fund.

In the judgment of the Board of Trustees, the industry will face in 1916 the most critical time in its existence. We have planned an educational campaign on a larger and more effective scale than ever before, but the extent of this work must be determined by the funds at our disposal and our resources are far less than those of our opponents, such as the Anti-Saloon League. We are, however, appealing successfully to the thoughtful men of the country. We believe that our campaign is now largely a matter of ammunition. If you agree that the fight is worth while, we solicit your hearty co-operation. As a business man you will readily understand that we cannot possibly make up an intelligent working budget if important individual corporations, such as yourselves, undertake to decide for themselves how their dues and assessments shall be apportioned. The proposal you make as to being relieved from further payments until 1919 is untenable, and we trust that with the correction of the misapprehension under which you have written us, you will reconsider the matter.

The officers and trustees of this Association are giving their hearts and minds and all the energy they have to the prosecution of their labors on behalf of the brewing industry. Their task is one of enormous difficulty, and they must have the enthusiastic financial and moral support of all the concerns of prominence in the industry. May we not continue to count you among this number?

Very truly yours,

_____,
Treasurer.

EXHIBIT No. 1001.

[The M. Burkhardt Brewing Co. Capacity, 150,000 barrels. Bottled beer a specialty. G. F. Burkhardt, president and gen'l manager; W. L. Burkhardt, vice president and treas.; G. C. Dietz, secretary. Akron, Ohio, U. S. A.]

DEC. 10, 1915.

HUGH L. FOX,
Sec'y, 50 Union Square, New York.

DEAR SIR: Your letter under date of the 8th inst. to hand and contents carefully noted. We certainly realize that the present time is a most critical one for the brewers of the United States.

The reason that we presented our resignation is that we have been forced to pay such extraordinary large assessments here in Ohio, just having gone through a state wide fight, also a state wide fight in 1914 and it looks very much like another in 1916. You realize what it means when the brewers of the state have practically got to finance these campaigns.

Our assessments to the state and local associations have been so large that without any prospect of reduction in the near future that we feel it is utterly impossible for us to contribute to the United States Brewers Association and

present time. We feel that Ohio must be kept in the wet column by all means and we can save no expense in trying to do this. For that reason we have been very patient with assessments.

For the past two years it has been costing us over twenty cents per barrel on our output and you will agree with me that this amount is prohibitive. We feel that members who are in states that have not been forced to contribute for state wide fights out to, for the present time at least try to take care of the national situation.

We can assure you that if it had not been for the cost to us in the last two years, we would not think of resigning from the U. S. B. A. Just as soon as we see some let up in Ohio in the wet and dry line, we will be only too glad to again come in as a member. We are

Yours very truly,

THE M. BURKHARDT BREWING CO.
By G. F. BURKHARDT, *Pres.*

GFB/JBG.

[The M. Burkhardt Brewing Co. Capacity, 150,000 barrels. Bottled beer a specialty. G. F. Burkhardt, president and gen'l manager; W. L. Burkhardt, vice president and treas.; G. C. Dietz, secretary. Akron, Ohio, U. S. A.]

DEC. 4, 1915.

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASS'N.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

GENTLEMEN: We herewith tender our resignation as members of the United States Brewers Association. We are,

Yours very truly,

THE M. BURKHARDT BREWING CO.
By G. F. BURKHARDT, *Pres.*

GFB/JBG.

DECEMBER 8, 1915.

THE M. BURKHARDT BREWING CO.,
Akron, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 4th inst, tendering your resignation as members of this Association. Action cannot be taken upon it until the next meeting of our Board of Trustees, which will probably be held early in February. I trust however, that you will reconsider your resignation. There has never been a time in the history of the brewing industry when it was so necessary for all brewers to stand together as it is now. We are facing, from the national viewpoint, a most critical time. Attempts will be made during the present session of Congress to increase the tax on beer; to pass a bill for a national prohibition amendment to the Constitution, and also, to take all alcoholic beverages out of interstate commerce entirely, besides the fight that will be made to put the District of Columbia "dry." Moreover, our opponents have already announced that they will endeavor to force the prohibition issue upon the national conventions of both the Republican and Democratic parties, and in the next Congressional election they will make a determined effort to defeat all Congressmen who will not bow to their wishes.

Now that the issue has become a national one, the opportunity presents itself to have it discussed on its merits from all standpoints, as is attested by the articles in the November and December numbers of the Atlantic Monthly and the North American Review, to which your attention is especially directed. Such articles, however, do not reach the mass of the people, and the great problem which confronts us is to carry on an educational campaign of such magnitude that the facts will be put convincingly before all of the people, no matter how remote many of them may be from the large centers of population.

If there is any special reason for your resignation which you feel that you can mention, I wish you would tell me frankly what it is, so that we may give it all possible consideration.

Requesting the favor of a reply, I am,

Yours very truly,

_____ _____,
Secretary.

HFF: JD.

DECEMBER 17, 1915.

Confidential.

THE M. BURKHARDT BREWING CO.,
Akron, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: Thank you for your very courteous letter of the 10th inst, and for the explanation you give as to your position. Of course, we sympathize with

.it very heartily, but we value your connection with this Association so h... that we should be very loath to withdraw your name from our Members roll. Our President asks me to write to you again, and to say to you that though you succeed in winning your fight in Ohio, this would be of no valu... we should have national prohibition, or if the transportation companies sh... be forced by Congressional action to refuse to accept any shipments of a holic beverages. Of course, this means that the State and the national f... must be carried on jointly, and both are perhaps equally important. There ... practically no States west of Pennsylvania in which conditions are not jus... acute as they are in Ohio, and if our members throughout the middle w... should all take your position, you can readily see that it would be impos... for us to continue our fight.

Perhaps I may mention in this connection that the brewers east of Ohio, w... have always contributed from one-half to two-thirds of the entire revenue... the U. S. B. A., for the good of the cause generally, though they do not feel ... their own States are in danger, are getting somewhat impatient of the sit... tion, and we must have the cooperation of brewers in other sections of t... country if we are to hold our eastern members in line.

Yours very truly,

_____, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD.

EXHIBIT No. 1002.

[Oscar Schmidt, 215 Galena St. Copy.]

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *June 25, 191...*

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Enclosed please find copy of protest which I prepar... and had unanimously adopted and signed by the proper officers of the Sev... teenth Annual Convention of the North American Skat League. Over t... thousand delegates attended this Convention.

I had these resolutions printed and sent copy of same to the Presid... Vice-President, members of the Cabinet and members of the Senate and Ho... of Representatives, accompanied by a letter on the stationery of the No... American Skat League and signed by its Secretary.

My reason for forwarding copy of same to you is for the purpose of acqu... ing you with the fact that it was a very easy matter for me to have s... adopted by this league—it only required a little work in preparing the pro... and having same printed and forwarded to Washington. I think an atte... should be made to get similar protests adopted by all conventions of a natio... character, wherever held, providing the Hobson Resolution are not disposed ... next July.

With kind regards, I remain, Yours very truly,

(Signed) OSCAR SCHMIDT.

EXHIBIT No. 1003.

[From U. S. B. A. files. Copy.]

Mr. J. A. MCDERMOTT,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Upon my arrival at Chicago, I was sought out by Mr. Hodge, the Editor of the Union Labor Advocate, who advised me that his solicitor, Mr Allen, had secured contracts for advertising space in his paper from the Anti Saloon League and the Law and Order League in the city of Chicago amounting to $1400.00, and that unless he could secure something like an equivalent from some other source, that he would be compelled to accept these advertisements or pay his solicitors a commission on same.

I immediately conferred with Mr. Doyle of Illinois State Brewers' Ass'n and discussed the best means of avoiding the acceptance by this paper of these advertisements.

I was authorized by him to confer with Mr. Hodge and make an amicable adjustment, which I did and for a period of one year, it is understood that this paper will accept no advertisements of any description from the Anti Saloon League or the Law and Order League.

Yours very truly,

Signed GEO. J. THOMPSON.

EXHIBIT No. 1005.

[The Ph. Zang Brewing Company, Denver, Colo.]

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

OCT. 17th, 1908.

Mr. H. F. Fox,
Secy., U. S. Brewers' Assn., New York City.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed find a letter from the Chairman of the Republican Central Committee of New Mexico, from which we are to infer that should the Republican Party fail to win this fall, the new State of New Mexico would be Democratic and for Prohibition. Were this matter within the borders of Colorado it would be handled by your Local organization, but as it is a matter beyond our borders, and one of general interest to the trade, we have thought best to refer same to your office, and have so advised Mr. Bursum. Kindly give this your investigation and oblige,

Yours truly,

THE PH. ZANG BREWING CO.
ADOLPH J. ZANG, *Secy. & Treas.*
(Signed) Per KAUB.

(Enc.)

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF NEW MEXICO,
Santa Fe, October 11, 1908.

ZANG BREWING CO., *Denver, Colo.*

GENTLEMEN: If you can consistently make a contribution of Fifteen Hundred Dollars to the Territorial Committee at this time, I am confident that it will be wise policy for you to do so.

I am writing you at the suggestion of Mr. Henry Koehler, of St. Louis, who is president of the St. Louis, Rocky Mountain & Pacific Ry. Co. of New Mexico. We expect to get in as a state this short session of Congress and it is extremely important, in order that a liberal Constitution be adopted that the Republican Party should win in New Mexico this fall. If statehood is put off and the Republicans should fail in this territorial election, which I do not believe they will, but in case such a thing should happen, the new State would be Democratic and prohibition.

If you can make the contribution stated above, I assure you that the same will be very much appreciated. As heretofore stated, it is absolutely essential that the preliminaries for the adoption of a constitution be made at this time. If the Republican organization is victorious, which I am confident it will be, they will control absolutely the framing of the constitution, which will be on very liberal, broad lines. If the Democrats control, the reverse will be the case.

Thanking you in advance for your kind consideration and hoping that you may see your way clear to act promptly in the premises, I am,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. O. BURSUM, *Chairman.*

EXHIBIT No. 1006.

[Western Union Day Letter From Andreae file.]

SEPT. 21, 1914.

To The Secretary (Fox)

United States Brewers Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.

Meeting of Union men will be held in Boston September twenty sixth by Anti-Saloon League. Brewery Workers Union have applied to me for literature to be handed out at this meeting. Can you supply same. I have nothing suitable. Address M. J. Hines eleven seventeen Columbus Avenue, Boston, and please wire me today what you can do. Union considers matter very important.

ANDREAE.

[Western Union Telegram. From Andreae file.]

SD. NEW YORK N Y SEP 21-14.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 Michigan Ave Chicago.

Wire received; shall get in touch Hines, Boston, and supply literature immediately.

HUGH F. FOX.

EXHIBIT No. 1007.

(From Andreae's files.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

JULY 23, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose copy of letter of June 9th, from the Val Blatz Brewing Company, of Milwaukee, and of my reply of July 10th. I also enclose copy of the Val Blatz letter of July 15th, which I referred to Mr. Gardiner, and I enclose copy of his reply of July 22nd.

I am writing to the Val Blatz Company today, enclosing copy of Mr. Gardiner's letter, and stating that I am referring the matter to you for your consideration. I am rather under the impression that you have already looked into this Oklahoma matter.

Awaiting your reply, I am, yours very truly,

H. F. FOX, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD. 4 Encls.

[Copy.]

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *June 9, 1914.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
United States Brewers' Ass'n, New York City.

DEAR SIR: As you are aware, an initiative bill providing for local option and high license for Oklahoma will be voted on at the coming November election, which bill it is expected, will become a law.

There is no doubt whatever but that if Oklahoma could be placed in the "wet" column, it would be a great slap at prohibition and be a benefit to the business all over the United States.

We received a letter from the United Civic Association, of Oklahoma City, Okla., in which they write as follows:

As you are aware, we now have an initiated bill providing for local option and high license for Oklahoma, to be voted on at the coming November election. We believe this is the year, above all others, for the matter to be tried out, and confidently expect our bill to become a law, providing we can raise the funds to finance the proposition to a conclusion. As the brewers and distillers will be the direct beneficaries of a local option law in this state, as in all others, is it expecting too much to depend upon you to take the matter up and assist in financing this movement for the betterment of the state and for the financial profit of all engaged in the manufacture and sale of your products?

We are aware that reports have been sent out by parties in this locality who have a selfish interest in trying to prevent a vote upon the question this year, and who will always be opposed to any measure being adopted which would interfere with their own personal profits but we want to assure you that reports are out, "That this year is an opportune time." are warranted, as has been proven by the success of our representatives in organizing the state, particularly on the east, or Indian Territory, side.

We would be pleased to have you send a representative here to investigate the men who are at the head of, and managing the campaign. Up to the present we have met all expenses with the office, in formulating the bill and in organization work, but the work is of such magnitude, that under the most economical management it will be impossible to meet financial obligations which necessarily have to be incurred in carrying it on, without outside assistance. We are sending duplicate of this letter to other brewers and distillers. Please let us

hear from you at your earliest convenience. Thanking you in advance, and awaiting your pleasure, we are.

In view of this fact. we are inclined to believe that the matter of rendering the parties in Oklahoma all possible assistance, should probably be taken up through your Association, and we would be pleased to receive your suggestion in this respect.

Yours truly,

VAL BLATZ BREWING COMPANY.

[Copy.]

JULY 10TH, 1914.

VAL BLATZ BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of June 26th, which came during my absence from the city on my vacation.

I have taken the matter up with our Organization Bureau, and am informed that after careful investigation, it has been concluded that it is not advisable to do anything in Oklahoma at the present time.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HUGH F. FOX. *Secretary.*

HFF: JD.

[Copy.]

VAL BLATZ BREWING CO.,
Milwaukee, Wis., July 15, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Sq., City.

DEAR SIR: This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 10th inst, in reference to conditions in Oklahoma, and have noted all of your remarks.

We notice that after careful consideration, it has been concluded that it is not advisable to do anything at present, but in this respect we do not agree with you; for, from previous correspondence submitted to you, you will see that there is a probable chance to do something in that State.

Therefore, before the matter is turned down, we suggest that it be taken up once more, and the situation thoroughly investigated, and if necessary communicate with Mr. Percy Andreae at Chicago, and have him do likewise, inasmuch as this is a matter which should be looked into very thoroughly before the proposition is laid on the shelf.

After you have given this further consideration, kindly advise us what decision you have reached, so that we can be governed accordingly, and oblige,

Yours very truly,

VAL BLATZ BREWING CO.

[Copy.]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *July 22, 1914.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Sq., New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st inst, with copies of the letters of the Val Blatz Brewing Company relative to the Oklahoma situation and copy of your letter of reply to their first letter of June 26th.

There is nothing that can be added to the information you conveyed to the brewing company in your letter of July 10th. We had this subject up for discussion again yesterday and it was decided to be absolutely impossible to take hold of the problem. I do not see any objection to referring the question to Mr. Andreae, although I am rather of the opinion that after he shall investigate it, if he does investigate it, his conclusion will be similar to ours. There would be no use in going into the fight except with the idea and intention of carrying it through to a conclusion. and the condition of our finances absolutely precludes all possibility of this character of treatment.

Very truly,

(Signed) JOHN GARDINER.

EXHIBIT No. 1008.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

NEW YORK STATE BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
New York, February 1, 1912.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary,*
109 East 15th Street, New York.

DEAR MR. FOX: The enclosed letter from Mr. James E. Shepard is self-explanatory. Can you perhaps give me any information regarding this matter? You will note that Mr. Shepard addresses me as "Robert" J. Schaefer. I do not know that I have even met this Judge Pritchard referred to in the letter.

Thanking you for a reply, I am

Sincerely,

R. J. SCHAEFER.

FEBRUARY 1, 1912.

Mr. RUDOLPH J. SCHAEFER,
114 East 51st Street, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. SCHAEFER: I have your favor of the 1st, and am returning the letter from James E. Shepard. I do not know anything about him, but enclose report given to us by the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race by the Confidential Bureau of the Charity Organization Society, which throws somewhat of a doubt upon Mr. Shepard.

I notice that among the Advisory Board is Thos. B. Shannon of Newark, who is an active Anti-Saloon league man; Dr. Len. G. Broughton, of Atlanta, who is a rabid prohibitionist, and several pastors of Presbyterian and Baptist churches in different parts of the country.

I have a connection in North Carolina through whom I could get a line on the matter if you care to follow it up. As you know North Carolina is a "dry" State, but there is a possibility that prohibition may be an issue in the November elections. In case Dr. Shepard should call on you therefore, it might be well to ask him how each of the North Carolinians on his Board stands in regard to our interests.

In 1909 Peter C. Pritchard was Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court, at which time he decided the action against the South Carolina Dispensary in favor of the Brewers, but the Supreme Court reversed the judgment on the ground that it was an action against the state, prohibited by the Constitution from the Federal Court.

Yours sincerely,

———— ————, *Secretary.*

[National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race (Inc.), Durham, North Carolina.]

HOTEL VICTORIA, B'WAY & 27TH ST.,
New York, N. Y., Jan. 27, 1912.

Mr. ROBERT J. SCHAEFER,
Park Ave. & 57th St., New York.

DEAR SIR: Will you grant me the honor of presenting the compliments of Judge J. C. Pritchard, Judge U. S. Circuit Court, 4th dist. who will be in New York next Thursday and would welcome from you an invitation to call and explain briefly a most worthy benevolent cause.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES E. SHEPARD.
W.

ANSWER.

JANUARY 29, 1912.

Mr. JAMES E. SHEPARD,
c/o Hotel Victoria, Bway & 27th St., City.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of January 27th presenting the compliments of Judge Pritchard to Mr. Rudolph J. Schaefer has been received by me and opened. It will be brought to the attention of Mr. Schaefer when he returns to New York. At present he is away from the City.

Respectfully,

————, ————,
Private Secretary.

FEBRUARY 3, 1912.

Mr. R. J. SCHAEFER,
114 East 51st St., New York City.

MY DEAR MR. SCHAEFER: Referring again to Brother Sheppard and Judge Pritchard, I learn through a most reliable source, that Judge Pritchard is the bitterest enemy we have in North Carolina, and that he is a most rabid prohibitionist. Sheppard is a colored man, and is said to be an unscrupulous scoundrel.

In view of the present situation in North Carolina, you could do a very great service if you could induce Judge Pritchard to write a letter over his own signature, soliciting a contribution from you, as a brewer.

Yours sincerely,

_____,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 1010.

MUNCIE, IND., *April 26th, 1909.*

Mr. J. A. McDERMOTT,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Tomorrow's election will close a bitter and fanatically fought battle by the Anti Saloon League of Delaware County, Ind. against the Saloon.

As to my part in the effort to stem the tide, I beg to report as follows:

I arrived in Indiana on April 13th and reported to Mr. Albert Lieber at Indianapolis. By his direction I proceeded to Muncie, Delaware County, there to organize the german voters

At Muncie is a german society of 78 members. The name indicates its purpose, mutual insurance—Gegenseitiger Deutscher Unterstutzungsverein HARMONIA.—

There is german-american State Alliance in Indiana, it is a branch of the national Alliance. This State Alliance is in fine shape, its president, Mr. Joseph Keller of Indianapolis is a gentleman of very high character and reputation. Yet the alliance is not represented in Delaware County. The fact is that the Germans of Muncie have lost their identity as Germans and have been assimilated by the Americans.

German ideas and ideals have been forgotten, and the younger generation has been americanized. A good indication for the correctness of this statement may be found in the fact, that years ago there was a german-lutheran church at Muncie, but the congregation has since disbanded and its members have joined english churches, further that the german Catholics do not have their own church, yet there are many of them living in the city.

It is to be regretted that the Indiana State Alliance has not been in position to carry its missionary and organization work to Delaware County at an earlier date than about one week before this county election.

Nobody at Muncie or Indianapolis could tell me anything about the Germans of Delaware County, nobody could tell me where they might be living or about their numbers. By diligent search and much running about I succeeded however in securing a list of 484 names of householders of German birth or extraction. This list does not include the names of young men of voting age, the sons of the earlier settlers.

Almost 95 per cent of these reside within the limits of the city of Muncie, and only about 5 per cent live in the rural district, or in smaller towns.

The officers of the german society and the catholic priest, Rev. Wm. I. Schmidt extended to me their kind assistance in getting this poll list. On Sunday, April 18th I addressed the society and a committee was appointed to make arrangements for a German mass-meeting for Friday evening, April 23d. In the meantime I prepared a circular letter to be sent out to all Germans, and I secured the consent of some prominent business men to stand for this letter. The mass-meeting on Friday evening was not very satisfactory to me with regard to attendance, but I had a resolution prepared, a protest against Local-Option and the actions of the Anti-Saloon League, which was readily adopted and ordered to be published in the local papers. A copy of the resolution attached is marked as Exhibit A., and a copy of the circular letter attached is marked—Exhibit B.—

The Muncie Press in an editorial commented next evening on this meeting, and I heard from many business men favorable remarks about the stand the Germans took.

This makes me all the more believe that the german element at Mun... only dormant, and might be organized into a useful body. But this ca... be done inside of one week, and should be the mission of the State Allian...

I had another, better attended meeting with the Germans, Sunday af... noon, April 25th. All my other time has been and will be devoted to ... from place to place for a purpose.

The Germans of Muncie and Delaware County, with few exceptions ... going to vote, and will vote WET. One pronounced exception is the ... most business man of german extraction, Mr. Henry Keller, he is a Metho... dry and fanatical. I had to leave him alone.

The catholic priest of whom I already spoke, has been, and is our ... friend. While he has kept politics out of the church, I know neverth... that he has been busy amongst his parishoners for the cause of the WETS ... rather against the DRY'S.

I desire to say that while I worked in conjunction with Mrrs Schad, H... trich and Thompson, these gentlemen have aided me in every possible wa...

In conclusion I beg to say that I would consider it highly important if ... sort of an arrangement could be made by which your office could be in ... touch with the German State Alliances in the States to which our work t... us. I have repeatedly found that for some unknown reasons the alliances ... not so active as they might be, and their leaders are either absolutely in... dark as to what should be done, or they have not the backing to carry ... such plans.

Very respectfully,

JULIUS MOERSCH

(Exhibit A., Resolution adopted and published; Exhibit B., Circular le... mailed.)

EXHIBIT No. 1011.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy; please return this copy to the file.)

INDIANAPOLIS BREWING CO.
Indianapolis, Ind., U. S. A., 11/7 ...

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secy.*,
U. S. Brewers' Assn.,
109 E. Fifteenth St., New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: Enclosed please find copy of the Vedersburg News, conta... ing an article on the inside page and a full page advertisement, which no d... will interest you. This, of course, refers to the contest in the 9th Indi... district. Stuff of this kind was run in each county. Our organization w... perfect.

I also enclose, herewith, a clipping of last evening's paper, containing s... excellent dope (given—blushingly—by the writer) whereby you will notice ... whom they attribute his defeat. It is sometimes policy to bestow upon ... friends the undesired and unknown credit. We understand that Mr. Lan... has as yet not recovered.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours very truly,

OTTO P. DELUSE

EXHIBIT No. 1012–1.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Confidential file. Todd.)

Confidential. APRIL 24, 191...

Mr. JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,
2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. PROEBSTLE: No doubt you have noticed that Ex-Governor F... of Massachusetts has come out for prohibition, both State and National. I ask... our correspondent in Massachusetts for his record regarding labor and other matters, and he writes me as follows:

"You asked me in a recent letter as to the reputation of ex-Gov. Foss. H... hasn't any. He is the most thoroughly discredited man who ever entered pu...

life in Massachusetts. Due to peculiar circumstances, he was three times elected Governor of this State, ran as an independent for a fourth term and polled a vote that was an absolute joke, about ten per cent of what was polled by each of the other two leading candidates.

"Foss is recognized as an unfair employer. He is at the head of the Sturtevant Blower Works in Boston. Several years ago he had a bad strike on his hands and defeated the men. One of the issues was the employment of women in work which woman should not engage in. He has always issued triumphant in his labor fights. By a large element of the public, namely the union lable element, ex-Gov. Foss is cordially hated. The remainder of the public do not accord him that honor, they merely hold him in contempt.

"Foss is a political opportunist. His espousal of national prohibition is a mere trick to catch votes. He would just as readily espouse Voodooism if he thought it would be to his political advantage. Of course what I am writing here is not for publication. If you want me to I will be glad to prepare something for you that is fit to print."

I expect to have something later that we can print, but in the meantime this may give you a cue.

Very truly yours,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1012–2.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy; please return this copy to the file. For Miss Todd's file.)

JUNE 26, 1915.

Mr. HOWARD NOBLE,
Boston, Mass.

MY DEAR MR. NOBLE: Thanks for your letter of the 25th. We have no immediate occasion to use the story, but will put the facts on file.

Yours sincerely,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1012–3.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Answered June 26, 1915. H. F. F.)

BREWERS' ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.
26 PEMBERTON SQUARE,
Boston, Mass., June 25, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary U. S. Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I enclose herewith the story on Eugene N. Foss, ex-Governor of Massachusetts, which you asked me to obtain for you sometime ago. I have a lot more material of a similar nature. The enclosed is a condensed story; but if it is too long, of course you can cut it down.

A big anti-prohibition labor meeting is to be held in Faneuil Hall probably sometime in August, and I intend to have some speaker deliver it on that occasion; but you are, of course, permitted to make any use of it in the meantime you see fit. Sorry to have delayed so long in the matter, but it was a considerable job to dig out and verify the facts.

Very truly yours,

HOWARD NOBLE,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 1012–4.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

Neither as an employer of labor nor as governor of Massachusetts is the record of Eugene N. Foss, one to conjure with in the Old Bay State. After a checkered political career, during which he "flopped" from one party to another with a rapidity worthy of a lightning-change artist, Mr. Foss has re-entered the arena as a "Prohibition Republican." His conversion to nation-wide prohibition has been universally hailed by the Massachusetts press as a palpable trick to catch votes; because Foss, above all else, is a political opportunist. In his home State he is regarded as a joke, and not a very good joke at that.

Mr. Foss is treasurer and chief owner of the B. F. Sturtevant Blower Works at Readville, a suburb of Boston. He also controls the stock of the Becker Milling Machine Co. Labor troubles developed at both of these plants in the spring of 1913, while Mr. Foss was governor of Massachusetts. The workers asked for the establishment of a minimum wage, increased pay and recognition of a shop committee. Governor Foss peremptorily refused even to consider these requests. The Mayor of Boston and other public men in vain tried to arrange a compromise. Foss turned down all overtures, and on May 29 the 1,500 employees of the Sturtevant Works and the 400 of the Becker Company went on strike.

Both plants re-opened for business on June 2, but only a few of the former employees applied for work. Great pressure was brought to bear on Gov. Foss to induce him to arbitrate his differences with the men; but he steadfastly refused, notwithstanding he had always been an avowed and vociferous champion of the principle of arbitration.

The State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration then took a hand, the men agreeing to submit the matter to arbitration but refusing to return to work until a definite settlement had been reached. On June 29, at a mass meeting on Boston Common, Gov. Foss was condemned "for his refusal to accept conciliation or arbitration." The strikers offered to abide by the decision of any three Boston business men whom Mr. Foss himself should select, but the Governor remained adamant.

Assistant Secretary Louis F. Post of the United States Department of Labor next attempted to act as mediator, but he failed signally. In a report made by Mr. Post, as read to the strikers at a mass meeting, Gov. Foss was quoted as saying that the men must return under the old conditions or not at all, and that he would listen to individual grievances only.

Shortly afterward, the Boston newspapers printed stories containing charges that eviction notices had been served upon some of Foss' tenants who were among the strikers. An aged woman, Mrs. C. R. Watts, 10 Waterloo Street, whose sole support was a son who had a wife and six children, was said to have been served with such a notice. William Doyle of 21 Damon Street, a striker, whose wife was in a hospital, was another ordered to move out. Such a stir was created over these charges that a halt was called on the eviction plans forthwith.

The Mayor of the city repeatedly tried to arrange some basis of settlement, but all overtures were rejected by Gov. Foss, and the men finally returned to work on Sept. 4, 1913, having held out four months. Gov. Foss issued a statement claiming that the Sturtevant strikers had been granted no concessions whatever—in other words, that he had broken the strike. The public marveled how the Governor found it possible to reconcile such an attitude with his pre-election stump speeches, in which he had posed as the friend of labor and a believer in arbitration of labor troubles.

Mr. Foss' hostility to labor was a matter of record, however, long before the big strike. As far back as 1909 the Republic State Committee of Massachusetts, as a result of repeated denials by Foss, made public photographic copies of a letter signed by Foss, urging Governor Draper to veto the eight-hour bill.

On June 28, 1910, Mr. Foss, who had recently been elected to Congress, refused to consider the request of his firemen at the power plant of the Sturtevant Works for decent working conditions, according to a statement made by P. J. Sheehan, business manager of Stationary Firemen's Union 242. The men were working twelve hours a day, seven days in the week.

On July 27, 1910, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor wrote a letter to Whitfield Tuck of the general executive board of the National Democratic League of Clubs, in which Foss was criticized for his attitude on labor measures while he was serving in Congress. He was arraigned by Gompers for voting against the so-called Hughes amendment to the sundry civil bill, which provided that no part of an appropriation of $250,000, to enable the Attorney-General to conduct prosecutions under the Sherman Anti-Trust law, should be spent in the prosecution of labor organizations.

Boston Machinists Lodge, 264, on August 18, 1910, adopted a resolution condemning Foss "for his persistent, antagonistic attitude toward organized labor and Boston Lodge of Machinists in particular." The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of Massachusetts scored Foss in a letter made public September 6, 1912, as a man who "would stoop to barter principle in the mart of political advancement." It can be said without the slightest exaggeration that

this estimate of Mr. Foss is the universal one throughout his home State, in labor circles and out of them.

There are no two opinions in the ranks of organized labor as to Mr. Foss' unfairness and hostility toward that cause, and in proof of this contention, labor leaders in Massachusetts cite more than forty measures in which this hostility was displayed during his three terms as Governor. Space considerations forbid publication of the full list, but among the more important were the following instances:

He vetoed the Somerville Firemen's Pension Bill, Chapter 453, Acts of 1912. It was later passed over his veto.

In one inaugural message, he proposed a Labor Board and Industrial Commission of five members. Yet when Chapter 726 of the Acts of 1912, which provides for that, was presented to him for his signature, he refused to sign it, and only did so at the last moment when he was assured that if he vetoed it, it would be passed over his veto.

He vetoed the Full Train Crew Bill, which provided for an extra brakeman on freight trains of thirty cars or more. He did this after promising to sign it. For this action, he was condemned by the Railway Train Men's Union, representing 62,000 voters in the Commonwealth.

He vetoed the Engineers Bill, which, in order to prevent boiler explosions and insure safety of the public and the workers of the Commonwealth, called for a separation of the Boiler Inspection Department from the State Police. But his veto was not a fair and open veto; he resorted to the tricky device of the pocket veto.

It was in the last year of his three years' administration that he showed the greatest hostility towards all measures aimed to better the lot of the working man.

He allowed a bill relative to the employment of children and women in workshops connected with mercantile establishments to become a law without his signature in 1912.

He vetoed the bill providing for an increase of wages for firemen and their helpers at the State House.

Twice he vetoed the "Peaceful Persuasion" Bill after it had been passed twice by both branches of the Legislature at the instance of organized labor.

On March 19, 1913, he sent to the Legislature his veto of the bill fixing the pay of laborers employed by the Metropolitan Park and the Metropolitan Water & Sewerage Boards at $2.50 a day. In 1911, he vetoed a bill fixing the wages of the same employees at $2.25 a day, and it was passed over his veto by the Legislature.

He vetoed the so-called "9 in 11 hours" bill which would better working hours of street railway employees. The Boston Carmen's Union fought long and hard for this measure and were exceedingly bitter over his action. They issued a statement denouncing him, saying that he looked everywhere for avenues to escape the responsibility of vetoing it. It was also shown that previously no progress had been made in bettering the hours of labor of street car employees for twenty years. The Senate and House both passed the bill over his veto.

He vetoed the barbers' registration bill on June 19, 1913, another sanitary measure urged by leading health workers.

He vetoed the bill to increase the pay of members of the district police force.

On March 27, 1913, the Boston Herald, editorially commenting on his actions, said that he will probably learn that it pays in the long run to play the game squarely.

Representative Charles D. Smith of Gloucester, a Democrat, on May 7, 1913, in a speech in the Legislature against the Republican tariff resolution which Foss, though elected Governor by the Democrats, was suspected of favoring, said that he had abrogated the Democrat principles and called him a "bushwacker."

He vetoed the bill which would grant the Suffolk Law School the right to confer degrees after he had intimated to Dean G. L. Archer that he would sign it. Dean Archer then issued a public statement saying:—"I was guileless enough to believe that no human being could be guilty of such hypocrisy."

EXHIBIT No. 1013.

(From files of U. S. B. A.)

Senatorial candidates for 1912.

County.	Republican.	Inc.	Prim. vote.	Democrat.	Inc.	Prim. vote.	Progressive.	Inc.	Prim. vote.	Hold over Senators.	Time expir.	Pol.	Inc. from last ys. vote.
Atlantic										W. E. Edge	1914	R	O. K.
Bergen										J. A. C. Johnson	1914	D	O. K.
Burlington	Blanchard H. White.	O. K.	2,664	Jonathan H. Kelsey.	O. K.	2,144	Wm. B. Shodaker.	P					
Camden										Wm. T. Read	1915	R	O. K.
Cape May	Lewis M. Cresse	?	1,419	Harry C. Wheaton	O. K.	457	William H. Bright	?					
Cumberland										Isaac T. Nicols	1914	R	A. S.
Essex										Austin Colgate	1915	R	O. K.
Gloucester										Geo. W. F. Gaunt	1915	R	A. S.
Hudson										J. F. Fielder	1914	D	O. K.
Hunterdon	John C. Haynes	A. S.	625	George F. Martens, Jr.	O. K.	1,586	Elmer Niece	A. S.					
Mercer										H. D. Leavitt	1914	R	O. K.
Middlesex	J. F. Ten Broeck	?	1,998	Dr. Wm. E. Ramsay.	O. K.	3,839	Adrian Lyon	?					
Monmouth										J. W. Slocum	1915	D	O. K.
Morris										R. Fitzherbert	1914	D	O. K.
Ocean										Geo. C. Low	1914	D	O. K.
Passaic	Thos. F. McCran	O. K.	5,708	P. S. McGinnis	O. K.	2,272	Jas. G. Blauvelt	?					
Salem										Rev. J. W. Davis	1915	D	A. S.
Somerset										Wm. W. Smalley	1915	R	A. S.
Sussex	Henry Huston	O. K.	573	Samuel Munson	O. K.	1,109	Jos. Coults, Jr.	O. K.					
Union										C. B. Pierce	1915	R	A. S.
Warren										Thomas Barber	1915	D	O. K.

"P" Indicates Prohibitionist.
"A. S." " Anti-Saloon.
"?" " Questionable or Not Committed.
"O. K." " What it Says.

Assembly candidates for 1912.

County.	Republican.	Inclined.	Primary vote.	Democrat.	Inclined.	Primary vote.	Progressive.	Inclined.	Primary vote.	Indorsed by the A. S. League.
Atlantic	*E. L. Richards	O. K.	4,544	T. Parks Duncan	O. K.	875				Elwood S. Weeks.
	Jos. W. Salus	?	3,790	Elwood S. Weeks	A. S.	787				
Bergen	*Wm. E. Ogden	O. K.	4,223	*C. O'C. Hennesy	A. S.	3,271	Howard B. Goetchiue	?		C. O'C. Hennesy.
	*Wm. M. Stevens	O. K.	4,224	John W. Zisgen	O. K.	2,411	Alfred Gramlich	?		
	Wm. Dulles	O. K.	4,179	Arthur M. Agnew	O. K.	2,270	Roy M. Robinson	?		
Burlington	Robt. Peacock	O. K.	1,911	Wm. T. Magee	O. K.	833	Jos. B. Taylor	A. S.		
Camden	*Albert De Unger	O. K.	6,588	Albert Neutze	O. K.	2,165	Wm. H. Fisher			
	*Isaac W. Coles	?	7,105	James R. Carrow	?	2,530	Benj. Natal			Isaac W. Coles.
	John B. Kates	O. K.	5,502	B. A. Gallagher	O. K.	2,304	Edw. B. Rogers			
Cape May	H. S. Rutherford	O. K.	669	William Porter	?	402	D. B. Mayhew	?		
Cumberland	Rev. W. W. Ridgeley	A. S.	1,431	John A. Ackley	A. S.	900	Elton S. Corson	A. S.		{Rev. W. W. Ridgeley. John A. Ackley.
Essex	*Wm. M. Beard	O. K.	16,212	Chas. A. Nutting	O. K.	12,955	Walter G. Alexander	?		
	*H. F. Holloway	O. K.	16,117	Bennett H. Fishler	O. K.	12,709	Alexander V. Beeken	O. K.		
	*C. G. Linnenkohl	O. K.	16,021	John J. Bracken	O. K.	13,317	Nathan H. Berger	O. K.		
	*Mortimer Lowy	O. K.	16,030	L. McCabe, jr	O. K.	13,259	Charles H. Burtis	O. K.		
	*R. E. Mitchell	O. K.	16,107	John A. Matthews	O. K.	13,217	H. E. Ford	O. K.		
	Coleman E. Kissam	O. K.	16,124	Wm. E. Maguire	O. K.	13,348	Theodore D. Gottlieb	O. K.		
	*Fred Prout	O. K.	16,105	Louis Lewis	O. K.	12,711	Wm. B. Harris	?		
	*Thos. J. Smith	O. K.	16,133	Frank A. Foley	O. K.	13,158	Edmund B. Osborne	?		
	*Wm. E. Stagg	O. K.	16,124	Hubert J. Rowe	O. K.	13,099	Antonio Petrone	O. K.		
	*F. G. Sticket, jr	O. K.	16,177	Simon L. Fisch	O. K.	12,661	B. H. B. Sleght	O. K.		
	Edward Hoffmann	O. K.	16,070	Jos. F. Papscoe	O. K.	12,120	Rev. Charles S. Stelzle	O. K.		
	Jos. Steiner	O. K.	15,957	Jos. D. Bloom	O. K.	12,571	Carl H. Wentsch	O. K.		
Hudson	F. W. Steltman	O. K.	4,645	*J. M. Branegan	O. K.	16,724				
	Walter E. Morris	O. K.	4,835	*Jas. C. Agnew	O. K.	17,301				
	Max Levy	O. K.	3,986	Magnus Bredenbek	O. K.	13,209				
	E. A. Ransom, jr	O. K.	4,918	Thos. F. Martin	O. K.	11,909				
	W. R. Chapman	O. K.	4,882	*Chas. M. Egan	O. K.	17,587				
	Edward L. Taylor	O. K.	4,877	Walter L. McDermott	O. K.	12,432				
	Walter McMahon	O. K.	4,433	Arthur F. McGrath	O. K.	11,523				
	A. S. Newman	O. K.	4,733	Harry Kuhlke	O. K.	12,556				
	Theodore Brassel	O. K.	4,600	T. C. Mulligan	O. K.	14,106				
	Charles S. Brady	O. K.	4,544	Henry W. Moser	O. K.	12,573				
	Thomas Loughran	O. K.	4,429	Daniel J. Murray	O. K.	13,058				
	Thomas Dunford	O. K.	4,296	*Phillip Steurwald	O. K.	13,255				
Gloucester	Edward C. Leeds	?	1,581	Clement R. Budd	O. K.	983	Roy L. Campbell	A. S.		
Hunterdon	Philip R. George	?	595	# Oliver C. Holcombe	O. K.	1,751	Harry N. Moorehead	?		
Mercer	# Edgar G. Weart	O. K.	3,167	John Kearns	O. K.	1,692	Joseph T. Cotton	O. K.		
	# George R. Adams	O. K.	3,176	W. H. Gerahty	O. K.	2,067	Charles B. Upjohn	O. K.		
	Harvey S. Noore	O. K.	2,952	Erwin E. Marshall	O. K.	2,523	Oscar T. Fenton	O. K.		
Middlesex	Elmer Wyckoff	O. K.	1,833	J. P. Kirkpatrick	O. K.	3,919	James A. Edgar			
	William Hamilton	O. K.	2,037	Andrew A. Quinn	O. K.	3,980	Frank Jennings			
	Walter A. Green	O. K.	2,044	George L. Burton	O. K.	3,970	Henry Seidler			

Assembly candidates for 1912—Continued.

County.	Republican.	Inclined.	Primary vote.	Democrat.	Inclined.	Primary vote.	Progressive.	Inclined.	Primary vote.	Indorsed by the A. S. League.
Monmouth	Harry Truax	?	2,335	# Leon R. Taylor	O. K.	3,511	Benjamin F. S. Brown	O. K.		
	A. N. Cornelius	?	2,165	William E. Mount	A. S.	1,900				William E. Mount.
Morris	W. R. Baker	O. K.	2,753	James J. Lyons	O. K.	1,285	Clarence A. Sharp	?		
	H. W. Mutchler	O. K.	2,811	E. D. Neighbor	?	1,388	Frazer Sofield	?		
Ocean	David G. Conrad	A. S.	912	A. Carl Haag	O. K.	115	Fred C. Havens	O. K.		David G. Conrad.
Passaic	John M. Ward	O. K.	5,304	Jas. E. Kerwin	O. K.	2,302	John H. Adamson	O. K.		
	# N. N. Watson	?	4,793	Robert Roe	O. K.	2,499	H. C. Whitehead	A. S.		H. C. Whitehead.
	John O. Benson	O. K.	5,396	James Matthews	O. K.	1,774	Josiah Dudley	A. S.		
	# G. H. Vermeulen	O. K.	5,150	Jos. D. Delancey	O. K.	2,590	Wm. H. Dunkerley, jr	O. K.		
	H. G. Herschfield	?	4,725	Robt. F. Buckley	O. K.	2,406	Jacob Kushner	O. K.		
Salem	Nathaniel S. Hires	A. S.	612	Isaac S. Smick	A. S.	859				N. S. Hires. Isaac S. Smick.
Somerset	# William D. Anderson	A. S.	1,057	A. M. Beekman	A. S.	1,394	Ulrich Eberhardt	O. K.		Wm. D. Anderson.
Sussex	Reeve Harden	O. K.	554	Henry T. Kays	O. K.	1,452	George C. Smith	O. K.		
Union	# Geo. L. Babcock	A. S.	3,920	Wm. A. Leonard	O. K.	2,430	Welcome W. Bender	?		Geo. L. Babcock.
	# William F. Groves	A. S.	3,875	John J. Griffin	O. K.	2,472	Jas. R. Furber	?		Wm. F. Groves.
	Floyd Thompson	A. S.	3,879	H. J. McLoughlin	O. K.	3,237	Romeyn Berry	?		Floyd Thompson.
Warren	Oscar Jeffery	O. K.	505	# Henry O. Carhart	O. K.	2,332	Frank T. Nutze	?		Henry O. Carhart.

"P." Indicates Prohibitionist.
"A. S." " Anti-Saloon.
" ? " " Questionable or Not Committed.
"O. K." " What it Says.
" # " " Renomination.

EXHIBIT No. 1014.

(Office Copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

REPORT ON COL., UTAH, AND IDAHO, FROM THE DENVER CONVENTION, BY J. A. M'DERMOTT.

CHICAGO, *July 15th, 1908.*

While at Denver, at the Albany Hotel, I met Mr. A. M. Eppstein, Secretary and Treasurer of the Brewers and Wholesale Liquor dealers association of Colorado. He informed me that they are keeping close watch of the situation in Colorado, and after consultation with Mr. Zang and Mr. Coores, they informed me that the Brewers at Trinidad and Pueblo are not taking the interest that they should in the state election. The future of their business depends a great deal on the election of a liberal man for governor. They are working on that now.

Mr. Eppstein, having sold out his wine and beer business, is going to retire, and they are looking for a good man, which they want us to help them to select. It is my intention to go to Colorado inside of the next thirty days, and have this matter settled, as, on this matter in Colorado, depends a great deal what is done in Utah and Idaho. In Utah, I received a letter from Becker, asking me to go there some time this week. That was impossible so I have arranged to go there when I am in Colorado, the first part of August. Information also received from the Brewers who were in Denver from Utah and Idaho, led me to believe that a stiff fight is in progress in both of these states, and I think the situation requires some attention. The attitude of the Mormon Church is worrying our people a great deal in that state.

EXHIBIT No. 1015.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

(Office Copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN THE STATE OF UTAH, BY W. F. SCHAD.

OGDEN, UTAH, *May 25th, 1908.*

Arrived in Ogden, Utah 4.50 p. m. May 15th., 1908. The next morning I got into communication with Mr. Fred J. Kiesel Utah representative of The Pabst Brewing Company, and discussed the State situation with him informally.

Mr. Gustave Becker, President of The Becker Brewing and Malting Company, was in the state of Washintgon on a business trip, and as he was not expected home until Saturday May 23rd 1908, and also at the request of Mr. Kiesel I immediately left for Salt Lake City, Utah.

I found conditions in Salt Lake City in very bad shape. At least 20 per cent of the saloons of that city should be cut out, for the reason that they are mostly low dives, catering for their trade to women of ill repute and the lowest class of men.

All saloons and I mean every saloon in Salt Lake City, have (trade slot machines) and several of them have money slot machines in operation. A number of them have music such as pianos, etc., and same are used at all hours.

I discussed all the evils above mentioned with the different Salt Lake Brewers, and Brewery agents and they were all of the opinion that these conditions must be regulated or rather eliminated.

I then suggested an organiaztion of Salt Lake Brewers and brewery agents, which suggestion was accepted by all concerned with the possible exception of Mr. Jacob Moritz, vice president and general manager of the Salt Lake Brewery Co., who although in favor of the assn., stated that he positively would have nothing to do with any organiaztion with which Mr. Reilly, agent of the W. J. Lemp Brewing Co., had an interest. The Salt Lake Brewing Company, being the largest Brewery in the State, I of course failed to organize as contemplated.

I investigated the matter further and found that the difference between Mr. Moritz and Mr. Reilly, was of a business nature, it seems that Mr. Reilly, who formerly handled Mr. Moritz product secured the Lemp Agency and since

that time has handled Lemp exclusively, he is also supplying the Lemp product to five or six other saloons.

Called on Mr. Reilly and found that he was willing to forget as he puts it, the harm done him by Mr. Moritz, and would be willing to agree to any reasonable rules that would eventually lead to the elimination of the so called dives. He admitted to me that he had a place that should be closed, but stated that he would not attempt to close same, unless the balance of the brewers and brewery agents also agreed to close places of a like nature now supplied by them.

Saw Mr. Moritz again and explained to him how Mr. Reilly felt regarding the matter, but all the persuasion that I could possibly use had no effect upon Mr. Moritz, as he again stated that he would belong to no organization that Mr. Reilly was a member of.

They are all anxious to form the organization referred to and I am satisfied that with the assistance of Messrs. Kiesel and Becker of Ogden, the Salt Lake interests will be gotten together shortly.

While in Salt Lake City, I called upon the following gentlemen: A. Fisher, Prop. of The Fisher Brewing Co.; Jacob Moritz, Vice Pres't and Gen'l Mgr. Salt Lake B. Co.; W. P. Kiser, Vice Pres't and Mgr., Wagner Brewing Co.; Reiger & Lindley, Rep. The Pabst Brewing Co.; Olsen and Lytle, Rep. The Anhauser Busch Brewing Assn.; Adams Snyder, Rep. The Krug Brewing Co.; Mulvey Bros. Rep. The American Brewing Co.; Chas. H. Reilly, Rep. The W. J. Lemp Brewing Co.; Mr. P. Buller, Pres't of The Buller Brewing Co.

I failed to meet the Agent of The Zang Brewing Co. of Denver.

The John Deer Plow Company of Moliene, Ill., hold a majority of the stock in the H. Wagner Brewing Co., of Salt Lake.

The present Mayor and Board of Alderman of Salt Lake City, who were elected on The American ticket are with us, but the Governor who is a Mormon, will be guided in his actions from instructions received from the highest authority in the Mormon Church, Pres't Jos. F. Smith.

The ministers of Salt Lake City, outside of the Catholic and Jewish Denominations have an Assn., called The Ministerial Union of Salt Lake City, and have joined the Federation of Labor. They are naturally for prohibition, and are using every effort to get The Mormon Church to join them in this fight.

Salt Lake City has five Daily papers, of which the following are favorable, Tribune, Herald, and Evening Telegram. The following are strenuously advocating local option or prohibition, Intermountain Republican, and Deseret News, both Mormon Publications.

As my own private opinion, based on what I have been told by different brewers and brewery agents, Mr. Moritz is the stumbling block to any improvement in the liquor and beer conditions in Salt Lake City.

I expect to run back to Salt Lake City for a day, and if possible take with me Messrs. Becker and Kiesel, and with their assistance make an other effort to get Mr. Moritz in line in order to organize the Assn., above referred to.

Returned to Ogden May 24th 1908, and this morning had an interview jointly with Messrs. Becker and Kiesel, explained to them the conditions as I found them in Salt Lake City, and told them my opinion was that an Organization of Brewers and Brewers agents should be formed there at once, and that they must put out of business the dives now being conducted. They both agreed with me and Mr. Becker said that he believed all the present agitation in Utah is due to the loosely conducted saloons in Salt Lake City, as that City is the capital of the state, and all these evils are brought right up to the country legislature.

To sum the entire matter up in a nut-shell on what action is taken in the premises by Pres't Jos. F. Smith, the High Priest of The Mormon Church in the United States, will rest the result in Utah.

Both houses of the legislature are strongly Morman and it is the intention of Mr. Kiesel to use every effort to get a majority of the state senate, which numbers eighteen members, in favor of our interests, and at this time is working to that end. He is also and has been for some time, friendly with the head officers of The Mormon church, ncluding Senator Smoot, and at this time believes he can ward off any concerted action on this question by the Mormon people, but says it will take considerable money in order to do so.

Conditions here are vastly different from other locations, as the Mormon people are the big factor in state elections, and should the leaders of that faith come out for prohibition, nothing will save our interests in Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada. Messrs. Becker and Kiesel and

in fact all the Salt Lake City Brewers are of the same opinion, for the reason that all the states and territories above mentioned are thickly populated with Mormons.

Some time ago the matter of endorsing prohibition was brought before a meeting of the Young Mens Improvement Society, a Mormon institution, by Major Young grandson of the late Brigham Young, the state vice Pres't of that organization, which numbers twenty six thousand voters, but was opposed and defeated when an argument of personal liberty was put up by Brigham H. Roberts, the Pres't of the organization.

Messrs Kiesel and Becker, state that they will need a fund of at least $50000.00 to properly carry on and win the fight. They also inform me that The Utah brewers will assess themselves 20¢ per barrel in order to carry on the fight and now call upon the shipping brewers to contribute 10¢ per barrel on the quantity of their product disposed of in this state. This I recommend for your consideration.

Roughly estimated, the brewers of Utah brew about 150000 barrels per annum, most of which is sold in Utah. I have no figures on the amount of beer disposed of in Utah by the shipping brewers.

I will tomorrow assist Mr. E. T. Hulaniski, in organizing an Literary Bureau to be conducted here by the brewers and brewery agents. They intend to circulate all printed matter suitable to Utah furnished them, and with this end in view I would request you to send Mr. Hulaniski a sample of all matter so far issued by our Assn., and have Mr. Fox place his name on his regular mailing list.

Mr. Hulaniski is a state senator from this district, and I am satisfied will be of much benefit to our interests not only now, but during the sessions of the Legislature. Mr. Kiesel should be congratulated on upon being able or rather in position to engage so prominent a man for this class of work. Mr. Hulaniski is at present an Attorney at Law with offices in The First National Bank Bldg., Ogden, Utah.

I believe it will be harmful to our interests to attempt at this time to organize any Business Mens Assn., in Utah, as it might cause the opposition, and possibly the Mormons to become more active than they are at present, and instead of gaining a point we may loose several. The above is also the opinion of all gentlemen interviewed.

The climatic condition namely high altitude, and dry atmosphere, of this state favors a large consumption of beer, and to the miner and farmer it becomes almost indispensable, notwithstanding the revelations and doctrines forbidding the use of stimulants to the deciples of the Mormon Church. Most of the leaders of this faith use stimulants quietly.

The saloons in Ogden are conducted in first class manner and I believe this is due to the zealous work of Messrs Kiesel and Becker, who are working hand in hand with the Mayor, Chief of Police and other city officials, and stand ready at all times to assist the local officers in compelling the saloon men to live up to the state laws and city ordinances. I attach here to and make same part of this report printed copy of a recent liquor ordinance adopted by the City Council of Ogden, in order to show you what restrictions have been placed on the local saloon keeper. This ordinance was framed and recommended for adoption by Messrs Kiesel and Becker.

I believe if it is possible to have Mr. Samuel Gompers, Pres't of The Federation of Labor, openly state his views on the prohibition question, which I understand will be against prohibition, it will be of far reaching effect and will certainly assist us in our Utah fight. At this time the state federation of Labor has taken no action. The Miners Union naturally will be guided in what ever Mr. Gompers views might be on the subject.

I understand Mr. Gompers is of the Jewish faith, and as all the Rabbis are with us in this fight, believe pressure could be brought to bear upon Mr. Gompers to come out in our favor.

WYOMING AND IDAHO.

The conditions in the above mentioned states are some what similar to the conditions in Utah. The agitation is on in Idaho but not as strong in Wyoming.

The Utah brewers believe that if we are successful here the agitation will stop in the two above mentioned states. The Mormons in those states look to their people in Utah as an example, and invariably follow what ever action is taken in Utah on any matter of state importance. The Mormons in these two

states on the liquor question, will hold the balance of power, and can defeat prohibition if they so desire.

Respectfully submitted.

W. F. SCHOD.

Mr. Gus Becker, Pres't of Becker Brewing Co., and A. Fisher Prop. of The Fisher Brewing Co., will be in attendance at The National convention of the U. S. B. Assn., and I believe intend to lay the Utah situation before the convention or the executive committee in detail.

Mr. Hanna, the man you are to secure can come on Tuesday and stay until your return—Wed. & Thsdy.

EXHIBIT No. 1016.

(Office copy. Please return this copy to the file.)

[Brewers' Association of Massachusetts, 26 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass. Tel. 778 Hay, 779 Hay.]

(Answered Jun. 24, 1915. H. F. F.)

JUNE 23, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary United States Brewers' Ass'n.,
50 Union Square, New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Some weeks ago, you wrote me requesting particulars regarding the alleged arrest of Sam Small, the evangelist, in 1889 in this city, for appropriating money collected in behalf of Utah University.

I was unable because of pressure of work to look into this matter personally; but I have had it done by a newspaper man who has had years of experience in court work. He appears to have gone into the matter thoroughly, having consumed some days in the quest. He reports as follows:—

"Examination of the records of the superior criminal court of Suffolk County for the years 1888, 1889 and 1890 failed to disclose where Sam Small or any individual whose name resembles his was brought into court on any charge.

"Examination of the records of the sheriff of Suffolk County resulted similarly. Deputy Sheriff Kelly, however, says he recalls that Sam Small, the evangelist, was arrested back in the 90's by the Boston police for speaking on Boston Common without a permit in defiance of a police order. Kelly has been in the Pemberton Square courthouse for more than thirty years and fails to remember where Small was ever taken into custody on any other charge.

"Examination of the records of the Boston police department by Inspector Silas Waite, who was detailed by Capt. Armstrong of the bureau of criminal investigation to aid me, showed that a Sam Small was arrested in 1889 on a pickpocket charge. We dug up the photograph of Sam Small, pickpocket, in the records and are satisfied that he was not the evangelist"

If your informant, Dr. John Wesley Hill, is correct in his facts, I am inclined to think that for some reason no record of it was made.

Very truly yours,

HOWARD NOBLE, *Secretary.*

N/MB.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

JUNE 24, 1915.

Mr. HOWARD NOBLE,
26 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.

MY DEAR MR. NOBLE: Thanks very much for your letter of the 23rd, and for the trouble you have taken in the matter referred to therein.

I appreciate the thorough cooperation you always give us.

Yours sincerely,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD

EXHIBIT No. 1017.

REPORT ON DENVER CONVENTION,

By J. A. McDERMOTT.

CHICAGO, ILL., *July 15th, 08.*

On my arrival at Denver, July 6th, it became apparent, after a conference with Bryan and Johnson managers, that the Bryan forces were absolutely going to control the Democratic National Convention. Consequently the platform for the party for the ensuing campaign would be formed by the Bryan people. I was accompanied to the convention by Mr. E. R. Diederich, who was an alternate of the Illinois Delegation and a personal friend of R. C. Sullivan, who was easily one of the big men of the convention, and by Ex. Gov. Geo. W. Peck of Wisconsin and Geo. J. Thompson, our Labor Bureau man. We were quartered at the Albany Hotel.

Upon inquiry, I found out that the man who was selected for chairman of the platform committee was Gov. C. N. Haskell of Oklahoma. I immediately called on Gov. Haskell; was properly introduced and received a very respectful hearing. Gov. Haskell informed me confidentially, that while he was a prohibitionist, he was opposed on principal to anything being inserted in the Democratic National platform, touching the liquor question in any way. I was also introduced to Mr. Chas. P. Bryan of Lincoln, Neb., brother of Wm. Jennings Bryan, and had a talk with him, in which he likewise informed me as to his personal opinion being opposed to having anything touching the liquor question inserted in the Democratic National Platform. This did not deter us from watching all resolutions that were presented to the platform committee. On being informed as we were by friends on the committee that ex Gox. Harris of Kansas had introduced a very dangerous resolutions, reading as follows:

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognizes the right of home rule in the different States, and the Democratic party in recognition of Home Rule, asks the federal government that in the issuance of Internal Revenue Licenses for the respectives states, that, in so far as possible, the policies of the different states, to be showed in the issuance of said licenses be recognized.

We immediately got busy on this proposition. I had Mr. Diederich see Mr. Roger C. Sullivan and Mr. Saml. Alschuler of Illinois, who was on the subcommittee. Mr. Diederich reported that Mr. Alschuler recognized the fact that this impractical effort would mean a national prohibition plank, and would mean that the United States Government laws enforce prohibition. Mr. Alschuler was very active in having same killed in subcommittee. I saw Mr. Taggart, chairman of the Democratic National committee and Mr. John E. Lamb of Terre Haute, Ind., who also recognized the seriousness of this, and who became very active. I then saw Mr. Ollie James of Kentucky, to whom I had a telegram of introduction from C. M. Lewis of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Assn., ex-Gov. Beckham of Kentucky and ex-Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota, and all of these men were active in killing the resolution in the subcommittee. Ex-Gov. Beckham saw Mr. C. H. Weisse of Cheboygan, who understood the situation and saw that same was effectively smothered. Mr. Weisse, I saw personally afterwards and he understood the situation thoroughly. Senator James Smith of New Jersey was also active in the matter, as well as Martin Obrien of Minnesota.

Mr. Bryan' brother took a hand in the matter, and had it submitted personally before W. J. Bryan, at Lincoln, Nebr. Mr. Bryan would not have the matter mentioned in any way in the Democratic platform, so it was immediately cut out. Chas. Bryan told me afterwards that he was very glad that we had representatives there, and said that his brother was opposed to prohibition, but did not think it advisable to make the statement publicly.

In my opinion, it was a very wise thing for us to have been on the ground, for these reasons: It gave us a chance to extend our acquaintance with the Democratic politicians, and also gave us the opportunity to let them know that we were looking after our interests.

EXHIBIT No. 1018.

MAY 25, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR MR. FOX: Thanks for your letter of May 22nd enclosing copy of a letter from C. H. Calloway, which was addressed to Hon. Richard Bartholdt, who requested that I receive copies of same.

Very truly yours,

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. national headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

MAY 22, 1914.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
3357 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I enclose copies of letters from Mr. Geo. Hanlon Editor and Proprietor of the Gallatin Democrat of Shawneetown, Ill., and from Mr. C. H. Calloway, of Kansas City, Mo., attorney for the Negro National Educational Congress. These letters were sent to Congressman Bartholdt, who requests that I send the copies to you.

Very truly yours,

H. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF: JD Enc.

[C. H. Calloway, attorney and counselor at law.]

KANSAS CITY, MO., *May 13, 1914.*

Hon. RICHARD BARTHOLDT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BARTHOLDT: The fight now being waged in Missouri and Illinois, and in fact the whole country, against the liquor interest is alarming. While I stand firmly for the betterment of my people, yet I have ever felt that the crusade against invested capital was wholly uncalled for. I have no way of knowing the sentiment of my people, but I feel that a majority of them could be won over to our side. Of the one hundred and fifteen counties in Missouri, all but a handful have been carried away by the "craze," and the enemy is now making active preparations to lay seige to that handful. It's strange that in such a crisis, no concerted plan of action has been attempted among our people by the men whose money is tied up in these institutions. I am not authorized to speak for the Negro National Educational Congress, but as General Attorney for that great organization, I feel that it could be made into a powerful weapon, with which to combat this movement. A few thousand dollars would enable us to carry the war into every section where our votes would count most.

Hoping to hear from you at an early date, I am,

Yours truly,

C. H. CALLOWAY. (signed).

AAM.

EXHIBIT No. 199.

[United States Brewers' Association, bureau of organization, 709 and 711 Schiller Building, Chicago. Organization committee: William Hamm, St. Paul, Minn.; Gustave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; Edward Faust, St. Louis, Mo.; J. A. McDermott, manager of bureau.]

JULY 21ST, 1908.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *New York City, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Carradine and had a nice visit with him, and went over the Georgia situation quite thoroughly. He is alive to the situation, and, in my opinion, has handled it very well, and I regret the mix up on the part of the Shipping Brewers.

In regard to the situation at Florida, I have written Mr. Liebman and that is a closed incident. The situation in N. C. however, is not closed, on account

of the actions of Mr. Baer of Wilmington, who, for some personal reason has refused to make a settlement with Mayor Boydon and Emil Clark, who were the two men that put in their time and worked hard on the N. C. situation, without any remuneration or the hope of any. It was an act of principal on Mr. Boydons part in taking the chairmanship, and Mr. Baer should have turned the contribution over as soon as received. I have forwarded Col. Pabst the correspondence relating to same received from Mr. Boydon and Clark, as Mr. Baer will be in Milwaukee tomorrow. Enclosed find letter from Senator Buckman of Jacksonville which explains itself. If you wish to have a copy made do so and then return to me. I also enclose Mr. Crane's letter and also a clipping from the New York Globe. There is no question but what there is some truth in this report.

As you are on a vacation, I will postpone my trip until the first week in August, at which time, it would be well for Mr. Crane, yourself and I to talk over the situation. When I was in Nashville, I handed out the word a couple of days before election day, and I think our people were the ones who defeated John Wesley Ganes, who has stood for all the prohibition measures. I do not want to make any moves without first consulting Mr. Crane. I am going to keep in touch with the Democratic National end of the proposition here in Chicago, and especially the Democratic National Chairman and Executive Committee, so in case the Congress does go democratic, our friends will have something to say.

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. MCDERMOTT,
Mgr. organization bureau.

J. L. P.

[H. H. Buckman, attorney and counselor at law and solicitor in chancery, chambers 215 to 219 Dyal-Upchurch Building, Jacksonville, Fla.]

JULY 17, 1908.

Mr. J. A. MCDERMOTT,
709 Schiller Building, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. MCDERMOTT: Your telegram of yesterday afternoon received saying that the matter had been arranged and that checks to the amount of $6,000.00 would be mailed, and I expect the arrival of the checks tomorrow or the next day. I assure you I appreciate your prompt action in the matter, which relieves the situation immensely and relieves me of a personal strain, aside from the enormous annoyance of getting letters from all over the State intimating that there is no reason for not having the funds on hand to pay these obligations, and this was getting a little galling. While I might have been able to stand that personally you can realize it was breeding discontent in quarters where we could not afford it. Had I made these obligations directly myself, it might have changed the situation somewhat, but a great deal of the conducting of such matters at the last moment has to be left to the agents you have selected in the different counties, and while they exceeded their authority in creating obligations without my direct authority for it, as these obligations were made to others there was nothing to do but to settle them. It is a chain in which there are many links and one broken effects all the others both ways in a more or less degree. Until these obligations were paid, I was hampered in my further work. Pardon, therefore, if I have seemed persistent.

I know you appreciate the situation otherwise I should not have had your prompt acquiescence and help. I do feel that these people should have readily seen that the work accomplished was worth so much to them, that they should not have hesitated a moment, or that I should have been embarrassed at all in relation to funds.

I want to say to you personally that but for your ready grasp of the situation in the beginning, your confidence in me and the influence that you brought to bear upon Mr. Pabst and a few others, who were intelligent enough to take a proper view of the situation, and the further fact that I happened to be in such a position with the business people here as to have their confidence, that the result could not have been accomplished. To you, therefore, must be due and should be given the credit of making this result possible.

This business is a perpetual warfare. You have to climb the ladder one round at a time. You can only build a building by one stone or brick at a

time. Therefore, while we have won this fight, it is simply one round of the ladder, one brick or one stone in the wall, and we have to proceed to climb another round or lay on another stone. That means the organization of the House and Senate. When you really come to look at the situation it is astonishing how many men there are that will follow if somebody will lead, but that somebody must have their confidence and must now and then produce some measure of success. On the other hand the leader cannot always work for glory, and the rank and file too often fail to appreciate the work and strain and the fact that it requires oil to keep the machinery in motion, namely, funds to keep things working.

I have about decided on a president for the Senate, and have written to-day to have him come and see me to see how he lines up. These things have all got to be determined beforehand. While the Speaker of the House is not so essential and may be difficult, that also must be attended to. In addition to that I have organized each county or am doing so as fast as I can. Everybody seems to look to me to do this, when personally I would prefer to step down and out.

For the past year, namely since the fight commenced in this County last June a year ago, I have given up my time to the matter, and practically I cannot afford it. However, I realize that I am into it. I have some pride in the matter and I am going to do the best I can with the situation, but of course there must be a limit to which I can go. I am writing you thus frankly and freely because you appreciate what all this means. I also appreciate this at the present time that if I do not keep my personal fingers on the strings (do not construe this as any egotism on my part. Anybody else in my place could do the same. I simply happen to be the instrument at this time) that things would go to pieces for want of a head. It is I personally at present that people have confidence in. It is to me that they look to; it is I from whom only they want suggestions and under whom they will act quickly, if at all. It is the situation at present that I represent which can hold things together, at least for the present. I am gratified however with the appreciation that the business people of the State have shown for what has been accomplished, even though it has been made apparent in no other way than in words of commendation.

The liquor people as a class here seem to think, as they usually do elsewhere (there are some few exceptions) that somebody is always ready to be found to fight their battles, and have taken it for granted. Personally I want to thank you above all and the people I met with you, who placed their confidence in me, feeling that they at least, since we have been able to make our judgment good, have not been disappointed. Let me assure you that in any way I can serve you, you can always command me.

Trusting to hear from you now and then, and hoping to see you personally before a great while, I beg to remain with regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. H. BUCKMANN.

EXHIBIT No. 1019–A.

[United States Brewers' Association, bureau of organization, 709 and 711 Schiller Building, Chicago. Organization committee: William Hamm, St. Paul, Minn.; Gustave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; Edward Faust, St. Louis, Mo.; J. A. McDermott, manager of bureau.]

JULY 24TH, 1908.

Mr. JULIUS LIEBMAN,
Pres., New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. LIEBMAN: As Mr. Schad is on his way to Providence, I had him stop off for a day to see you, and am asking him to deliver to you some mail in reference to the North Carolina situation. It is a pure case of hold out on the part of Isadore Bear. The men who bore the burden in the battle down there were Mr. Boyden and Mr. Clark. They are absolutely square, and I regret this mixup exceedingly.

Mr. Bear called on me this morning and after promising Mr. Oscar Schmidt that he would refund $2000.00 denies that he said so. He said he wants to see whether or not he will get his money from Clark before he does so.

I expect to be in New York the latter part of the first week in August, as there are a number of matters I want to go over with you and Mr. Fox, in re-

gard to the N. C. situation. If it is not settled amicably by that time, I will have to run down and straighten it out.

Mr. Schad goes to Providence R. I. at the request of Mr. Spencer H. Over, Secy of the Narragansett Brewing Co., Providence, R. I. who wants a Business Men's association organized for the state.

I am enclosing report from Mr. Thompson on the Texas situation. I look for a close fight down there and it will be a great thing for us if we should win out, as in any other event, we shall be up against a State Wide Prohibition fight.

I have been to Minnesota for a couple of days this week to help frame up the Democratic Platform and arrange for a democratic candidate for Governor, which matter will be satisfactory to our interests.

Next week I go to Sioux Falls, and to Omaha, where there will be a meeting of the State Brewers Assn for the purpose of taking up the Nebraska situation in detail. In my opinion, things are looking a little better than they were some time ago, with the exception, of course, of Indiana and Ohio, where they will have to fight it out in the Fall election.

In Utah, Idaho and Colorado, there promises to be a hard fight for us. I will go there the second week in August to spend a couple of weeks.

Mr. Diederich is in Michigan organizing business mens associations in Grand Rapids, Lansing and Bay City. Mr. Grau is now in Portland and from Oregon goes to California.

Yours very truly,

J A McDERMOTT
Mgr. Organization Bureau.

AUGUST 3, 1908.

JOHN A. McDERMOTT, Esq., *Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter of July 24th, which was given to me by Mr. Schad, was received. We have done nothing else referring to the North Carolina situation.

I note that you will be in New York the first week of this month, therefore, a lengthy letter now is superfluous.

I have read with much interest the reports which you have sent from Texas.

Very truly yours,

———— ————, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 1020.

(From U. S. B. A. files.—Confidential file.)

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

Confidential.

OCTOBER 30, 1915.

GENTLEMEN: I enclose for your information a valuable report on naturalization work in Pennsylvania, which speaks for itself. The very effective and practical manner in which the work has been conducted will suggest possibilities for similar work in other States.

While we have been privileged to see this report we are not in any way responsible for it.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Enc.

(From U. S. B. A. files.)

NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

(Incorporated by Act of Congress.)

STATE BRANCH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

To Chartered Clubs:

For the protection of your Club and its hall, and for the protection of the individual rights of citizens it is your duty to compile a list of non-citizens among the members of your club at once. We are willing to assist them to get

their citizens papers with advice and literature direct or through you if you will state on the other side of this sheet their names, address, age, nationality, date of landing, place of landing, eventually date of first paper, and mail the list to German American Alliance, 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. It is proposed to have this list made up by the collector or secretary.

[Please, mail this List to German American Alliance, 419 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.]

List of Candidates for Naturalization.

The undersigned hereby submit the names and addresses of the following candidates for naturalization:

Name of Society or Club ------ ------
City and County ------ ------
Name and Address of the President ------ ------
Names and Address of the Secretary ------ ------

Name and Surname (Please, write plain).	Address.	Age.	Nationality or Native.	Date of Landing.	Place of Landing.	Eventually date of 1st Paper.

(Confidential.—From U. S. B. A. files.)

NATURALIZATION WORK IN PENNSYLVANIA.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE.

Since its founding in 1899 the German American Alliance of Pennsylvania, the mother organization of the National German American Alliance, has endeavored to assist non-citizens to get their citizen's papers. Experience gained in the never ceasing struggle against measures proposed by fanatics and their tools in the Legislature, the study of citizenship statistics, and the coming in contact with organizations of various nationalities through campaign literature prepared by us in their languages, developed our work in recent years into Naturalization Schools. Our instruction booklet, "How to Become a Citizen," prepared by the State president, Mr. J. B. Mayer, and printed in ten languages, has been declared by judges as the best of its kind. These booklets are copyrighted and plates have been made. This enables us to furnish them to other State branches and others interested in the work with the necessary changes in the heading and in the name of the capital of the State at the cost price of 1½ cents per copy by the thousand, while other instruction books are advertised for $1 and $3. We are now ready to offer the experience of 16 years to co-workers in other States. Another booklet, "How to Form and Conduct Naturalization Schools," will be prepared by the writer shortly.

The German classes in Philadelphia in the last two winters were well attended. We have secured the service of a Hungarian, who speaks six languages, and will form classes of other nationalities. At Palmerton, Carbon County, a class of over 200 Slovaks, Hungarians and Poles was formed, with the result of taking out of 100 first papers in one week and 15 second papers in a month. In Carbon County due credit must be given to Messrs. Weiss & Rauscher, of Lehighton, for their part in the work. At Hazleton, Luzerne County, Mr. Harry W. Jacobs distributed 600 Polish, Italian and Lithuanian booklets with good results. Blanks of a List of Candidates for Naturalization, a copy of which is attached to this report, have been broadcast throughout the State. Information and help in filling out applications is given free of charge.

Our booklet is compiled on the lines of a method suggested by Judge Staake, of Common Please Court No. 5. We also had the Constitution of the United States printed and furnish copies at cost.

MORE ATTENTION NECESSARY.

The importance of naturalization work demands more attention in States with a large percentage of a foreign-born population. There is an immense field to be covered. Of the 6,646,817 foreign-born males 21 years of age and

over in the United States at the time of the 1910 census, 3,084,117, or 45.6 per cent., were naturalized citizens, and 570,772 had obtained their first papers. Of those males born in Italy 35 per cent. were naturalized, those born in Germany 91 per cent., and those born in Ireland 86 per cent.

During the fiscal year ended on June 30, a total of 14,512 persons of foreign birth were naturalized in the States of New Jersey, Delaware and the Middle and Eastern Judicial Districts of Pennsylvania. During the preceding year 9,525 persons were admitted to citizenship in this district. At present, of the 615,000 foreign-born residents of Pennsylvania, 367,000 are not naturalized. Similar conditions exist in other States with a large foreign-born population.

While the census of 1910 states that 91 per cent. of those born in Germany are naturalized, it should not be overlooked that since 1910 tens of thousands of German-Hungarians and other German speaking immigrants of various nationalities have come to these shores who are not classed as Germans.

EXCESSIVE FEES CHARGED BY ATTORNEYS.

Besides the Consuls of foreign nations, who, in an unofficial way, in many instances aided by priests, are not encouraging the naturalizing of their countrymen, the greatest handicap of naturalization work is the excessive fees charged by attorneys in the country districts. While the attorney fee in Philadelphia is $5, in the counties $10, $15 and even $25 are taken from a poor fellow who earns $9 a week. Up to the time when naturalization work will be so elevated that the instructors of the naturalization schools can bring the candidates before a judge these attorneys should be made to understand that they can make more money by fetching a bunch of 50 candidates before a judge, charging $1 each and serving a good cause besides.

NOW IS THE TIME TO START.

The European war has helped the naturalization work considerably. In Pennsylvania a law enacted by the last Legislature, which prohibits foreigners who have not become naturalized from keeping a dog, has also proved a great help. Practical work begun now will bring thousands of new citizens in line for the next Presidential election.

THE CATERING TO NEW CITIZENS.

On June 10, 1915, at the house of Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, at New York, a National Americanization Day Committee was organized with Mrs. E. T. Stotesbury, of Philadelphia, and prominent men as officers. New Citizens' Receptions in 50 cities were held. The writer attended one of these receptions. He saw many reformers, men and women, who are after the votes of the new citizens, but of the latter just a few brought there by the Y. M. C. A. There is no doubt that the efforts now being made by the Boards of Education of various cities to aid naturalization work in the night schools have been brought about by the above-mentioned committee.

Mr. J. B. Mayer, as secretary of the Germany Society of Pennsylvania, and the writer, as chairman of the school committee, have devoted their attention to night schools in recent years, holding lectures and inviting candidates to our naturalization schools.

Among those catering to new citizens the politicians and the Y. M. C. A.'s must be recorded. While their work shall not be underestimated, their purpose is selfish, because they fail to teach the candidates the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States. What is needed is a united effort to save the new citizens from those who, under the pretense to help them, try to make them vote against their conviction.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE.

It can be assumed that theoretically all who are interested in naturalization work have done their best. The time has arrived where this is not sufficient. The most eloquent speaker, the ablest writer, cannot accomplish the work needed. Hard, practical work is to be done by organizers and instructors. Honest, reliable men who do things, not only talk or write about them. This work should be encouraged by all manufacturers, or associations of manufacturers, who employ non-citizens. At Palmerton, Carbon County, Pennsyl-

vania, a manufacturing concern is employing a teacher, who gives instruction in physical training and teaches the foreign-born the language of the United States. It was there where we instructed 200 foreigners how to get the first paper for $1 and the second paper for $4. It was a pleasure to see the delight on the faces of these men, who thought it cost $25 to become a citizen.

The writer advocates the forming of Naturalization Schools as the only means to get the best results, and also the forming of New Citizens' Clubs for organizing these schools. Such clubs are under way in Carbon County with a view to form a County and State Organization later on. For this purpose the writer has prepared the following draft of aims and objects and By-laws:

FEDERATION OF NEW CITIZENS CLUBS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The purposes of this association are as follows:

1. The study of American institutions.
2. The protection of immigrants against imposition and deception.
3. Assistance in the naturalization of immigrants by establishing Naturalization Schools, and by giving them advice and legal aid free of charge.

BY-LAWS.

1. A New Citizens' Club consists of American citizens as active members and those who have declared their intention to become citizens as passive members.
2. The officers must be American citizens.
3. The dues of active members shall be $1 per year.

The dues for passive members include a saving fund out of which the fees for the first and second papers are paid, and an instruction booklet and a copy of the Constitution of the United States are furnished.

The dues for passive members are, in addition to $1 per year, such proportionate amounts as to provide the fees for citizens' papers.

Passive members who must wait five years for their second papers shall constitute Class A, those four years Class B, three years Class C, two years Class D, and one year Class E.

In case of removal or death of a passive member the saving fund amount is to be refunded to him or his relatives with the deduction of $1 for membership, in case such dues have not been paid.

4. Every New Citizens' Club shall hold monthly meetings.
5. In the Naturalization School instruction is to be given at least one hour each week, with the exception of the summer months, June, July and August.
6. Representatives of the New Citizens' Clubs of each County shall meet once a year to elect County officers.
7. It shall be the duty of these County officers to organize New Citizens' Clubs in neighboring Counties with the view of organizing a State Federation of New Citizens' Clubs, for which application for a Charter shall be made.

The writer has made naturalization work a special study and begs to solicit the help of all who are honestly and earnestly interested in this most important work.

ADOLPH TIMM,
State and National Secretary German American Alliance.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *October 11, 1915.*

EXHIBIT No. 1021.

Confidential.

MAY 8, 1913.

Mr. FRED GRANT,
c/o Messrs. Fitch, Mott & Grant,
32 Nassau Street, New York.

MY DEAR MR. GRANT: Referring to our conversation of to-day, I am enclosing our circular letters of March 3rd and April 12th to the brewers, together with the report of the Conference held in Chicago on February 20th. In the latter, of course, we eliminated all resolutions referring to finances.

Our new National Committee consists of a brewer from each state, elected by the members of their state association, together with our own Board of Trustees and officers. This National Committee elected an Executive Com-

mittee of Fifteen, who were authorized to enter into an agreement with Mr. Andreae. (The Committee met on May 1st in Chicago and, after an all-day session, appointed a subcommittee to consider the various propositions that had been submitted and formulate a plan. This subcommittee recommended that Mr. Andreae be authorized to go ahead with his particular undertaking, and that he be paid $40,000 for a period of five years for his services, which sum shall be guaranteed by the U. S. Brewers' Association and by individual brewers. The remittances of the U. S. B. A. for the support of Mr. Andeae's undertaking are to be made in the form of a requisition by the President of the U. S. B. A. on the Treasurer of the U. S. B. A. and paid to the Treasurer of the Committee on Education when appointed. The Committee on Education is a new committee, which should act in a advisory capactiy to Mr. Andreae and to which he will report, but it is nôt to direct him. It is understood that he is to have the sole conduct of his affairs and that he is to give his entire time to this proposition.)

He proposes to organize, entirely separately from the U. S. Brewers' Association and, in fact, does not want it known that he is in charge of any undertaking for which the brewers are responsible. In other words, he does not want to be an employee of our Association, and the understanding is that his compensation is to remunerate him for the position he will have to give up as president of a large brewery in Chicago and director of the affairs of the Ohio Brewers' Association.

Yours sincerely,

_____,

f/f *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1022.

[Chicago Consolidated Brewing & Malting Company, Western Union Building, Chicago.]

JUNE 9TH, 1913.

Colonel J. RUPPERT, Jr., *New York.*

DEAR COLONEL RUPPERT: I had so many appointments to keep in New York that I found it impossible to see you again personally befroe I left.

The enclosed draft memorandum of agreement will, I think, cover the matter we discussed at our meeting on Thursday, and, as you will note, it adds no liability to be undertaken by the guaranteeing brewing firms, excepting that of paying 3 cents per barrel for five years to the United States Brewers' Association, out of which the Association agrees to see that my compensation is paid. This was Julius Liebmann's suggestion, and it practically carries out the same arrangement that obtained in Ohio.

I now leave the completion of the matter, if it is satisfactory in its present form, to you.

With best regards,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) PERCY ANDEAE.

MEMORANDUM.

Copy

It being the desire of the United States Brewers' Association and the undersigned brewing companies to encourage and support a national organization to oppose prohibition, the undersigned brewing companies of the United States of America hereby employ Mr. Percy Andreae to direct such national organization, on the following terms and conditions:

1. We guarantee to said Percy Andreae in full compensation for his services the sum of $40,000 per year, beginning May 1, 1913, for a period of five years, payable in monthly instalments of $3,333.33, the first payments to be made June 1, 1913.

2. The said Percy Andreae is to devote all his time and service to the work above-mentioned, and should he deem it wise, in his judgment, to remain or become an officer of a brewing company, he shall have such privilege.

3. The said Percy Andreae shall not have the right to make any contracts in the name of the U. S. Brewers' Association on the undersigned brewing companies, or to bind the said U. S. Brewers' Association or the undersigned brewing companies in any manner whatsoever.

4. Out of the amounts contributed by the undersigned brewing companies to the U. S. Brewers' Association, as dues and assessments, the said U. S. Brewers' Association is to pay said Percy Andreae for his services the sums of money above-mentioned and guaranteed by the undersigned brewing companies, and the said U. S. Brewers' Association, by signing this agreement, makes itself a party thereto for such purpose, and agrees to carry out the provisions of this agreement on its part to be performed.

In Witness Whereof the undersigned have hereunto set their hands this 1st day of May, 1913.

(Signatures) PERCY ANDREAE,
U. S. B. A. Brewing Companies.

EXHIBIT No. 1023.

(Govt. Ex. 9, 8, 16, 16.—L. D. S.—From U. S. B. A. files.)

Recommendations by the publication committee, adopted January 21, 1916.

1. That the sum of $15,000 be requested for the purpose of purchasing and circulating the publication entitled "The Presidency of the United States of America," with statistical and other data, which would apprize the public of the merits of our cause. (Note: A considerable part of this sum can be returned through the sale of the publication. There is a possibility of an actual profit on the transaction.)

2. That $1,000 in addition to the amount already appropriated ($3,000) be placed at the disposal of the Secretary for the purpose of sending copies of the work by Dr. Williams "Alcohol, Hygiene and Legislation" to localities where there may be fights on the liquor question.

3. That an appropriation of $3,500 be requested for the purpose of financing a department of the Peoples Institute under Mr. Nock, which would establish model drinking establishments, engage in research work, etc.

4. That an appropriation of $2,500 be requested for the purpose of employing correspondents in prohibition States, and possibly other places where their services might be deemed valuable.

Note: The proposed changes with regard to the publication of the Bulletin to be explained.

EXHIBIT No. 1024.

[P. Dempsey & Co., Importers, Rectifiers, and Wholesale Liquor Dealers, Eastern Agents for Sierra Madre Fruit and Wine Co. (Sierra Madre, Cal.), 117 and 119 Merrimac Street and 18 Lancaster Street, Boston. Established 1846. George C. Dempsey, P. Keyes, jr. Telephone Connection. Maryland and Kentucky Whiskey sold in bond or tax-paid.]

BOSTON, MASS., *May 19, 1913.*

Mr. PERCY ANDRE, *Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR MR. ANDRE: While at Cincinnati I spoke to you about George H. Steele who is now Secretary of the New Hampshire State Liquor Dealers Organization.

Mr. Steele has been in the Anti Prohibition work for some six or seven years. He was originally a newspaper man and his connections were all with what we may term the other side. He got into this work by becoming convinced that the city of Fitchburg, Mass., would be better off under a well administered license system. He took up the work of making Fitchburg "wet" after we people in Boston had given the territory up for good. The story of how he did it need not be told here only the result. Fitchburg has been continuously license ever since and is now one of the safest license cities in the state.

In the interval between Mr. Steeles leaving Fitchburg and taking up the New Hampshire work he has done more or less work in local option fights for us in Massachusetts although not always with the same success that he had in Fitchburg but I think that is largely our fault. The campaign in Fitchburg is a year round campaign. On account of lack of funds or because we have not come to the Fitchburg method yet the campaigns waged in the "dry" cities of the state to make them "wet" are flash campaigns, made at the eleventh hour. I am convinced that by this method we waste our time and money but I cannot seem to get the trade to make provisions for protective

work during the whole year. However, I am wandering from the question of Mr. Steele.

Mr. Steele has had a very active career in New Hampshire. He organized the trade in that state and has been practically running the organization ever since. While practical politics has been played on one hand Mr. Steele has been sponsor for an open and frank publicity campaign. So great was the prejudice against the liquor trade that 75% of the papers of the state would not publish his matter even in advertising form. Today there is not a paper in the state that will not gladly take everything he wishes to give out. I will be glad to send you clippings showing you the style of publicity that he has been making.

The thing I have in mind is that here is a man who is worthy of work in a larger field. A man who has made a hobby of this subject and therefore ought to be sure of a competence.

The political activities of our joint organizations will be directed by a committee, may be advisers only to Mr. Gardner, from the different sections of the country who have intimate knowledge of the politics of their districts. Why would it not be a good plan to have a Board of Editors to be made up from chosen men of different parts of the county who you could consult with and call on when things come up in your department that need discussion. Mr. Steele is more than a mere publicity man he is a practical man in these things. His reasoning is sound and his logic is always good, and logic is confusion to the Anti-Saloon League.

I have taken this matter up with you unknown to Mr. Steele for I would not wish to raise his hopes that a larger field was open to him for if the opening failed to materialize he might become discontented with his present work.

I have called your attention to the good points about Mr. Steele. There are some things in his makeup, imperiousness, impatience, lack of diplomacy, etc., which creates friction when he comes in contact with members of the trade which would have to be explained to you if you were going to take Mr. Steele into your work. These are not serious things however and my purpose in mentioning them now is because you may make inquiries of some people in the trade about Mr. Steele and you may hear what in slang terms is called a "knock."

Hoping that you will become interested in Mr. Steele and expressing a willingness to furnish any further information that you may desire, I am,

Very truly yours,

GEO. C. DEMPSEY.

EXHIBIT No. 1025.

(From Andreae's files.)

JANUARY 20TH, 1915.

Mr. E. A. SCHMIDT,
Robert Smith Ale Brewing Co.,
28th & Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: Our men are now in Maine conducting the investigation agreed upon. I figure it will take from six to eight weeks to complete.

We recently had a fire in our headquarters, which forced us to vacate them temporarily. We were fully insured, and fortunately all our records were saved.

A meeting of the joint finance committee of the National Association of Commerce and Labor is to meet here on Friday the 22nd inst., and I hope all matters at issue will be satisfactorily adjusted.

I am sending you enclosed a tabulated statement gathered from the statistics of the Census Bureau of the U. S. Government showing the actual voting strength of what is known as the foreign language element of our citizenship. So few of our friends realize these figures that I believe it important that they should be more generally known.

The total eligible voting strength of the country is roughly 23,500,000 and the largest vote ever actually cast was roughly 16,000,000. The eligible voting strength of the foreign born population (naturalized citizens) is 3,034,117, and the voting strength of white males of foreign and mixed parentage is 4,498,966, making a total of 7,533,083, which is 31.2% of the total eligible voting strength of the country, and over 40% of the largest total vote ever actually recorded.

I feel that these figures will interest you. They are particularly significant when taken in conjunction with the further fact that the foreign element respond far more readily to the influence of leaders of the same nationality than any other element of the voting citizenship.

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE,
New York, Jan. 25, 1915.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
1152 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Your communication of January 20th is just received. and I note what you say regarding a fire which destroyed your headquarters. I had been advised of this through other sources, but deferred taking the matter up with you until I should hear directly and officially from you. I am glad to note that you were covered by insurance and that your records were saved.

I would appreciate if you will write me a full report on the occurrence, as I probably will be required to answer questions regarding it at our Trustees' Meeting.

I also note that you are at work in Maine, and trust that your investigations there will disclose conditions that will be helpful in making a fight in that State.

The tabulated statement showing the voting strength of the Foreign Language Element of our Citizenship is interesting. I was greatly impressed by the large percentage this element represents to the total voting strength, and the thought suggests itself that if it were possible to influence 31% of the total eligible voters of the Country, it would be a very simple matter to elect liberal minded representatives in all States. I doubt, however, if this voting strength could be mustered for any given proposition, as we have found, in the States where they have been appealed to, the response has not been of a kind to produce results. I would like to talk to you further about this matter when we meet in New York.

Very truly yours,

EDW. A. SCHMIDT, *President.*

OCTOBER 1, 1915.

Mr. E. A. SCHMIDT,
c/o C. Schmidt & Sons Brewing Co.,
127 Edward Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: I am sending you a copy of the compilation of the population of the United States of foreign origin or extraction by States and cities, with the actual voting strength of same, and the location of the foreign language press, which I am sure you will find interesting.

I sent Mr. Gardiner a copy a week or two ago, and probably you may have seen it. But I thought you might like to keep a copy yourself.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 1026.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
Philadelphia, September 12, 1911.

WAYNE BREWING CO., *Erie, Pa.*
(Mr. W. W. Gingrich, Manager.)

DEAR SIR: Mr. Chas. F. Ettla, the Secretary of our Association, sent me both your letters of 19th and 23rd ultimo.

As stated by you since joining the Association in March 1910, you have made five payments, of $344 each, respectively March 21st, May 12th and July 18th, 1910, and January 5th and August 19th, 1911.

Relative to the subject of dues, I beg to state that the Association has no fixed dues, but provides for the funds required in its work by assessments levied from time to time as the need arises. In the course of last year the expenses of maintaining its Educational Bureau and providing literature in our Campaign against threatened Local Option legislation, was quite heavy. This necessitated the calling of two additional assessments (No. 17 on Decem-

ber 9th, 1910, and No. 18 on April 22d, 1911). Of these the latter is still unpaid by your Company.

As it is only by organization and co-operation results can be achieved, I feel that it is to every Brewer's interest to affiliate with the Association and assist it in its work.

The active interest displayed by our members merits full recognition, as it is only through this that we were successful in securing the objects in view.

I may add, that as far as I can see, the expenses of maintenance of the Association should not necessitate the calling any further Assessments this year.

Very truly yours,

EDW. A. SCHMIDT.

EXHIBIT No. 1027.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy; please return this copy to the file. Sent out to Trustees, local Secretaries, & Mr. McDermott.)

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109 & 111 EAST 15TH STREET,
New York, N. Y., Feb. 19, 1908.

DEAR SIR: I enclose for your information set of resolutions adopted by the Federation of Labor in the State of Maryland in regard to local option. These resolutions were drawn by one of our friends; and if you could get similar resolutions adopted by the labor people in your State, and give them wide publicity, it would be most helpful.

Very truly yours,

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Enclosure.

Whereas the Anti-Saloon League, an organization holding itself out as an auxiliary agency of the Prohibitionists, but which we believe in reality to be a cleverly concealed political movement organized by high-salaried professional agitators with funds largely supplied by various millionaires and special interests anxious to accomplish certain political ends, is now engaged in this State in an effort to acquire political power, and by a campaign of threats and misrepresentations is endeavoring to force the Legislature of Maryland to pass a local-option bill for this city; and

Whereas local option enables a majority of any ward or county to enforce prohibition, and as we are unqualifiedly opposed to prohibition and to the proposition that a majority can determine for a minority that they shall eat and drink, and as we deny the right of any community to thus interfere with any individual in his personal liberty or in his right to pursue his own good or his own happiness in his own way, or to brand him as a hypocrite or lawbreaker simply because he minds his own business and happens to patronize decent and respectable saloons; and as we believe such legislation to be class legislation and contrary to the fundamental principles of a free government; and

Whereas the laboring men of America stand for fair treatment and a square deal to all, and believe in temperance not only in drink, but in act and speech as well; and it is evident that this local option movement endeavors, by arousing the passions and prejudices of the people, to deceive thousands of those who have never been inside of a saloon into thinking that every saloon is a den of iniquity and a curse; and as this hysterical and carefully-fostered anti-saloon feeling is unfair and unjust both to the saloon and to those who patronize it; and as the drunkard who brings grief and shame on society is the victim of his own weakness and is not necessarily the product of the saloon any more than of the rich and aristocratic club or the family pantry or the drug store; and as we believe that the decent saloon has a necessary and useful place in every large city and is to a great degree the poor man's club, and as such is as much entitled to fair treatment as the club or the church or any other institution that obeys the law and caters to the public demand; and

Whereas we believe that local option, if adopted for this city, would do it incalculable harm; would plunge us into bitter class struggles; would make the saloon a political issue and a source of constant turmoil; would increase the tax burden; would throw thousands of our fellow-workmen out of employ-

ment; would confiscate millions of dollars' worth of property which is en... to the equal protection of the law; would drive trade away from our city ... depreciate the value of real estate; would bring in here the same era hypocrisy and smuggling and backbiting and spying and bitterness that followed prohibition wherever tried; and in return for it all would accomp... no good, would bring in here, as it has wherever tried, a lot of wretched d... speakeasies, bootleggers and lawbreakers; and inasmuch as this organiz... believes that the interests of temperance can best be subserved by pres... sobriety and good habits and by giving the saloon credit for the good it ... and helping it to be respectable and lawabiding, instead of trying to outla... and make it constantly fight for its life;

Now, therefore, the Baltimore Federation of Labor, in meeting assem... representing 109 unions and 40,000 workingmen and voters, does hereby re... that the members of the Legislature of Maryland be requested to oppose local option bill now pending before it, or any similar bill, and that the Le... lative Committee of this body be instructed to appear before the proper c... mittees of the Legislature to urge upon them the views set forth in this re... tion, and that a copy of the same be sent to each member of the Gen... Assembly and to the press of this State.

MACK HERZOG, *Chairman.*
GEORGE C. GRIFFIN,
WALTER C. POTEE,
JOHN C. WALSH,
JOHN RIEGER,
Committee on Resolutions
EDWARD HIRSCH,
President Federation of Labor.

EXHIBIT No. 1028.

(From Andreae's file. Organization.)

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE,
New York, Nov. 7, 1913

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
418 Western Union Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: Mr. Schram is anxious to know whether you are in touch with Mr. Proebstle, and whether you expect to make any use of him.

Very truly yours,

H .F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1029.

(From U. S. B. A. files. Office copy; please return this copy to the file. Answered Apr. 26 1915. H. F. F.)

UNITED STATES BREWING CO. OF CHICAGO,
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG.,
Chicago, April 23, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y, United States Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: I hand you herewith prepared booklet showing by states where it is and is not permissible for corporations to make contributions for any political campaign. Apparently the State of Illinois is the only one that is immune on this question.

The original of this was handed to me by Mr. Oscar Schmidt of the Schlitz Brewing Company. No doubt the contents of this will be valuable information for you.

Yours very truly,

Encl.

ARIZONA.

It shall be unlawful for any corporation, organized or doing business in the state to make any contribution of money or anything of value for the purpose of influencing any election or official action.

ARKANSAS.

It shall be unlawful for any person to give, offer or promise anything of value to any other person, for his aid or influence in behalf of or against any candidate in any primary election in this State.

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to contribute any money or other thing of value for the purpose of influencing the result of any election in the State of Arkansas.

CALIFORNIA.

It shall be unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, to make a money contribution in connection with any election to any political office. It shall also be unlawful for any corporation whatever to make a money contribution in connection with any election at which presidential and vice presidential electors or a representative in Congress is to be voted for, or any election by any state legislature of a United States senator. Every corporation which shall make any contribution in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be fined not more than $5,000.00; and every officer or director of any corporation in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be fined not more than $1,000.000 or imprisoned not more than one year or both.

COLORADO.

No person, copartnership, organization or corporation shall directly or indirectly contribute or expend, pay or become liable for any of the expenses of any candidate. Anyone violating the law guilty of a felony and on conviction shall be fined not less than $500.00 or imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than one year or both.

Every candidate shall, 30 days after election, file itemized statement showing all moneys contributed or expended by him or for him, giving names and amounts. Political committees also required to file sworn detailed statements.

FLORIDA.

That no person, firm or corporation, in the furtherance of or in opposition to the candidacy of any person for nomination in a primary election shall pay, give, loan, expend or contribute any money or other thing of value for any purpose whatever; provided, personal services and personal traveling expenses may be contributed; and provided, that campaign contributions may be made to a candidate direct, or to his campaign manager, by other than a corporation, to be expended only as authorized by this Act. Any person who violates the provisions of this Section shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000.00 or by imprisonment for not exceeding one year or may be punished by both such fine and imprisonment.

GEORGIA.

Law requires all candidates to file a report showing money expended for election campaign purposes and source from which derived. The statement must be published in a newspaper. No express prohibition of contributions by corporations.

ILLINOIS.

Corporations not prohibited from making contributions.

INDIANA.

It shall be unlawful and shall be deemed a corrupt practice for any corporation incorporated under the laws of the State of Indiana, or any state or territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, or of the United States,

or of any other country, directly or indirectly by itself, or through any officer, agent or employee, representative or other person whatsoever to give, contribute, furnish, lend or promise any money, property, transportation, means or aid to any political party, or any candidate for public office or for nomination thereto, or to any public organization, or to any political committee, or to any treasurer or political agent, as herein defined, either directly or indirectly, to aid, promote or influence the success or defeat of any political party or principle, or any measure or proposition submitted to a vote at a public election or primary election in this state, or to aid, promote or influence in any manner the election or defeat of a candidate therein, or to be used, applied or expended in any way whatever for political purposes. The president, the several directors and every other officer of any corporation which shall violate any of the provisions of this section, and the president or director, or other officer, or agent of any corporation, who shall personally violate any of the provisions of this section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000 for each offence, and imprisoned for not more than one year in jail.

IOWA.

Political contributions by corporations prohibited. It shall be unlawful for an corporation doing business within the state, or any officer, agent or representative thereof acting for such corporation, to give or contribute any money, property, labor or thing of value, directly or indirectly, to any member of any political committee, political party, or employe or representative thereof, or to any candidate for any public office or candidate for nomination to any public office or to the representative of such candidate, for campaign expenses or for any political purpose whatsoever, or to any person, partnership or corporation for the purpose of influencing or causing such person, partnership or cororation to influence any elector of the state to vote for or against any candidate for public office or for nomination for public office or to any public officer for the purpose of influencing his official action, but nothing in this Act shall be construed to restrain or abridge the liberty of the press or prohibit the consideration and discussion therein of condidates, nominations, public officers or political questions.

KANSAS.

It shall be unlawful to hire, or to lend or pay or promise to pay any money, or to give or promise to give any thing of value to any person to work at the polls on any election day in the interest of any party, or any ticket, or any candidate or candidates. It shall be unlawful to lend or pay or promise to pay any money or to give or promise to give anything of value to any person for work or services on election day, in endeavoring to influence or procure any other person or persons to come to or remain away from the polls. It shall be unlawful to lend or pay or promise to pay any money, or to give or promise to give anything of value to any person for work or services on election day in endeavoring to influence or procure any other person or persons to vote or refrain from voting for any candidate or candidates.

LOUISIANA.

Be it further enacted, etc., That no corporation, or person, trustee, or trustees, owning or holding the majority of stock of a corporation carrying on the business of a bank, savings bank, co-operate bank, trust, trustee, savings indemnity, safe deposit, insurance, rail, street railway, telephone, telegraph, gas, electric light, heat, power, canal, drainage or aqueduct company, or any company having the right to condemn land, or to exercise franchises in public ways granted by the state, parish, town or city, shall pay or contribute any money or value in order to aid or promote the nomination or election of any person, or in order to aid or promote the interests, success or defeat of any political party.

MAINE.

The following persons shall be guilty of corrupt practices and shall be punished by a fine of not less than $50.00 nor more than $2,000.00 or by imprisonment for not less than thirty days, nor more than two years, or by both. (a) Every person who shall directly or indirectly receive, accept, request or solicit

rom any person, committee, association, organization or corporation any money, ift, advantage, preferment, aid, emolument, or any valuable thing whatsoever, or the purpose of inducing or procuring any person to vote, or refrain from oting for or against any person, or for or against any measure at any such lection, caucus, or primary election. (b) Every person who, in consideration f any money, gift, advantage, preferment, aid, emolument, or any valuable hing whatsoever, paid, received, accepted or promised to the advantage of imself or any other person, shall vote or refrain from voting for or gainst any person, or for or against any measure at any such election, caucus, or primary election. (c) Every person, other than political committees, treasurers, and political agents, as defined in section two, who shall olicit from any candidate, for the office of elector of president and vice-president of the United States, or Senator of the United States, or representative n Congress, or of any state, county, town, city, or ward office, any money, gift, ontribution, emolument, or other valuable thing for the purpose of using the ame for the support, assistance, benefit, or expenses of any club, company or rganization, or for the purpose of defraying the cost or expenses of any political campaign or election. But this sub-section shall not be construed to ermit political agents of candidates for the legislature to solicit contributions rom candidates for the office of United States Senator. (d) Every person, who shall, directly or indirectly, pay, give, contribute or promise any money or ther valuable thing, to defray, or toward defraying the cost or expenses of ny campaign or election to any person, committee, company, club, or organization, or association other than to a treasurer or political agent; but this subection shall not apply to the actual personal expenses for postage, telegrams, elephones, stationery, express, or traveling expenses incurred by any candidate for office or for nomination thereto. (e) Every person, who, in order to secure r promote his own nomination or election as a candidate for public office, shall irectly or indirectly promise to appoint or promise to secure or assist in securing the appointment, nomination, or election of any other person to any public position, or to any position of honor, trust, or emolument, provided, however, that any person may publicly announce his own choice or purpose in relation to any appointment, nomination, or election, in which he may be called to take part, if he shall be nominated for or elected to any public office. (f) Every person, who shall, directly or indirectly by himself or through another person, make a payment or promise of payment to a treasurer or political agent in any other name than his own, and every treasurer or political agent who shall knowingly receive a payment or promise of payment, or enter or cause the same to be entered in his accounts, in any other name than that of the person by whom such payment or promise of payment is made.

MARYLAND.

It shall be unlawful and deemed a corrupt practice for any corporation incorporated under the laws of Maryland, or of any state or territory of the United States, or of any other country, directly or indirectly by itself, or through any officer, agent or employe, to give, contribute, furnish, lend or promise any money, property or transportation means or aid to any plitical party or any candidate for public office or nomination thereto or any political organization or committee, or to aid or influence the success or defeat of any candidate, or to be used, applied or expended in any way whatever for political purposes. Directors and officers of corporations violating this law guilty of misdemeanor shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000.00 and imprisonment for not more than three years in jail or penitentiary. All candidates must file itemized statement.

MASSACHUSETTS.

No corporation carrying on the business of a bank, trust, surety, indemnity, safe deposit, insurance, railroad, street railway, telegraph, telephone, gas, electric light, heat, power, canal, aqueduct, or water company, or any company having the right to take or condemn land or to exercise franchises in public ways granted by the commonwealth or by any county, city or town, and no trustee or trustees owning or holding the majority of the stock of such a corporation, shall pay or contribute in order to aid, promote, or prevent the nomination or election of any person to public office, or in order to aid, promote or antognize the interests of any political party, or to influence or affect the

vote on any question submitted to the voters. No person shall solicit or receive such payment or contribution from such corporation or such holders of stock; provided, however, that this section shall not be construed to prevent the bona fide publication or circulation by such a corporation, or such trustee or trustees, of paid matter when under a referendum or question submitted to the voters, the taking, purchasing or acquiring of any of the property, business or assets of the corporation is involved, provided that the name of the corporation appears therein in the nature of a signature, and that, if inserted as reading matter, such matter is preceded or followed by the word "Advertisement," in the manner required by Section 354.

MICHIGAN.

No officer, director, stockholder, attorney, agent or any other person, acting for any corporation or joint stock company, whether incorporated under the laws of this or any other state or any foreign country, except corporations formed for political purposes, shall pay, give or lend, or authorize to be paid, given or lent, any money belonging to such corporation to any candidate or to any political committee, for the payment of any election expenses whatever.

MINNESOTA.

No corporation doing business in this state shall pay or contribute, or offer, consent, or agree to pay or contribute, directly or indirectly, any money, property, free service of its officers or employes or thing of value to any political party, organization, committee or individual for any political purpose whatsoever, or to promote or defeat the candidacy of any person for nomination, election or appointment to any political office. If any corporation shall be convicted of violating any of the provisions of this Act, it shall be subject to a penalty in the amount of not exceeding $10,000.00 to be collected as other claims or demands for money are collected; and if a domestic corporation, in addition to said penalty, it may be dissolved; and if a foreign or non-resident corporation, in addition to said penalty, its rights to do business in this state may be declared forfeited.

Any officer, employe, agent or attorney or other representative of any corporation, acting for or in behalf of such corporation who shall violate this Act, shall be punished upon conviction by a fine of not less than $100.00 nor more than $5,000.00, or by imprisonment in the state prison for a period of not less than one year nor more than five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court or judge before whom such a conviction is had.

MISSISSIPPI.

That it shall be unlawful for any person to sell or offer to sell his vote or influence, directly or indirectly, or to receive pay for his time or expense in canvassing to contribute to the success or defeat of any candidate or measure voted upon at the primary election; and it shall be likewise unlawful for any person to offer money or anything of value to any one for his vote or influence or for his services in canvassing for or against any candidate or measure voted upon in any primary election. Any one offending against this section shall be fined not less than $50.00 nor more than $500.00, or imprisoned not more than six months.

MISSOURI.

It shall not be lawful for any corporation organized and doing business under and by virtue of the laws of this state, to directly or indirectly, by or through any of its officers or agents, or by or through any person or persons for them, influence or attempt to influence the result of any election to be held in this state, or procure or endeavor to procure the election of any person to a public office by the use of money belonging to such corporation, or by subscribing any money to any campaign fund of any party or person, or by discharging or threatening to discharge any employe of such corporation for reason of his political opinions of such employe, or to use or offer to use any power, effort, influence or other means whatsoever, to induce or persuade any employe or other person entitled to register before or vote at any election, to vote or refrain from voting for any candidate, or on any question to be determined or at issue at any election. Any violation of the provisions of this section by a corporation shall be deemed and held as a forfeiture of its charter

or franchise, as granted or derived from the state, as for willful misuse thereof, and such corporation shall be enjoined from transacting any business in this state; and such forfeiture or injunction may be adjudged by any circuit court of any county in which such corporation is located, in a suit instituted for that purpose, in the name of the state of Missouri, by the prosecuting attorney of any county, and in the city of St. Louis by the circuit attorney or by the attorney-general.

MONTANA.

No corporation, and no person, trustee or trustees owning or holding the majority of the stock of a corporation carrying on the business of a bank, savings bank, co-operative bank, trust, trustee, surety, indemnity, safe deposit, insurance, railroad, street railway, telegraph, telephone, gas, electric light, heat, power, canal, aqueduct, water, cemetery, or crematory company, or any company having the right to take or condemn land or to exercise franchises in public ways granted by the state or by any county, city or town, shall pay or contribute in order to aid, promote or prevent the nomination or election of any person, or in order to aid or promote the interests, success or defeat of any political party or organization. No person shall solicit or receive such payment or contribution from such corporation or such holders of a majority of such stock.

NEBRASKA.

It shall be unlawful and a misdemeanor for any corporation whatsoever, whether organized under the laws of this state, or any other state or government and doing business in this state, to give or contribute any money, property, transportation, help or assistance in any manner or form to any political party, or to any candidate for any civil office, or to any political organization or committee or to any individual to be used or expended for any political purposes; and any such corporation violating any of the provisions of this section shall, on conviction thereof, be fined the sum of One Thousand Dollars for its first offense and upon the second and each subsequent offense shall be fined the sum of $2,000.00; and if the offending corporation be organized under the laws of this state the court shall decree that its charter be cancelled and set aside and if the offender be organized or chartered in another state, territory, or government and doing business within this state, it shall forfeit its right to do further business in this state, and it is hereby made the duty of the attorney general to proceed against such corporations violating the provisions of this section.

NEVADA.

No corporation, and no person, trustee or trustees, director or directors, owning, holding or representing the majority of the stock of a corporation carrying on the business of a bank, savings bank, co-operative bank, trust company, trust, trustee, surety, indemnity, safe deposit, insurance, railroad, street railway, telegraph, telephone, gas, electric light, heat, power, canal, aqueduct, water, sewer, cemetery, or crematory company, or any company having the right to take or condemn land or to exercise franchises in public ways granted by the state or by the county, city or town, or mining company, shall pay or contribute any money or other consideration, or employ politicians, workers, speakers, advertisers, in order to aid, promote or prevent the nomination or election of any person, or in order to aid or promote the interests, success or defeat of any political party, organization or person. No person shall solicit or receive such payment or contribution from such corporation or such holders, owners or representatives of a majority of the stock in any of such corporations.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

If any person shall directly or indirectly contribute or furnish, or promise to contribute or furnish any money, goods, chattels or other thing whatsoever to be used to induce any voter to stay away from any town meeting, or to avoid voting at any town meeting, or to vote at any town meeting for or against any particular ticket or candidate for office, or to ask, in order to disqualify himself from voting at any election, the abetment of his taxes, or to be excused from paying taxes, such person shall be fined not exceeding $500.00, or be imprisoned not exceeding three months.

NEW JERSEY.

It shall be unlawful for any person, directly or indirectly, by himself or through any other person—To pay, pend, or contribute, or offer or promise to pay, lend, or contribute, any money or other valuable consideration to or for any voter, or to or for any other person, to induce such voter to vote or refrain from voting at any election, or to induce any voter to vote or refrain from voting at such election for any particular person or persons, or to induce such voter to come to the polls or remain away from the polls at such election, or on account of such voter having voted or refrained from voting or having voted or refrained from voting for any particular person, or having come to the polls or remained away from the polls at such election.

NEW MEXICO.

It shall be unlawful for any corporation organized or doing business under or by virtue of the laws of this State, directly or indirectly, by or through any of its officers or agents, or any other person, to influence or attempt to influence the vote of any voter at any election by the unlawful use of money belonging to such corporation, or by discharging or threatening to discharge any employe of such corporation on account of his political opinion or belief, or by any corrupt and unlawful means whatsoever to induce or persuade any employe or other person entitled to vote at any election to vote or refrain from voting for any candidate, party ticket, proposition, question or constitutional amendment. Any violation of the provisions of this section by a corporation shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100.00 nor more than $1,000.00, and any person by or through whom such act is committed shall be punished by fine not exceeding $100.00 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

NEW YORK.

No corporation or joint-stock association doing business in this state except a corporation or association organized or maintained for political purposes only, shall directly or indirectly, pay or use or offer, consent or agree to pay or use any money or property for or in aid of any political committee or organization, or for, or in aid of any corporation, joint-stock or other association organized and maintained fr plitical purpses, or for, or in aid of any candidate for political office or for nomination for such office, or for any political purpose whatever, or for the reimbursement or indemnification of any person for moneys or property so used. Any officer, director, stockholder, attorney or agent violating this provision shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in a penitentiary or county jail for not more than one year, and a fine of not more than $1,000.00.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Candidates are required to file statement itemizing receipts and disbursements of all moneys relating to the election. Nothing with reference to contributions by corporations.

OHIO.

Whoever, being a corporation engaged in business in this state, directly or indirectly pays, uses, offers or consents or agrees to pay or use money or property for, or in aid of, a political party, committee or organization, or for or in aid of any candidate for political office or for nomination thereto, or uses money or property for any political purpse whatever, or for the reimbursement or indemnification of any person or persons for money or property so used, shall be fined not less than $500.00, nor more than $5,000.00.

Whoever, being an officer, stockholder, attorney or agent of a corporation violating the next preceding section, participates, in, aids or advises in such violation, or solicits or knowingly receives money or property in violation of such section, shall be fined not more than $1,000.00 or imprisonment not more than one year, or both.

Candidates must file a statement of expenses with names and addresses of contributors.

Individuals and corporations must also file a sworn statement of contributions.

OKLAHOMA.

No corporation chartered under the laws in this state, shall contribute to any campaign fund of any political party of this state or to any person for the benefit of such party or its candidates nor shall they, through any agent, officer, representative, employe, attorney, or any other person, or persons, so contribute. Nor shall any such corporations, excepting a banking corporation of this state, directly or through such other person, make any loan of money or anything of value, or give or furnish any privilege, favor or other thing of value to any political party, or to any representative of a political party, or to any other person for it, or to any candidate upon the ticket of any political party. Any agent, employe, representative, official, attorney, or any other person, who act for a corporation in extending any of the benefits herein prohibited, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be fined not less than $50.00 nor more than $1,000.00, and imprisoned in the county jail not less than thirty nor more than one hundred twenty days; provided, the provisions of this section shall apply to any non-partisan candidates.

Any corporation, whether chartered under the laws of this state, or of a foreign state, and which has been permitted to do business herein, which, through its officials, employes, agents, attorneys, representatives, or some other person or in any other manner, directly or indirectly, influences or attempts to influence, by bribe, favor, promise, inducement, threat, intimidation, importuning, or beseeching to control the vote of any employe or other person shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than $500.00 nor more than $5,000.00, and the person or persons so acting for such corporation in the violation of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined not less than $500.00, nor more than $1,000.00 and imprisoned in the county jail not less than sixty nor more than one hundred twenty days.

When any official, agent, attorney or employe of a corporation has been shown to have violated the provisions of section 3210 (77) and 3211 (78) of this Article, it shall be presumed that he was acting for such corporation, and the burden shall be upon the accused corporation to show that such official, agent, attorney or employe was not acting for it or with its sanction.

OREGON.

Nor corporation, and no person, trustee, or trustees, owning or holding the majority of the stock of a corporation, or a bank, savings bank, cooperative bank, trust, trustee, surety, indemnity, safe deposit, insurance, railroad, street railway, telegraph, telephone, gas, electric light, heat, power, canal, aqueduct, water, cemetery, or crematory company, or any company having the right to take or condemn land or to exercise franchises in public ways granted by the state, or by any county, city, or town, shall pay or contribute in order to aid, promote, or prevent the nomination or election of any person, or in order to aid or promote the interests, success, or defeat of any political party or organization. No person shall solicit or receive such payment or contribution from such corporation or such holders of a majority of such stock.

Candidates shall file a full detailed report of receipts, contributions and expenses.

PENNSYLVANIA.

No person who is not a candidate, or the treasurer of a political committee, shall pay, give or lend, or agree to pay, give or lend, any money or other valuable thing, whether contributed by himself or by any other person, for any election expenses whatever, except to a candidate or to a political committee; and no officer of any corporation, whether incorporated under the laws of this state or any other state or any foreign country, except corporations formed for political purposes, shall pay, give or lend, or authorize to be given, paid or lent, any money or other valuable thing belonging to such corporation to any candidate or to any political committee, for the payment of any election expenses whatever.

RHODE ISLAND.

Reply to your letter, we beg to say that we have no Corrupt Practice Act of the nature described by you.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Penalty for Serving Candidate for Money Consideration.—Any person who shall perform, or agree to perform, any services in the interests of any candidate for any office provided for in Article 8, Chapter XLIX, of the Civil Code, Volume I, of the Code of Laws (whether in connection with the primary election nomination or in connection with the municipal election, or in connection with the obtaining and filing of the petition required herein), in consideration of any money or other valuable thing or of future support in obtaining office, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, and any candidate, or other person, who shall solicit or contract for, or otherwise seek or obtain such services in the interest of or against the candidacy for Mayor or Councilman, or for or against any question that may be submitted to an election, or shall pay any money for said services or promise any valuable thing for such services, or to influence any elector in his vote, shall be punished in the same manner, and any person making false answers to any of the provisions of Article 8, Chapter XLIX, of the Civil Code, Volume I, of the Code Laws, relative to his qualifications to vote at any election herein provided for, any person wilfully voting or offering to vote at such election when not qualified as herein provided, and any person knowingly procuring, aiding or abetting any violation of any of the provisions herein, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be fined not exceeding $500.00 or imprisoned not exceeding one year, and all the other provisions of law now applying to bribery or corruption or other improper practices in connection with elections shall likewise apply to the elections herein referred to.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Any person or corporation who shall lend or give any money or other valuable thing to any other person to induce him to cast his vote either for or against any candidate for public office; or any person who shall lend or give any money or other valuable thing to any other person to induce him to refrain from voting or to remain away from the polls; or any person who shall lend or furnish any money or security therefor to any other person or persons to be used for any of said purposes; or any person who shall knowingly refund or make good to any person or persons any money expended for any of said purposes; or any person who shall directly or indirectly give or procure to be given or promise to give any money, gift or reward, or any office, place or employment upon any engagement, contract, agreement, or understanding, that the person to whom or for whose benefit such gift or promise shall be made, shall, by himself or any other person procure, or endeavor to procure or work for, the election of any person to any public office at any election, shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100.00 or more than $1,000.00, or by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not more than two years, or both.

TENNESSEE.

Our Code, sections 6841 to 4868, defines and makes punishable certain acts by candidates for office such as bribery, etc. Under the same sections, 6841 to 6868, in the Supplement of the Code of Tennessee, the Acts of 1897, Chapter 18, and 1899, chapter 14, are set out prohibiting corporations from influencing elections by contributing toward campaign funds, by intimidations and other ways.

The Act of 1907, chapter 402, is entitled "An Act to prevent the corruption of citizens in political conventions" which Act provides against bribery by payments, loans, or promises of political preferment, to solicit either to vote or refrain from voting. Acts of 1907, chapter 443, is directed especially against the use of the funds of any insurance company for political purposes.

TEXAS.

Any corppration or officer thereof who, directly or indirectly, furnishes, loans or gives any money or thing of value to aid those who manage the political campaign of any candidate or candidates, or to any campaign manager, or at any particular candidate or person, to promote the success of such candidate for public office shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and if a corporation, if the act was done with the approval or connivance of its president, financial agent or treasurer, forfeits its charter. It shall be the duty of the attorney general to

institute proceedings for such forfeiture whenever it is made known to him by the affidavit of a reputable man that in his opinion such an offense has been committed. The officers, agents and employes of such corporation, as also the candidate, and all persons connected with his political headquarters, shall be competent witnesses, and may be compelled to attend court and testify, and those shall not be subject to prosecution who reveal facts showing a violation of this section.

UTAH.

This State does not have the usual Corrupt Practices Act. We have a chapter in our election law entitled "Election Offenses" in which the rights of the voter are carefully guarded, and providing against bribes of all kinds, and preventing candidates from betting on elections, and preventing corporations from influencing their employes, etc. But we have no law prohibiting corporations from contributing for campaign expenses. Candidates in this state are not required to publish their campaign expenses.

In 1896, that being the first session of the Legislature of the State after statehood, a new election law was passed in which candidates for office were required to file an itemized statement of receipts and expenses in behalf of their campaign and the chairmen and secretaries of the respective parties were also required to file statements. In 1897 our election laws were revised and these provisions were omitted.

VERMONT.

Payment of money to secure nomination.—No person shall, directly or indirectly, give, pay, expend or contribute, or promise to give, pay, expend or contribute, money or other valuable thing, in order to promote his own nomination, or the nomination of another person, as a candidate for a public office, by caucus, convention or nomination papers, except for personal expenses as provided in the following section.

Same; exception.—A person may incur and pay in order to promote his own nomination, or the nomination of another person, as a candidate for a public office, his own personal expenses for traveling, for writing, printing and preparing for transmission any letter, circular, or other publication not issued at regular intervals, whereby he may state his position or views, or the position or views of another person, upon public or other questions, for stationery and postage, for telephone, telegraph and other regular messenger service, and for other petty personal expenses; but all such expenses shall be limited to those which are directly incurred and paid by him.

Publishers to receive no compensation for supporting candidacy.—No publisher of a newspaper or other publication issued at regular intervals in this state, shall, directly or indirectly, receive or accept money or other valuable thing in payment or compensation for the support or advocacy in such newspaper or publication of the nomination of any person as a candidate for a public office in this state.

Penalty.—A person who violates a provision of the three preceding sections shall be fined not less than $100.00.

VIRGINIA.

That no person shall expend, pay, promise, loan, or become pecuniarily liable in any way for any money or other valuable thing in behalf of any candidate for office at any election, primary or nominating convention held in this commonwealth. Any person or candidate violating any of the provisions of this or the preceding section of this Act shall be subject to a fine of not less than $100.00 nor more than $1,000.00 or confined in jail not less than one or more than twelve months.

WASHINGTON.

The Washington Statute does not expressly prohibit corporations making campaign contributions, but "all persons" are prohibited from so doing, which under the legal construction includes corporations.

WYOMING.

No corporation shall pay or contribute in order to aid, promote or prevent the nomination or election of any person, or in order to aid, or promote the interests, success or defeat of any political party or organization. No person shall solicit or receive such payment or contribution from such corporation.

EXHIBIT No. 1030.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square. Telephone 1957 Stuyvesant. Member of Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. National headquarters, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.]

NEW YORK, *March 16, 191*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE.
1132 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR Mr. ANDREAE: I have been so pressed with work lately that I have been a little amiss in my correspondence. I have your letters of the 9th and 11th inst., before me. That of the 9th includes the draft of your letter to the brewers regarding discount stamps of the National Association of Commerce and Labor. I am enclosing circular letter which we have sent out in this connection.

Your letter of the 11th covers the Michigan matter, and it seems evident that there has been some misunderstanding, and possibly the explanation is that the work of the Detroit brewers and the Country Brewers' Association is not dovetailed as closely as might be desired. However, this is only a surmise.

We have sent another man to Michigan from New York, to handle the country newspapers. He is a political reporter, who has had a good deal of experience, and was highly recommended to Mr. Rickel by Mr. Brewer of the New York State Brewers' Association, who originally started the publicity work in Michigan under our direction about six years ago. He will probably stay there for a couple of months.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOX,
Secretary.

HFF/W
Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 1031.

MINUTES OF A JOINT MEETING OF THE INTERSTATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE HOTEL KIMBALL, SPRINGFIELD, MASS., OCTOBER 13, 1913, AT 10:30 O'CLOCK A. M.

The meeting was presided over by the President of the United States Brewers' Association. Mr. Edward A. Schmidt, acting as Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you will please come to order. This meeting will be the first joint meeting of the Interstate Conference Committee and the Board of Trustees. Such a meeting is provided for in the resolution of the convention creating this annual joint conference. The purpose of it is that the gentlemen representing the Interstate Conference Committee could bring information here that would be of service or assistance to the Board of Trustees in their administration of the affairs of the United States Brewers' Association. The committee has been selected from the various sections of the country so that the representation would be thorough and complete and that every part of the country would be covered.

I understand we have with us in this meeting gentlemen who have recently been on the firing line in the various campaigns in the several states and I am certain that they will have information to impart here that will be useful in the administration of the affairs of the association. I trust the representatives will not hesitate to come forward and tell their experiences and advise the board if they have anything that would be beneficial to their states and to the entire country.

I would like to state, in connection with the nominations to be made in the course of the next two days, that your nominating committee will sit today and also tomorrow, and if any of the gentlemen from the various states are prepared to propose names to the nominating committee, we would request that they get in touch with the Chairman of the nominating committee. The idea of that is that when the naminating committee was appointed at the last convention, it was to sit during the entire year to receive names and, with the entire list of names before them, from all sections of the country, they will be able to make such selections as I am sure will be useful and serviceable in our work.

I declare this meeting open for the discussion of business.

Mr. Fox. Might I suggest that this meeting hear from the men from a distance, men who have been on the firing line, who have had recent experiences that would be of value to us. As a starter, I would suggest Mr. McDowell, of California.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. President and gentlemen: You all know that we had a state wide campaign last year and we are going to have another one next year. In a somewhat different form there will be amendments presented. Last year they were very drastic, prohibiting the manufacture, sale or gift of alcoholic liquors. The amendment was defeated by a majority of 169,245.

The amendments proposed by the Anti-Saloon League forces for submission at the election in November 1916 are two. The first, if adopted, would prohibit the retail sale of liquor in California, effective January 1, 1918. The second prohibits the manufacture, sale, gift or transportation of liquors, effective January 1, 1920.

The conditions in the state at this time and next year will be somewhat different, so far as the Anti-Saloon League forces are concerned, because they are absolutely united. Last year the amendment was incorporated by the Prohibition party in its platform, but the leaders of the Prohibition party did not have the entire support of the Anti-Saloon League, but in the coming campaign they are all united, all of the dry forces, they have wiped out all their differences and the campaign will be led by Ex-Lieutenant Governor Wallace and Bishop Hughes, of Pasadena. The Rev. Dr. Aked is the gentleman who recently drove a nail into the coffin of Billy Sunday; but notwithstanding the fact that Dr. Aked does not agree with Billy Sunday, Billy Sunday has already been contracted for, along with W. J. Bryan, to assist in the campaign in that state.

The dry forces at this time are going over the state holding meetings preparatory to the circulation of petitions for the submission of these amendments. Just prior to my leaving San Francisco it was announced that they would, on the 31st of this month, circulate their petitions in all of the churches affiliated with those forces, and that they hoped to get 150,000 signatures. They also hoped to get the 100,000 additional signatures which will be required, within a week.

I will say, gentlemen, that the Anti-Saloon League forces of that state are so organized that they could get 300,000 signatures in three weeks' time. A year ago—two years ago, in 1913, they secured the necessary signatures in a little less than two weeks.

The fight will be made in California next year from the standpoint that the people are going to have the choice, as the Rev. Dr. Aked put it in his sermon recently delivered in San Francisco, between total prohibition and the elimination of the saloon. The 1918 Amendment is broader than a no-saloon amendment; it includes the sale of liquors in the saloons, clubs, cafes; in fact the retail sale of liquor throughout the state. They have paid very little attention to bringing local fights this year. We have had 39 fights in cities, towns and supervisorial districts. Eighteen of those were brought about by petitions circulated by dry forces and the balance were brought about by petitions circulated by our people. We have succeeded in winning all of the elections except one, except in two supervisorial districts, where there was not a possibility of winning. In the majority of these contests we have increased the wet majority. The campaign has been conducted with a view to uniting the vote and making California dry. We will have approximately a million and a half voters registered. Under the law of our state it is necessary for the voters to register every even numbered year, and the campaign for registration will be carried forward somewhat as it was in 1914.

We have at this time a very good organization in that state. The brewers, wholesale liquor dealers and allied trades are united. Unfortunately in the campaign last year the grape growers and wine association conducted a separate campaign.

Matters have developed during this year that look at the present as if we would lose the support of a large number of the grape growers because of the fact that the California Wine Association has recently repudiated a very large number of contracts that they had with the grape growers and have refused to purchase their grapes at the price stipulated, basing their repudiation upon the ground that the Federal tax has been increased. A clause in the contracts provides that that may be done. The Anti-Saloon League forces have taken advantage of that fact and have stated that while the campaign in 1914 was conducted for the benefit of the wine people and grape growers and the grape grower was tolerated at that time, it will not be necessary to protect them,

the grape growers at this time, by reason of the fact that he is unable to sell his grapes, and he is therefore rather leaning to the dry side. It is an unfortunate condition. I will predict at this time that if a vote was taken in San Joaquin County and other grape growing counties, they would vote dry. It is going to require an immense amount of educational work to convince those people that it is not an issue between the grape grower and the wine Association but one exclusively and purely whether there shall be prohibition in California.

Many of you, of course, know the size of the state; many of you have been there, and it is a state that it is difficult to campaign in. We have 58 counties, and you can take the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware and New Jersey, New York and Ohio and put them down in the state of California, not edgewise, and you will still have 500 square miles left. In other words, you could put those ten states into the State of California, where you have, from the Oregon line to Mexico, a million and a half voters that must be reached.

In the 1914 campaign we divided the state into four districts. The main office was in San Francisco, with one in Los Angeles, with eight counties; one in Fresno, with eight counties; one in the northern division, with an office in Sacramento, with twenty-one counties.

The conditions in the southern part of the state are entirely different than they are in the north. There has been a great deal of talk, there was immediately after election, perhaps brought about by the fact that there was a very considerable dry vote in the south, that there will be a state division. We have taken no hand in the matter, because we think it is a dangerous proposition. Those in the north would undoubtedly like to see southern California separated and put into Mexico or South America or some other place, so far as the vote is concerned on this question. When Los Angeles voted in 1910 they returned a majority of something like 40,000 against prohibition; and to show you how the sentiment has changed from 1910 to 1914, they returned only about 7,000 majority on the state-wide issue and they came up to what is known as the Mountains with only 1,410 wet majority out of eight counties.

In other words, we can count on San Diego county to return a wet majority, but it is problematical where Los Angeles County will go in 1916. I will say in regard to Los Angeles, I have used my best endeavors, since 1913, to get them out of politics. I will say that for a number of years since I have been in California and after making a survey of that state, I have been of the opinion that politics is a poor thing to put into a prohibition campaign.

Last year, when the question of state-wide prohibition was to be voted upon, a governor to be elected, and state officers to be elected, Governor Johnson in the saddle for the Progressives; Captain who prosecuted the McNamaras and the candidate of the Democratic and Prohibition Parties were in the field, they were all, with the exception of the Prohibition Party, bidding for the support of the interest which I have the honor to represent. I will say frankly to you gentlemen as I said to those gentlemen at that time that we were after votes from the four parties, and that if they were not in favor of state-wide prohibition in California, they should assist us in defeating that and we should not assist them to be elected to office. We kept out of politics. When the Legislature convened thirty-two bills were introduced which would have been very detrimental to our interests in California—county option bills, dry zone bills—but so completely did we keep out of politics that the Lieutenant Governor, Ashelman, who comes from the dry section of the state and was really elected to the Senate by the Anti-Saloon League Forces, waited until a vote was taken and that gentleman had to decide between 20 and 20 the dry zone bill, which would have dried up Los Angeles, San Jose and several other large cities in the south and affected many other of the larger cities, because it provided for a mile wide zone around state normal schools—that measure came up and the count was made so promptly, when the Senate vote was cast, that no senator had an opportunity to change his vote and change that result. Lieutenant-Governor Ashelman cast the deciding vote and of course it was said that he had sold out; but I will say to you frankly that if there is any man who could not be purchased, he is the man. He was absolutely fair, and he stood on the proposition that the people of these several communities had voted last November and all, with the exception of two, returned majorities against state-wide prohibition and he said, "I am not in favor, as a member of this Legislature, of inflicting upon them something that they do not want themselves."

We are operating under the Wiley local-option bill. The question was propounded to me last night as to whether there was a possibility of the initiative and referendum being repealed in California. As I said to him I say to you now, there is not a possibility of the initiative and referendum being taken out of the constitution of that state. The people like it. The people think they are doing business and they are doing business. It is possible for them, by filing a petition with a certain number of signatures, to initiate elections in any city or town, in two months. We have electons every week. One took place on the 11th and one will take place today. In one of these places the election was carried by the wet forces. The drys immediately came back with a petition under the Wiley law. The petition by the wet forces would have provided for a limited number of saloons, well regulated. The dry petition, if adopted, dries up that city. These elections come one on the 11th and one on the 13th. I will say we have been very successful and I think we have created a considerable sentiment in favor of keeping the state in the wet column. It has been said by a good many people in California and a good many people outside of California, that something must be done to eliminate conditions that are as deplorable as they have been said to be in the city of San Francisco. I will say that we are in position in the city of San Francisco to handle that situation. It has been heralded over this country that we have 2,500 retail establishments in that city. We have exactly 1,623, which is perhaps too many. Nevertheless, the city of San Francisco cast 83,355 votes against state-wide prohibition; in other words, defeating it by seven to one. The city of Los Angeles, with approximately the same population, has 200 saloons, with a zone district and is as well regulated as any city in the United States, and they came very near going dry. San Francisco County and the counties immediately adjoining it, returned 11,000 majority or two-thirds of the total majority against this state-wide prohibition.

What the south will do, what the San Joaquin Valley will do, is problematical. As I said before, we have a good organization. We want your assistance. We believe we are able to handle the situation, but it is going to be as terrific a campaign as was ever put up in the United States. The leaders of the dry forces have made the statement that if they could win California next year they would consider it a victory equal to any ten states that has been voted dry in the past few years. That is the view they take of it. You can realize the importance of winning that fight in California next year is very great, because of the effect it would have upon other states and the effect it would have upon national issues. The fact that Colorado, Washington and Oregon, western states, went dry last year, had a very bad effect on California. I know of nothing that would be of more advantage to the states of Arizona, Colorado and Utah and Washington than to keep California wet. If California goes dry, we might just as well move off the coast, because that is going to be carried as far east as possible, and I have grave fears it might be carried into my friend Becker's state of Utah. I know they have a fight there and I know something of the conditions in that state. We must win California and we must have your assistance. I thank you, gentlemen. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I will have to ask to be excused again, as I did at the last meeting, as I have to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee. With your permission I would like to suggest that Mr. Koehler, of St. Louis, take the chair, in my place. I thank you very much for your kind attention.

(At this point the President, Mr. Schmidt, left the meeting, Mr. Koehler taking the chair and presiding until the close of the meeting.)

Mr. KOEHLER. Gentlemen, this is rather unexpected. I am sure we all regret the absence of the President from the chair; but out of deference to his wishes, I will be glad to, in my humble way, endeavor to take his place.

Mr. FOX. May I ask Mr. McDowell a question—what is going to be the attitude of the women of California toward the saloon and is it a part of your program to make saloon conditions such that they will meet the criticisms of the women voters?

Mr. MCDOWELL. I recently had an interview with one of the leaders of the women's organization in Southern California, who is a member and leading spirit in seven clubs. I consider this woman an authority in that section of the state, which is considerably dry. She said, "If you make your campaign next year from a dollars and cents standpoint, you will not get the support of the women of Southern California." She said, "What we are trying to do is to keep the little boy off the streets and to keep him away from the saloons, and

we have 200 of them in the City of Los Angeles, and we do not want him to get into the habit of going into those places." I said, "My dear woman, don't you know that there is a law at the present time that makes it impossible or rather makes it unlawful for any boy to go into these places?" She said, "I know that." I said, "If you will turn your forces loose toward the enforcement of that law, I will promise you I will not make a campaign from a dollars and cents standpoint next year." And they are very busy on that proposition right now. It seems a great many of them did not know there was such a law. I sent to you and several other members of the United States Brewers' Association a compilation of the laws of California. That was gotten out for the purpose of getting it into the hands of the different organizations in that state, so that we could convey to them the idea that we had lots of laws but that they were not being enforced and asking for the cooperation of all the organizations in the enforcement of the law.

I will add—I do not want to talk all the time—when the dry convention was held in Fresno, they selected as their head the president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, who is an ardent prohibitionist. They also have the support of Mrs. General Bidwell, of Chico, who is a very wealthy woman who subscribed last year $5,000, as a starter, and who has subscribed this year $10,000, as a starter toward the campaign fund. I will say that of the $250,000 subscribed, I have absolutely positive information that $157,000 was subscribed in Los Angeles, and that has been done in six weeks time, to show you that there are some money getters in Southern California.

So far as the women's organizations are concerned in northern California, we are in fairly good shape, the State Federation having refused to take up this question.

We do know that a large number of women vote dry. In the recent mayoralty contest in San Francisco the registration was increased very largely in that city and came from the women. They have promised me, through the heads of the organization, that they are ready to do battle next year; but they are divided, they are fighting amongst themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member wish to ask any question?

Mr. ORR. I would like to ask what, if any, has been the attitude of the various boards of trade of the larger cities of California in regard to the prohibition question?

Mr. MCDOWELL. In the state-wide fight last year the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce went on record as opposed to prohibition, and it has been their policy to make recommendations on the various constitutional amendments submitted. They voted in that state last year on 52, and they singled out those which they endorsed and those they recommended to be voted No. Prohibition was one which they recommended be voted No. I will say, in short, that 137 Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, manufacturers' organizations and taxpayers' organizations went on record in that state against prohibition. I will say that it required the vote of the entire membership of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, because the Executive Committee, which was submitting this question, rather leaned to prohibition; but when they voted, the vote was 1,187 against prohibition and 126 in favor of prohibition.

A VOICE. That was in San Francisco?

Mr. MCDOWELL. That was in San Francisco, and the Executive Committee carried out the wishes of the membership as expressed in that vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

A MEMBER. Might I ask Mr. McDowell if, in his judgment, the strict regulation of the saloon in California and the enforcement of the law and the elimination of the so-called bad saloons has had any effect in stemming the tide?

Mr. MCDOWELL. Not a particle, gentlemen. Los Angeles shows that. They have approximately half a million population with two hundred saloons, and I will say to you that they are regulated. They are open, people can pass along the street and see what is going on; they are in a restricted district, and if the saloons were out of commission in San Francisco and in Los Angeles, I predict that the state-wide prohibition fight would go on with just as much vigor as ever. The people in San Francisco want saloons; the people in San Francisco want the number of saloons that they have at the present time. Conditions are changing; conditions are getting better, they are growing better all the time. They are not granting any additional licenses, and they are doing anything they can to clear up the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions? If not, I suggest we hear next from a member of the staff of the United States Brewers' Association who has been on the ground in a very interesting fight that has just been made in Minneapolis. I am sure you will be interested to hear from Mr. McDermott on that subject.

Mr. FOX. I notice it is a little hard for some of the gentlemen to hear the speaker when he has his back turned towards them. Wouldn't it be a good idea for the speakers to come up here and face the members?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. As you know the county option law was passed in the State of Minnesota last spring. I am not going into the history of that as Mr. Zollman, the secretary of the State Brewers' Association, or Mr. Fitger, is more familiar with that than I am.

Under that law fifty-three counties had had prohibition fights up to the time of the fight in Hennepin County, and forty-four of those had gone dry and nine had gone wet.

I was called in by the brewers of the State of Minnesota and the City of Minneapolis in an advisory capacity, in the month of June, at which time there was a petition in circulation for a county option election in Hennepin County. Being my old home state and home city, I knew something about the conditions and, from the experience I had gathered in the work, was able to render them some assistance in an advisory capacity.

In going through and going over the situation we found out that the Anti-Saloon League and the Prohibitionists had selected Minneapolis and Hennepin County for a county option election, believing firmly that with the sentiment for prohibition that had started in the state, they would be able to carry Hennepin County. This was the largest city and county election that had ever been called under the county option law.

The trouble was in getting the business men of the city organized and getting things started. We discussed the matter and I laid before them the suggestion that the City Attorney of the largest dry city in the United States, which is the City of Memphis, Hon. C. M. Bryan, be asked to make a trip up there. Mr. Bryan went up there and was the guest. I will not say of the brewers of the state, but as well of the wholesalers and retailers, all of whom were back of the Minneapolis fight, and Mr. Bryan went before 250 of the leading business men of the City of Minneapolis. After his statement of the conditions in the largest prohibition city in the United States, a business man's organization was formed and the campaign was conducted under the auspices of a state senator and a campaign manager who was assisted by trained men who had worked in Ohio, Michigan and other states and who had done very effective work.

A campaign was laid out in which precinct organization was gone into and there were provided county and precinct captains, ward managers, and so on down the line. There was a manager for every township in the country.

There was a large number of speakers brought in to take part in the campaign among whom were such men as Royal E. Cabell, of Richmond, formerly Internal Revenue Collector under President Taft; a man who has a national reputation and who made an excellent impression. Ten days later we had Hon. Jacob E. Meeker, of St. Louis, and Hon. Edgar F. Hanson, for nine years Mayor of Belfast, Maine, four years State Senator, and editor of a paper. Both of these gentlemen were very effective, Mr. Hanson particularly, because of his experience in Maine. A large mass meeting was addressed by Hon. Charles A. Towne, a prominent attorney of New York and formerly United States Senator from Montana. In addition, there was organized a speakers' bureau, with twenty-five high grade speakers gathered from other parts of the country, and there was one of the greatest speaking campaigns ever inaugurated in this work in the years I have been engaged in it. Men like Sheridan Ford and Mr. Cox and a number of local speakers, and so on down the line.

In addition, the labor interests formed a separate committee of their own, and while there was some slight division in the labor ranks on the question of socialism, they all worked together and carried on an independent campaign, contributing their own money and doing their own work; and it was very, very effective.

The business men of the city, 200 of them, lined up back of the Business Men's Educational League and in addition a number of the business interests of the city quietly and very effectively supported the movement.

The campaign was a very bitter one, the Prohibitionists leaving no stone unturned. Early in the campaign a meeting of the dry interests of the state

was held in Minneapolis and at that meeting it was stated that a dry M apolis meant a dry Minnesota. In other words, they staked the result in neapolis as the result in Minnesota; they made a state-wide fight out Our people willingly accepted the gauge of battle and the campaign was f out along those lines.

Of course the argument was used about Minneapolis being close to St. and that had some effect. Before the campaign was through there were stone orators out every noon and evening—they had sixty prohibition or on the streets after prayer meeting the Sunday evening preceding the el The Saturday evening preceding they had a parade of 12,000 men and w mostly Scandinavian Lutherans and Baptists. I want to say to you tha campaign was closely watched by the men in charge, by the Minneapoli Minnesota wholesalers and brewers. I had several men of my bureau t. When we went to the polls, if any one could have told me anything that be done in this kind of a campaign that was not done, as I said to th mittee, "We want to know what it is." Our organization was perfec had two polls of the city and county made and on Friday night before th paign ended we had a poll made and the estimate came out within one th of what the original estimate had been. Our campaign manager had S we would win by from ten thousand to 11,100, and we compromised an out at 9,626.

It was a great victory in this way that it showed clearly that the St Minnesota, on the state-wide prohibition question can be saved as a wet It gave us some encouragement in regard to North Dakota. It cleared th mosphere so far as Montana is concerned. It was also shown that in cities, with the proper work done and the proper financial backing, that e large city can be saved.

There was a great deal of dissatisfaction with saloon conditions. A g deal of the dry vote was because of objection to the character of the sa The total vote cast in Hennepin County was within a few hundred of 7 12,000 more than ever before cast in the history of the county, and whe polls were closed and victory won there was a great feeling of relief am the business men of Minneapolis, the working men and all interests. Glick, one of the committee, said to me that there seemed to have be shadow lifted from the city. I never saw the tension so great, so severe it was in Minneapolis for two weeks before that election. It was the subject of conversation, and I think one of the reasons we won was becaus the fact that we accepted the gauge of battle when the Anti-Saloon League the Prohibitionists made it a prohibition election and not a license election made them realize that if Minneapolis went dry the State of Minnesota w go dry.

Now, if there are any other questions with reference to this campaign would like to know about, I would be glad to answer them. I was there on off for practically a month.

(At this point Mr. Fitger requested the speaker to relate the circumst as to Father Cleary. Mr. McDermott's response could not be heard distin by the reporter and therefore the latter has not attempted to transcribe fragmentary notes he was able to make.)

Mr. ORR. How effective were the speakers?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Very. I wanted to dwell a little on that speakers' pr sition.

Gentlemen, there is a subject I want to bring up before this Interstate C ference Committee; and that is this: For a number of years we have be discussing in this work the organization of a practical speakers' bureau. T reason of that is this; our bureau is called on at different times to lend services in local option fights and state fights and we are called on at times furnish speakers. Now, to get an able speaker on this question, one wh posted, and to get him on short notice, we are at times forced to pay him larg fees than we otherwise would, if we had a permanently organized speake bureau. The result in Minneapolis, as has been the result in every state wh the fight has been close, has shown me and the committee in charge in tha state, that we should have a national speakers' bureau, and that national spea ers' bureau should be recruited from speakers from different states, posted this question, and who will keep up on the matter.

I have made some recommendations which I will submit to this meeting open up the question for discussion.

A speakers' bureau should be organized, under the direction of the Orga zation Bureau of the United States Brewers' Association, for use in campai

and speeches before civic and commercial bodies, labor bodies or in other places where speakers can be used or placed, when opportunity arises.

By that I mean this; there are different times when we are called upon to furnish a speaker in different parts of the country before some commercial body, some civic body, or some labor body.

The speakers should be listed in three classes:

Class A: Men of national reputation and standing.

By that I mean that we should have scattered in the different parts of the United States eight or ten high grade men of national reputation, such as Ex-Governor O'Neill of Alabama, Mr. Cabell of Virginia and Senator Towne of New York. They are men who would speak on this question if they were given an annual retainer.

Class B: Men of standing in state circles.

Class C: Our regular speakers who will be available for local and state-wide campaigns.

To secure the services of these speakers it will be necessary to pay an annual retainer running from five hundred to one thousand dollars. The reason for this is that they would then feel that they were a part of the organization work. Publicity matter and matters affecting organization in the different states could be done by them cheaply and effectively, and they would keep posted on the progress of the movement, and also keep us posted from all parts of the United States.

The intention would be to pick out for this bureau from seventy-five to one hundred speakers. The great majority of those could be retained on a $500 basis, so we could estimate that one hundred high grade speakers could be called on at any time, at a cost to the bureau of not more than $60,000 per year. which would be offset by the fact that in making speeches the price per day, as agreed upon for salary, or for the speech, would be charged against the annual fee paid as a retainer, until such time as they had reached that limit, when they would be paid so much per speech, as each individual agreement would call for.

A capable man should be selected as an instructor of speakers.

When I say that I mean to do as we did in the Minneapolis campaign. When we started there I suggested that Mr. Homer Durand of Ohio, who is a very capable speaker, be called up there for a week and to meet the speakers, which was done They had debates in the evening, heckling questions were asked, and the result was that we had a very effective crowd of men out on the stump in Minneapolis. So I say:

A capable man should be selected as an instructor of speakers, not as a manager of the bureau, as this we wish directed and managed from our central office in New York. These speakers should be carefully selected for the work they have done and could do in the future, from all parts of the United States. We could then use the speakers nearest a campaign, when necessary, which would entail less traveling expenses and, if properly instructed, they could be just as effective.

In the campaign which has just closed in Minneapolis, very effective work was done by a regularly organized speakers' bureau, headed by big mass meetings that were addressed by Hon. C. M. Bryan, of Memphis; Hon. Royal E. Cabell, of Richmond; Hon. Jacob E. Meeker of St. Louis; Hon. Edgar F. Hanson, of Belfast, Maine; and Hon. Charles A. Towne of New York.

In view of the fact that next year we will be confronted with a number of state-wide elections, and in view of the fact also that a number of men in these states and other places where elections will be held would feel like becoming interested in the work, if they could feel that they were a permanent part of it, we feel that such a bureau is imperative, and that the time has come for the formation of a national speakers' bureau along these lines, or something better, if it can be worked out, and this bureau should be financed by our Association.

I make these suggestions to open the matter up for discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member wish to ask Mr. McDermott any further questions? If not, I think it is in order to give consideration to the proposition which he has laid before you. What is is your pleasure?

Mr. ZOLLMAN. I don't know that I want to say anything in addition in regard to Minnesota.

Following the passage of the county option bill in that state, there were 56 elections called up to and including that of Hennepin County. Of course the Anti-Saloon League selected the best territory for itself. Out of the 56

elections, 44 counties had gone dry and 12 had gone wet, leaving 30 counties in which no elections have as yet been held.

You gentlemen will have to pardon me, I have a bad cold and speak somewhat under difficulties. I do want to say something bearing upon the question which Mr. McDermott has raised. As I say, out of 86 counties elections have been held in 56, with 44 going dry and 12 going wet. The total vote cast in these elections was 245,000, of which the drys have a margin of 10,000. That of course is of no particular significance because we figure that the 30 remaining counties in the state are wet and we probably will not lose any of them unless it is by a fluke. Ramsey County, in which is located St. Paul, gave the Governor a majority of approximately 12,000 at the last election, when the issue of wet and dry was probably as nearly drawn in that county as it could be drawn without being a direct issue. So that the votes so far had and indicating victories and defeats in the wet and dry movements, show that Minnesota at least is safe on the prohibition question, if it is submitted to the vote of the people.

The question that we are liable to be confronted with is statutory prohibition, and that is a dangerous proposition. We believe, however, that an effort will be made to either pass statutory prohibition or submit it in a constitutional form. If submitted in a constitutional form we believe, as I said before, that we can take care of it.

Now, in regard to the causes that led up to this present proposition or up to the present conditions, I simply have this to say and this suggestion to make. Several years ago we were of the opinion that perhaps things were going better in that state, and they have not been growing better—I believe as a matter of fact they have grown worse; that is, the prohibition sentiment in that state I believe is stronger today than it was four or five years ago. Newspapers which were inclined to be neutral or at least seemed neutral four or five years ago, have gone over into the prohibition column; notably the Minneapolis Journal and perhaps some of the others. Our own papers in the city of St. Paul, from which we received some consideration a few years ago, are disinclined to give us any consideration, although they have not come out in the open in favor of either statutory or state-wide prohibition. That gives you a bird's eye view of the situation in Minnesota.

The prohibition question there has been augmented or increased by the attitude of a great many people against the saloons. "The American Saloon must go," is not only the slogan of the Anti-Saloon League but of a great many people who patronize saloons.

The situation in Minneapolis is peculiar, by reason of the conditions Mr. McDermott has stated. A great many people in Minneapolis who visited saloons and who are not dry in principle, voted dry, as I am reliably informed and believe. I know a week before the election I met a man in St. Paul who is a resident of Minneapolis and whom I know very well. I met others prior to that. I talked with them and they said they were going to vote dry. I asked them their reasons, and they said, "Well, the saloon is too strong a proposition, it caters too much to the boys and to the girls, and we believe we can get along without it. We can get all we want any way in our own homes." That is a dangerous sentiment, very dangerous, and it is something that must be met. The saloon condition in this country must be met in some way and some shape, and I submit that is one of the propositions to be considered. I have no suggestion to make at this time, but something must be done along that line or the American saloon is doomed, without question, and there are a great many people who are willing to vote for prohibition and to have prohibition come in order that conditions may be changed. In other words, they are willing to take regulatory measures and corrective measures, but they want to wipe it out first and then let the regulation and correction come afterwards.

Now, in regard to what Mr. McDermott has said as to the organization of a speaker's bureau, I want to say I heartily commend it and I want to impress it upon you and upon the Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association. It seems to me to be a practical question and a question that ought to be handled as Mr. McDermott has suggested. A speaker's bureau ought to be organized and maintained under the auspices of the United States Brewers' Association.

When we went into this county option campaign in Minnesota we were without speakers, except one or two that we had in the state. The result was we had to reach out into the different States and pick these men; not only to pick

the speakers but to pick an organization to put into the different counties, and you can readily see what that meant when we had 56 county elections. We did not have in the City of St. Paul, in our office, force enough to organize the respective counties, to thoroughly canvass them and to put speakers and educational matter into them; so we built it up in that way by going into the different states and selecting these men.

In some instances perhaps men were used who might not have been the best men in the different sections of the state, but we could not help that, and there was a remarkable showing made, as it was. The mistakes that we made were few in number; but if such an organization is conducted under the auspices of the United States Brewers' Association it will be more effective along all lines, and it should be under the auspices of the United States Brewers' Association; and I want to add to the suggestion that Mr. McDermott has made, this further one: No organization can be maintained and effectively conducted under present conditions in the United States with Mr. McDermott and two or three men at his disposal; that is absolutely out of the question. The organization bureau of the United States Brewers' Association should consist of from ten to fifteen men, so that when the different fights come up in different sections of the country, competent men can be put in there at least to supervise and superintend these different county and state fights where the elections are being held. The state-wide work and the county work has been new and is new to a great many people; so that while the organization should be under local auspices and under local management, let some one who is familiar with the general outline of the work of precinct organization and organization of counties, be put into those fights and he will be of a great deal of assistance to the local organizations.

I suggest that there not only be a speakers' bureau organized and maintained under the auspices of the United States Brewers' Association but that the organization bureau ought to be increased to at least ten or fifteen men, in order to be made effective. It is folly to think that two or three men can take care of the conditions in this country, from the north to the south, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is absolutely impossible and it seems to me to be a short sighted policy to expect it, and I believe that the money which has been used for other purposes can very well and better be utilized for the purpose of maintaining an effective organization bureau and an effective speakers' bureau. [Applause.]

Mr. BECKER. In order to bring this matter properly before this body, I move that Mr. McDermott's recommendation be referred to the Board of Trustees.

Mr. FOX. Mr. Chairman, wouldn't it be a good thing for this body to instruct the Chairman to appoint a committee on resolutions, to which any matters of this kind can be referred? The Committee on Resolutions can then formulate these suggestions into a recommendation.

Mr. BECKER. I will put my motion in that order.

Mr. FITGER. I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. Of how many members?

Mr. BECKER. Five members.

(The motion was put to a vote and unanimously carried.)

Mr. FOX. I have two communications here, Mr. Chairman. One is from Mr. Hansel, the President of the Independent Brewing Company of Pittsburgh in which he says that he regrets very much that it will not be possible for him to attend this meeting.

Here is a wire which has just come to Mr. Gardiner which informs him that "Pensacola wet, city 900, county about 500." That means that the city of Pensacola, Florida, has gone wet by 900 and the county by 500, in a very important fight. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member wish to ask any questions of Mr. McDermott on this subject?

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to ask Mr. McDermott in regard to the speaking in Minneapolis, as to what the particular line of argument was, whether mostly on economics or personal liberty?

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I want to say, Mr. Doyle, that it covered all phases. The labor men covered the economic side of the question, as to labor being thrown out of employment. Different speakers handled the different questions, the question of law enforcement, prohibition not being a success, the question of personal liberty, the question of the saloon being the poor man's club, and some speakers were more effective on one subject than on another. Some speakers covered particular phases of the different questions.

I will give you a little incident which occurred at the Six O'Clock Club in City of Minneapolis, composed of 150 of the leading citizens. They asked joint committee in charge for a wet speaker and asked the dry committee a dry speaker. I discussed the matter with the committee, and we selected account of the class of men of which the membership of the club was comp all high grade professional men, Mr. Sheridan Ford, of Detroit, to represent wets. Mr. Ford is a very high grade speaker, clean cut and well edu and informed upon the subject. When he got there he was confronted by Governor John Linde. Mr. Linde in his remarks stated that the campaign Minneapolis was a campaign of saloon keepers and was practically finance the saloon keepers of St. Paul. Mr. Ford, knowing entirely different and ing that the campaign was being managed and conducted by the Bus Men's Educational League, challenged Mr. Linde on that subject. He as the Ex-Governor to apologize for his remarks and cleaned him up on the ment so much so that Mr. Linde came to him afterwards and said, "I w like to discuss this matter with you, I am not a prohibitionist but I am opp to the saloon and saloon conditions.

That showed right there. The result was there were 20 men at that di high grade men, who were convinced that we were right in our analysis of situation; and the result was very gratifying. It merely shows you what be done when these situations arise if we are prepared to meet them and get the speakers. When a man is strong on one subject he should be sele to speak on that subject. You want to know your man and to know that he qualified to speak on that subject.

Mr. DOYLE. From the remarks made by Mr. McDowell as to the propos in Los Angeles and San Francisco, were there any attempts made by the li interest in Minneapolis to clean up on the conditions prior to this elect There was a good deal of suggestion on that line in Chicago.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. I would rather have Mr. Fitger or Mr. Zollman, who k more about the conditions so far as the licensed traffic in Minneapolis is cerned, answer that question.

Mr. FITGER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in a general way we, in our t tory, believe that whenever a city is run on a wide open policy, and the t comes on for an election on the liquor question, that we generally lose out. fact that has been proven in Duluth and Superior, two cities opposite one other, several times, that whenever the city is run loose the opposition will w it on the issue that they have before them, that whenever the city is run t that we have a better chance to win.

Now, the fight in Minneapolis sets that at naught, for the City of Minnea was run rather loose. In fact, they were not at all as strict as they were in St Paul and in Duluth in enforcing the law.

While I am on my feet I would like to speak of another aspect in regard the necessity of having speakers go throughout the country to argue in our fav that necessity exists not only at a time when there is an election on but through the year. We have in Minnesota such men as Ex-Governor Linde, was President Wilson's Ambassador to Mexico on this peculiar situation. S men are out among the people all the time, and when they get a chance t talk for prohibition. We haven't one man in the State of Minnesota, not prominent man who makes it his business to go out and talk in our favor. I believe if we have such men as Mr. Ford and people of that character who come to Duluth and be introduced and go among the people, not perhaps by or by any other man connected with the brewing industry but if he could introduced to half a dozen or a dozen men in the town, he could argue aga prohibition at a time when these people are not in a frenzy.

Mr. ZOLLMAN. I want to correct Mr. Fitger to this extent in regard to conditions in Minneapolis. The result in Minneapolis was in conflict with proposition which he made that non-enforcement of the law made for a w election. That is true. Conditions in Minneapolis were not good. I do wish to say that the law was being violated so much in the sale of liquor minors or drunkenness; but the closing hours were flagrantly violated. And the clubs, and the conditions outside of the clubs, the saloons were open un half past twelve or one o'clock at night in a number of instances, particularly those places that were supposed to be of the highest grade of respectability I made several trips through them myself. These places were open until half past twelve or one o'clock, in violation of the state law. While St. Paul and Ramsey County are for liquor, these are conditions which were not permitted in that city nor would they have been permitted in Duluth for a moment.

Yet in the face of that Minneapolis went wet; but I do not want any one here to assume that that condition is going to repeat itself. I think that Minneapolis went wet in spite of law violations, because it was made a prohibition question and not a county option question. The Anti-Saloon League started out with the proposition of county option, and that was met by our forces with the statement, "This is not county option; the county option bill has passed and has become a law, and it is a question of prohibition, and it has come down to the question where it is not only prohibition so far as the saloons are concerned, but so far as manufacture is concerned, and it has come to a point where it means individual prohibition for you." And, as I say, notwithstanding these conditions, Minneapolis went wet.

The matter was discussed a number of times in our Executive meetings prior to the time of election in Minneapolis. Very little could be done at that time, because we were too close to it and any attempt to make a correction would have been too patent and too open. We insisted, nevertheless, that something should be done, but very little was done in that respect. The local authorities of Minneapolis, good men, were a little too liberal and permitted too wide a latitude, and from that came a great many complaints. For instance, we went into two of the places where cabarets were being conducted, open until very late. I heard afterwards complaints about these very places. I talked with men who sat there and who drank but who said they were going to vote dry. They said there was too much of that thing and too many girls were permitted in there. You can readily see how that thing makes and for what it makes; it makes dry voters of a great many people who ought to be wet, and it was simply because Minneapolis realized that situation in connection with St. Paul, realizing what it meant to the City of Minneapolis if it did go dry that, in my judgment, saved the day, because there was a strong feeling against the saloons as they were conducted in the city of Minneapolis.

I believe, as a general proposition, and agree with Mr. Fitger, that a restricted policy—I do not mean by a restricted policy one that is narrow; but I say a restricted policy within the limitations of the law, makes for a better result when you are confronted with an election. (Applause).

The CHAIRMAN. Before we proceed with the discussion I would like to announce the names of the gentlemen whom I desire to appoint as a Committee on Resolutions. They are as follows: G. L. Becker, Chairman, of Ogden; T. C. Haffenreffer, of Boston; A. J. Doyle, of Chicago; William Hirsh, of New York; Oscar Schmidt, of Milwaukee.

Mr. FOX. Perhaps Mr. Wiedemann can tell us something of the conditions in Kentucky.

Mr. WIEDEMANN. While I am a member of the Executive Committee in that state, which consists of representatives from the brewing and distilling industries, I think that Mr. Reichert, the Secretary of the Kentucky Brewers' Association, could outline it better than I can and give you more of the details of the way in which the work has been conducted, and I would therefore ask you to call on Mr. Reichert, our Secretary.

Mr. REICHERT. In 1914, after the General Assembly of Kentucky had passed what was called the complete county unit bill, there was nothing else then to do other than to try to give us statewide prohibition.

There was formed in June, 1914, in Louisville, what is known as the Joint Committee, composed of three members of the Kentucky Brewers' Association and three members of the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association. Mr. Wiedemann, Mr. Fehr and are the members of that association or organization representing the Kentucky Brewers' Association. That committee was formed in June, 1914, and I suppose you might measure the value of its work by what has resulted.

We had a primary on August 7, 1915; that is, a state primary, and all the organizations participated. There are only two dominant parties in Kentucky, that is Republican and Democratic, and they each had candidates. On the Democratic ticket there were four candidates; Mr. Stanley against statewide, and Mr. McDermott, and Mr. Bosworth against it and we had Mr. McChesney for it. Mr. Bosworth withdrew I think about a week before the election. Mr. Stanley was nominated over the others.

I won't detain you but a moment with these figures. There was a total vote cast in that state of 284,000, both Democratic and Republican, and Mr. Stanley received 107,500, against state-wide. Mr. McDermott got 25,000 and Mr. Bosworth 3,000. The total voste cast against state-wide prohibition by the Demo-

cratic Party in Kentucky was 137,000. Mr. Stanley carried every Congressional District in the State of Kentucky—there are eleven, and he carried them all. That makes, out of our eleven congressmen, if they follow the mandates of the Democratic Party, it seems to me, when they vote in what you call the House of Representatives this fall, they would very likely vote against a constitutional amendment.

We nominated sixty legislators out of one hundred; twenty-four and it may be twenty-eight senators out of thirty-eight; all pledged against state-wide prohibition. In Kentucky it looks as though they do not want state-wide prohibition. It practically has prohibition now with the exception of the bigger cities. I might say that out of 120 counties we have ten partly wet, some are all wet, but of that number there was a chance of some of those going dry. They have a scheme there of instead of giving you state-wide prohibition, they vote you dry by county unit.

I think certainly that Mr. Stanley will win by not less than 50,000 majority His majority against McChesney was 37,000. McCreary, the present Governor, was elected by 31,000. Conditions now aren't quite as good as then, but Mr. Stanley is a man who catches the country people. I think, and I believe you all agree, that Stanley ranks in Kentucky at the present moment the same as did Bryan twelve or fifteen years ago with the national democratic party. It seems to me that irrespective of creed or color they will go for Stanley and the question is what will the General Assembly do after he is elected, when they meet in January.

We are afraid of statutory prohibition. They can enact that, although the people may oppose it, and then they will do like they did in the State of Alabama. There are so many counties in the State of Kentucky which are dry: there are 110 counties dry out of 120. We have 100 representatives and 38 senators, yet there are 60 of the 100 opposed to state-wide prohibition and 24 to 28 senators who say that they are, but whether they will deliver or not, that is problematical. I think they will.

In regard to the matter of funds, I happen to be in a position where they are constantly asking for funds every day, and to do what they did had to have them, because it required organization and the money to pay for it, and a good deal of it. I suppose that if you wanted Stanley to win by an overwhelming majority, if you wanted to point particularly to the State as repudiating state-wide prohibition, that you could make his election a certainty and roll up a majority to which you could point with pride.

Mr. FITGER. Won't he veto the bill?

Mr. REICHERT. There is no veto to a constitutional amendment.

Mr. FITGER. But if the Legislature gives you statutory prohibition?

Mr. REICHERT. Yes; he would veto it. There is only one thing you want, and it, the way I see it there, is to make it as decisive as possible, because some of the press of the country has said that Stanley might not veto statutory prohibition. They want the manufacture of the stuff but they do not want it consumed in that vicinity. They have an idea that Kentucky whiskeys are famous and they think there is no use of killing the goose that laid the golden egg. They can get it when they want it in the bottle and they do not want the saloon. In the larger cities there is not that objection.

We find this, that organization does the work every time. Speakers' bureaux are good, they are very effective. I believe with the Joint Committee that that is what did the work in Kentucky. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I do not like to discourage the asking of questions, but as time is passing and several committee meetings will be held this afternoon, and a great many of the representatives in this conference have not been heard from, I will suggest that we confine ourselves as much as possible to hearing the reports of the various gentlemen representing the different sections of the country.

I will ask Mr. Nagel of Buffalo to tell us something of the recent clean-up in that territory. I am sure you will be interested in hearing it.

Mr. NAGEL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen; I do not know that I can add very much to what I have already heard. The gentlemen who have spoken before me have sized up the situation. As you possibly have all heard and a great many know, we have had in Buffalo a very good local organization for twenty years. We started in twelve years ago on this clean-up proposition. At that time it was initiated by the newly elected mayor of the city, who had formerly been a wholesale drygoods dealer, and when he was elected we all felt we were

in for strict regulation. To our surprise he sent to the organization and had a conference with them and said he was going to be liberal as to the enforcement of retail laws, as to the technicalities, but he did insist upon the saloons being cleaned up; that the disorderly places that he knew of and that we knew of, had to be closed. We then suggested that his police department get up a list of such places as he thought were undesirable. Such a list was prepared. After the conference 92 places were selected to be closed up, and upon a certain date, which was the first of March, all the places were closed up, the brewers all refusing to deliver beer, the licenses were removed and the city authorities put policemen in front of the doors to prevent any further traffic. During the administration of Mayor Adams, which was eight years, that condition prevailed, and we had very little trouble with civic organizations, in fact so much so that I think our section is almost free from all local option territory.

Following his administration a liberal man was elected to be the mayor of the City of Buffalo, and immediately these people who had not got into our places began to realize that the strict surveillance of these places was going to be removed, and last year we woke up, after five of liberal administration, with about as many bad places as we had eight years before. Then we also noticed that these civic organizations sprang up, the newspapers commenced pounding the traffic and there were various other ear-marks which we saw were to our disadvantage. We attempted to prevail upon the authorities to stop this condition, but were met with the suggestion that these poor people had to live, and they weren't going to stop them.

After considering the subject for some time, the Buffalo Brewers' Exchange decided, in June of this year, to clean up these places themselves, regardless of the local administration; and I was appointed as a committee of one, with full power to retain detectives to make investigations and to obtain legal services to go into court and to make arrangements with bonding companies, in order to clean up the traffic in Buffalo, without depending upon the local authorities. We made this investigation and we found some sixty places; and from the reports that I received, although I thought I was well posted in regard to the traffic in Buffalo, I was simply amazed at the deplorable immorality and almost unmentionable conditions that were found in those sixty places. We succeeded in closing up those places; they were closed up on the 1st of October and they are closed up still. There is one little incident that happened in connection with it, to illustrate the temperament of the people in regard to these disorderly places, of which I might tell you.

While we were making these investigations and before the public knew we were doing it, one fellow took a young girl into one of these joints and, as the evidence showed, bought three or four cocktails for her; she became hysterical and went into a comatose condition. An ambulance was sent for and the police stopped the ambulance to see what the trouble was, and the next day the press came out with scare headlines that a school girl attending high school had been found in one of these joints, that she had been drugged, was there for an immoral purpose, and the leading papers took up the issue and immediately we had an anti-vice crusade. The papers have been filled with it, and while that necessarily always hurts traffic when matters of that kind are brought to such prominence, we were fortunate in having started our campaign, and we convinced the press that we had started long before this incident happened, and even a number of civic organizations have complimented us and have stated to the press that the brewers are to be given as much credit for the closing up of these dives as those in authority, if not more. In fact, the press is after the local authorities and not after the brewers, for having allowed them to exist when they could have closed them up. Their entire arguments are against the local authorities.

I am thoroughly convinced from my twenty years experience in this kind of work, particularly in the State of New York, that unless the brewing industry of the United States makes efforts to clean up the conditions in the saloons, the saloon is going, as an institution.

Now, when I say clean up, and I have heard this talked in conventions for twenty years, exhorting everybody to clean up, and everybody has received applause when he has made a speech along that line, but is very much like the other kind of exhorter, he exhorts them and they become believers in the Lord, but he gets a very small percentage of them. They are all for cleaning up when they are in conventions, they are all for cleaning up when they hear somebody else talk, but when they get home and the collector brings in his re-

ports and there are a few barrels of beer less sold than the week before, then it does not make so much difference whether the place is clean or not, and if he happens to have a lease on his hands that may cost him a hundred or two hundred dollars a month; he don't care whether that place is run orderly or not, as long as he doesn't have to lose that rent.

Now, that has been the condition in my neighborhood, among my own colleagues, and it is the condition generally over the United States—there are some exceptions of course, but in a great many cases we find that to be the rule, and it is for that reason, after we had tried for five or six years by this same kind of talk at almost every one of our meetings, trying to prevail upon our members to clean up voluntarily, each one taking his own initiative, was the best way to do, having in mind by that method it might reduce the possibility of loss; but it was useless, even in the City of Buffalo. We did not succeed as long as we left it to the individual man and it was only when every brewer in the City of Buffalo signified his willingness to stand up to the rack and pay the expense and have it done legally and with force, then only did we succeed. And as a part of this recommendation of this conference committee I suggest, if you are ever going to accomplish anything in that direction, that some such method be worked out in every city, and that the organization ought to try to prevail upon the organizations in all localities to do this work themselves and not depend on outsiders to do it for them; that every brewer should be induced to go ahead and clean up regardless of expense, regardless of consequences, because if you do not the people on the outside will do it for you.

I find no prohibition sentiment; it is an anti-saloon sentiment, and when you consider the saloons and look at your own places yourselves, you will admit that they are justified in their criticism of fully one-half of the saloons in this country, and I make no exception as to territory. There are some states where the regulation has been very limited, and some where it has been severer than in others. Particularly in the east, where I am very familiar, we find many bad places. To illustrate, I was told when we started in on this campaign that if we insisted upon having these places closed up and an officer placed on guard, that they would be severe on various other violations; that they would be very particular about closing up at certain hours, no Sunday traffic, and screens. This is all in accordance with the law and ought to be done any way, but it is not done. Now, we found when we got into it, that while the local authorities threatened these things they never carried them out. They are just as liberal as far as technical violations of the law are concerned, now as they were before. It was only intended to try to stop us from going ahead and doing these things, and from my experience in the capacity of the committee in this matter, not only at this time but at previous times, I have noticed this remarkable fact that the keepers of these dives happen to be the friends of politicians. The politicians seem to rely upon them for certain classes of work. The politician will get rid of him if you give him a way to do it, but he does not want to take the initiative. I have had men of the highest standing, both in the legal profession and in the medical profession and business men, come to me and try to get me to pass over one or two or three of these fellows. I have a list of them in my possession, in my office, showing the character of men that these dive keepers can appeal to, and these men will come to the front for them. So, it is not to be wondered at that the man who is looking for political recognition, when men of that kind come up to him and ask for favors, that he gives way, but as a business proposition as business men, we are looking for the favor of the public at large, and you will get the favor of the public at large by standing up and having these things accomplished.

I also found in my investigations that while we were adopting resolutions against these places for years and had, in many instances, notified the authorities that we wanted certain things done, some of our own members would go to these very same authorities, after the meeting was over, and suggest that the resolutions should not be carried into effect. Now, it is that kind of practice that when a man is arrested for a violation of the law that you gentlemen go up, or some of your assistants, or your attorneys or outside men, go up to some judge or district attorney and protect him from prosecution. It is that kind of practice which is dangerous. It is that kind of stuff that gives this traffic the reputation it has got.

Mr. FITGER. How much force did you have; how many detectives?

Mr. NAGEL. I had six men.

Mr. FITGER. What did you pay them?

Mr. NAGEL. That depends; all the way from $10 a day to $5 a day, depending upon their qualifications to do the work. We accumulated evidence with which we could go into court and convict, but instead of doing that—our licenses expire on the 30th of September—we notified everyone that he was on the list and that if he attempted to get his liquor tax certificate or attempted to open his place on October first we would prosecute him. We had him indicted before the Grand Jury; the district attorney cooperated with us and we arranged to have attorneys in court to explain our efforts in this direction and insist upon a penal sentence. They were notified to that effect and we had that in the newspapers.

Now, gentlemen, that is the whole thing. It can be solved if you are honest with yourselves. If you have got a disorderly place next to you the contamination is bound to come in your place; and I find that a certain percentage of the brewers do not care where the money comes from, and that has been the curse of this whole thing; this talking at conventions as it has been done for twenty years and as I have heard it in our local organizations for five years has no effect unless you bring about something radical, regardless of whom it hurts, without fear or favor. (Applause.)

Mr. SCHLISTING. Don't you find it is the local authorities who are at fault?

Mr. NAGEL. Absolutely

Mr. SCHLISTING. Don't you think this organization should go to work and make the regulations of saloons a state, if not a national matter; don't you think this Association should appoint a board or have a board to look after the selection of boards in the different states, making it a national proposition instead of depending upon the local organizations?

Mr. NAGEL. It is a big proposition, if it can be done.

Mr. SCHLICHTING. It can be done if we get at it right.

The CHAIRMAN. We are fortunate in having with us to-day the general counsel of the New York State Brewers' Association. I am sure you will be glad to hear from him in connection with Mr. Nagel's statement. Mr. Hirsh, may I call upon you?

Mr. HIRSCH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Board of Trustees and the Interstate Conference Committee:

In his remarks, brother Nagel, although I like to call him Nagel—I don't know just how he pronounces his name—has given you a correct account of the conditions; still, let us reason together.

I think there is much in what he has said about the neglect on the part of the people engaged in the liquor traffic, both wholesale and retail, throughout the United States, for the troubles we have drifted into and toward which we are traveling with still greater rapidity. There seems to be a feeling among men in the traffic that "when the devil was sick a devil a monk would be, but when the devil was well the devil a monk was he." With that thought in mind, I am going to say just a few words about preparedness, not for national defense but for the protection of what there remains of the brewing industry and the liquor traffic in the United States.

You will recall either from reading or perhaps from participation in the campaign that General Hancock, when he was running for President, said that the tariff was a local issue. When he announced that as a part of the campaign for Presidency he was immediately held up to ridicule and at the end of his campaign there were many of his own followers who attributed his defeat to the fact that he had taken hold of the wrong side of what was then and what has since been a very prominent issue in Presidential elections; but time has brought about a vindication of his judgment on the subject because while legislation on the tariff is carried on by a national body, if we observe the operations in Congress when a tariff bill is being considered, we will notice that each section of the country is looking after the interests of that portion of the country rather than the interests of the country at large, and that every time a tariff bill is in process of formation there is considerable log rolling with the object of getting as much advantage, as much concession and as much privilege for the section of the country that a particular senator or congressman represents, as is possible. Now, we can apply the same reasoning to the liquor question. It is not properly a national question. The United States Government has no police jurisdiction. It does not attempt to administer the criminal law or the police power of the states. Under our government, it belongs to the individual states, and if properly applied in the individual states we perhaps could prevent the issue arising which would make it the subject of national consideration.

In the opinion of those with whom I associate in the State of New York and who are the advisers of the industry in that state, we only have a national prohibition issue because conditions have been permitted to arise in the various states which make an issue against the saloon and not against the use of liquor as such.

If I may have just a few minutes for what I consider to be a situation in the State of New York, or if I may bring the consideration of the question down to its operation in the City of New York, we find in it three very important aspects: One is the moral aspect, the other is the legal aspect, and the third is the economic aspect. Combination of the three constitutes the backbone of the Anti-Saloon League movement which aims first at the obliteration of the traffic in every locality in towns, cities and counties, and even state-wide prohibition, until it realizes its ultimate aim, which is nation-wide prohibition.

We have always had with us folks who believe that the use of liquor in any quantity is a wrong and should be prevented. Among that class of people there is division on the question of whether or not that should be done by legislation or moral suasion; but whatever may be their position on those two aspects; on the moral question we could afford to consider that negligible, if there were not involved in that moral aspect the still graver consideration and more numerous following which we find behind the legal aspect. The legal aspect of the liquor question is the one which bolsters up the moral aspect and gives it the attention of the public. The men on the hustings or in the pulpit talking against the use of liquor would receive very scant attention if they did not have concrete illustrations to present and were not able to draw a picture which shows the full consequences of over-indulgence. Those illustrations come from the legal aspect, the violations of the law, sale of liquor to people intoxicated; distribution to minors; the sale of liquor of a kind which can not give the real conviviality which is promoted by the use of the lighter beverages; the continuance of the dives and brothels, containing your licenses and many of them tolerated by your public officials.

I can illustrate that by giving you the conditions in a county in New York. For many years the county was run wide open; the local officials were paying very little attention to the excise conditions. The state officials came in there in a perfunctory fashion and occasionally instituted a revocation proceeding and took away a license, but never attempted a conviction in the criminal courts. It seemed that the population was asleep or blind, but suddenly a very prominent political leader in the county got into trouble by murdering a man. That immediately focussed attention not only of the county but of the entire state upon that locality, and a committee of citizens was appointed to investigate the conditions in that county. One of the most important things that they hit upon was the flagrant violation of the liquor tax law. They set about procuring evidence. This evidence showed that in many instances the road houses and the hotels and the saloons were centers where men gathered and sent out and procured girls; that those girls were then used in a way that was considered or called a "good time." They also found that gambling was practiced in a great many of these places. They found that children were allowed to frequent these places, to obtain liquor which they consumed on the premises or which they carried off the premises.

Prosecutions were instituted and convictions were had, yet these places continued to run because the conviction of one man simply meant another would be substituted in his place. When we went to this committee and offered our cooperation they accepted it, but the results were such as to discount our representations because it was found that while they could obtain a revocation of a certificate a new certificate would be issued to the place for some other man and the conditions that prevailed before continued with only slight improvement.

Now, what does that mean? That in that county we are facing now local option fights in the various towns, and the publicity organization's representations as to the efficacy of the regulation and the law are all lost sight of. The population of those towns has only one thing in mind, and that is the obliteration of the objectionable places, and the Anti-Saloon League forces are drawing upon nothing else except the condition of those places for their campaign material. There is no fight on prohibition; the entire contention of the Anti-Saloon League is "Do we want these places to survive, or shall we vote out the objectionable saloon and you cannot get out the objectionable saloon unless you vote out all saloons."

Now, that is the experience that we have throughout the entire state. Wherever there is a strong feeling against the saloon, wherever there is the nucleus of a prohibition movement we can trace it to the abuses in the traffic itself. Two or three objectionable places in any community sets at naught any argument that you present for personal liberty, or the amount of revenue involved, or the efficacy of the regulation law. The people of that town are determined to get rid of what they call a blight upon the community and they say "We will wipe out all of these places in order to get rid of the few objectionable ones, and then perhaps we will get a fresh start; and only a small percentage of the vote in any local option election where that question is presented is intended to establish prohibition; it is intended as a rebuke for the abuses of the traffic.

Now, the only deduction that I wish to make before this body is this: that publicity, that the use of the correct material is a very efficient medium for combatting the prohibition movement. Organization is also a very effective factor in meeting our opponents. The establishment of a competent speakers' bureau is also a very handy weapon to have at hand, because of the conflict which is being carried on by the Anti-Saloon League will not permit us to commence preparation when they are upon our territory, but we should be prepared in advance, and the moment their forces move upon any state we should be able to meet them immediately with men and leaders who understand our side of the question and who are also posted on the methods and the strategy of the Anti-Saloon League; and it has been our experience in the State of New York that they cannot be improvised. It takes trained men to handle that kind of work. [Applause.]

Whether this is to be done by the National Association or by the state associations is a question which perhaps will bring about some discussion and possibly some differences of opinion; but there should be a competent speakers' bureau established, whether it is in the states or by the Federal body itself.

Now, to bring this, so far as we are concerned in the State of New York to a focus which interests us in the United States Brewers' Association's work, I would say this, that in the State of New York, as it must be the case in all the states of the Union, we realize the importance of making every proper and reasonable effort to check the growth of the Anti-Saloon League and the prohibition movement in the United States. As in a military campaign if the contending countries are in a position where a good section of the enemy has been vanquished they may release their forces from that part of the campaign and throw them with redoubled strength upon the remaining force who are to be overcome. So it is in our fight; when the Anti-Saloon League prevails in some western state or central state they withdraw a part of their force and turn them on the eastern states. So we look with a great deal of anxiety upon the effect of the growth of prohibition and of the Anti-Saloon League movement in various parts of the country.

While the National Association must always be on the alert to assist the various state associations in combating this movement, it is also the duty of each state to keep alive to the issue that are being crowded in the local option and prohibition campaigns and to keep the National Association posted on the details, because a careful study of local option and prohibition fights throughout the country has brought me to this very significant realization that the campaigns are carried on in a different way and by different means and by different persons with different methods in the various parts of the country, yes, even in the various parts of an individual state.

Now, if we keep our central body posted on what is going on in the various sections of each state we will be better able to meet these contentions when they turn up in other states.

But the pivot upon which depends an efficient opposition to prohibition and local option is a reforming of the traffic itself and that cannot be carried on by the United States Brewers' Association but must essentially be looked after by the state organizations and the sooner we come to a realization of that truth and of the importance of a thorough housecleaning in the various states themselves the sooner will we be on the right road to effectively and ultimately successfully overcome the socalled prohibition movement in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, I thank you for your time. [Applause.]

Mr. McDERMOTT. In the organization of the speakers' bureau we have considered the proposition of the differences of opinion which have come up in the discussion as between the state organization and the national organization. The speakers' bureau will be handled in this way. There will be prepared a list of the speakers and their salaries. In that list will be speakers

from a certain state—there will be a certain state like New York which will want speakers of a certain kind. When they call upon us for such speakers we will say "These speakers will cost you so much," and when the state is rich like New York is they could pay the speakers' bureau for the use of the speakers and that would help sustain it in the states which cannot take care of themselves and, at the same time, give them the benefit of the speakers' bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. I should like to next call upon Mr. Davis of Washington to tell us what the conditions are there. He comes from a state which has been unfortunate.

Mr. DAVIS. At the last meeting of this committee in New York I made a very complete report and as this is the same committee as was there at that time, I do not think it is necessary to take up your time by going over that. The condition up there is one which naturally follows a statewide fight, the matter has been taken up in court and probably there will be a decision rendered within the next ninety days or at least before the first of the year. Until that decision is rendered matters are practically at a standstill as to what procedure will be had after the first of the year.

On the first of January, the state becomes dry, so far as the manufacture is concerned, and so far as the saloon is concerned. The bill, however, provides that persons can get practically all the liquor they want by getting it from outside of the state. The bill particularly was a bill which discriminated against the breweries in the state, put them out of business, but permitted beer manufactured outside of the state to be brought into the state.

I have listened with a great deal of interest to the remarks that have been made here, and it seems to me that all have been interesting and very instructive. It seems to me at this time from the conditions confronting the brewing interests that there should be a speakers' bureau organized and organized on the lines that have been suggested, that the working force should also be increased to such an extent that they can get in touch with the entire country. As it is now, it is very hard for them, practically impossible for them to cover the different states and to know what is going on and be in touch with them. It seems to me that this advisory committee should make a strong representation to the Board of Trustees urging them to take on these two propositions.

While, I think it is true that a little victory once in a while gives a great deal of encourgement, yet if we stop to thoroughly analyse conditions in the last two years we have had but very few victories. So far as the State of California is concerned if that state had gone dry in the last fight it would have entirely destroyed any idea that we could have carried the State of Washington or carried any other western state. I take it that the fight that is coming on in California will be of as much interest in the States of Washington and Oregon as in California. The fact that the State of California is wet is a strong incentive to the people of Washington to vote wet the next election.

So far as the State of Washington is concerned, the population that is there comes from the Middle West, that is already dry, or nearly dry, and while we have considerable population yet so far as the coast is concerned a great deal of it is not permanent. The City of Seattle has a population of 350,000. They have women voting in that state and at our last election it was carried wet by 15,000; yet the majority in other localities was sufficient to overcome it.

The conditions that have followed the adoption of prohibition in the State of Washington have been exactly as were prophecied by the wet forces. Real estate has dropped practically fifty per cent. Business in all lines has dropped off. While the State of Washington increased 120 per cent in population in the last ten years, it is safe to say it will not increase more than 15 per cent in the next ten years. I think the object lesson in the State of Washington will be such that at the next election the people will recognize the true conditions brought about by prohibition in the state and will probably adopt some measure which will do away with prohibition. [Applause.]

Mr. BECKER. In as much as the committee you have appointed doubtless has to report again to this body, I would suggest making a motion that we adjourn until two o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, you have heard the motion. What is your pleasure?

(The motion was seconded).

Mr. FOX. Before you adjourn I have about five lines here from the Secretary of the Connecticut brewers.

(Here take in the communication referred to by Mr. Fox).

Mr. OSCAR SCHMIDT. I would like to say on this motion that this body has been created for the purpose of consultation and agreement and we want to hear from every representative from every state, and I wish to suggest that if it is necessary to prolong this meeting we can meet again at two o'clock, and if there are some members who, unfortunately, have had to be at other meetings that should not be allowed to interfere with our work; it would not do to adjourn this meeting now. We must meet again and have a full discussion from every state, and the committee will make a report, make its findings and come again before this body for approval. Therefore, it is necessary that we should meet again at two o'clock all those who are not otherwise engaged.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand Mr. Becker's motion to be that we adjourn until two o'clock.

(The motion, having been seconded, was carried.)

AFTER RECESS.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Koehler.

The CHAIRMAN. In the absence of Mr. Fox, the Secretary, I have asked Mr. Zollman to take the secretaryship, which he has very kindly agreed to do. If there is no objection I will consider Mr. Zellman's appointment confirmed by the body.

I think it is in order now to continue our discussion, the discussion that we began this morning, and I think we would all probably like to hear from Mr. Schlisting of South Dakota, if he is present. If he is not present, I will call on Mr. Rickel of Michigan.

Mr. RICKEL. Mr. Chairman and Mr. Secretary and gentlemen: In the State of Michigan the activities have been devoted largely to an organization of the brewing interest. Three and a half years ago a division occurred between the brewers in Detroit City and those in the rest of the state and they separated from what was then designated as the Michigan State Brewers' Association. That disorganization created a very bad condition in Michigan in more ways than one and it was rapidly going from bad to worse until it seemed almost hopeless to ever get them back again. However, efforts were put forth and after personal efforts on my part over a period of six months we have finally succeeded in getting the so-called country brewers and the Detroit brewers together again in a new Michigan Brewers' Association. We are now perfecting that organization from a legal standpoint and are building up a good framework and hope to be engaged in active work in a very short time.

It appears as though Michigan will have to vote on state-wide prohibition a year from next month. The Anti-Saloon League is busily engaged in circulating petitions, and we have no doubt but what they will get the required number of signatures. The Anti-Saloon League will hold a state meeting early in November and will take up this question at that time.

There has been some talk that the Anti-Saloon League faction is opposed to a state-wide fight, preferring to continue the fight on a county local option plan, but it is generally thought that the prohibition element outside of the Anti-Saloon League, such as the W. C. T. U. and those allied with them—that the sentiment in the ranks is so strong that the Anti-Saloon League leaders will, contrary to their own desires have to go ahead on a state-wide prohibition plan.

It has not yet been determined what counter proposition the liberal element will make. One of the suggestions has been the proposition of a home rule amendment as a counter method, reducing the unit from the county to the city, village or township.

Another thing we have had in mind is the raising of the license fee from $500 to $750 and having the extra $250 go into a good roads fund, which even in Michigan would make something like a million dollars a year. As yet, however, none of these suggestions has been seriously considered.

We will also next April, at the spring elections, face in spite of the contemplated state-wide prohibition fight elections in from 18 to 20 counties, and among the counties which we think they will select are some in the upper peninsula of Michigan, which has always been considered a stronghold of the state. They have broken into the upper peninsula and have made one of the larger counties there dry.

To offset and counteract this movement, we have merely with a view to gathering up the loose ends lying around and in fact not having stiffened up the organization at all as yet, first of all the Michigan Federation of Labor, which only a few weeks ago in a state convention went on record as opposed

to state-wide prohibition. This action of the Federation has annoyed Anti-Saloon League considerably, and the leaders of the Labor Feder... were severely criticized by the Anti-Saloon League leaders for taking ... stand. We saw to it that the labor leaders came back at the Anti-S... League for their criticism and we have heard nothing further from the A... Saloon League on that issue.

Our German-American Alliance, the allied trades and other kindred li... organizations are all in a dormant state.

We have also in a careless haphazard way not at all consistently or or... edly been sending out some publicity in the state under the name of the M... gan Central Press Service.

We have been gathering from the different parts of the state reports ... violations of the local option laws, cases of drunkenness and things of ... sort and every week we print up a large sheet of those reports and se... out to every newspaper, congressman and state legislator in the state. ... will shortly add to that the Republican and Democratic Committeemen.

In addition to that we have taken a monthly paper, "The Inside Americ... which is edited by Mr. Sheridan Ford, whose name was mentioned hereb... Fitger and Mr. Zollman and Mr. McDermott, and we are sending his pub... tion once a month also with our arguments to the country newspapers of Michigan of which we have about 600, and we believe that with that and ... other printed matter which we have been sending out. we can already be... to see some beneficial effects. Theretofore absolutely nothing had been g... The Anti-Saloon League had been sending out their appeal matter, their re... lar publicity matter, in all shapes, forms and sizes, but there had been nothi... from our side to counteract it. We have now on our list about 25 to 30 new... papers which are accepting arguments and publicity from our side absolu... free of charge and cost. Just as a stab in the dark, we picked up about ... liberal editors to whom we have sent our material and they are printing ... and using it to sort of bolster up their own convictions.

One of the things that we feel in Detroit and also throughout Michigan ... much as any other one thing, is the fact that the large employers of l... particularly in Detroit, which has now become such a large automobile cente... are being influenced by the Anti-Saloon League leaders with the plea of ef... ciency, but we hope through the Michigan Federation and also through s... statistical work which we have secured through Mr. Meyers that we have ... from the United States Brewers' Association, to get enough arguments ... that we will be able, in a publicity way, to make some impression upon the employers of labor as to the fallacy of their contentions on the efficiency of the drinker in industry.; but it appears to us that a very much surer w... to achieve that end, if it can be achieved, is to secure the services of some ... class man or men who can go directly to these large industrial men and ... with them personally in their offices and endeavor to point out some of the fallacies in the arguments that the Anti-Saloon League has been making ... them. In fact, up to this time, the theory of the publicity in Michigan has been worked out entirely on the basis that we want to point out the fallacies of the local option and prohibition movements throughout.

We are taking the word "dry," for example, and showing that it does not mean dry, that no license simply shows up a lot of conditions that are far worse than the conditions under a license, and we have made quite a bit of the argument that the expenditures of Michigan are increasing; that the tax levy is increasing and that the income of the state is decreasing and, at the same time, are trying to make an argument out of that to show up some of the false assumptions and fallacies of the other side. Now, on that point, I was in Minneapolis as Mr. Zollman knows, during a few days of the campaign, and Mr. Ford, whom Mr. Zollman's committee had steered up against Governor Linde, told me that in his opinion, from his experience, that the liberals should compile a "Liberal Dictionary" and take the expressions used by the Anti-Saloon League and lay them bare; take a word like "dry" or "anti saloon" or anything like that and simply analyze it and lay it bare and show the true nature of it. As we discussed that Mr. Eddy, who was also in the campaign, came along with the suggestion that we should take the established arguments of the Anti-Saloon League, which are about 100, about the large incomes of saloons and breweries and the little expenditures of the saloons the boy argument and the different established arguments that they have—take about 100 of those and send them out to gentlemen interested in this thing and have each one write an answer to that Anti-Saloon League argu

ent, and out of those 100 answers which we will receive pick out the best those and in that way standardize and unify our counter arguments. We ave found that our own speakers frequently contradict one another in offsetting the arguments of the Anti-Saloon League. I think that that would a very good thing probably for this committee to consider when they take up is other matter of the speakers' bureau and see if that cannot be worked in. believe Mr. Ford intends taking that up through his paper and seeing if that heme cannot be worked out.

Now, then, the situation in Michigan reveals this, that we are far more in eed of experienced capable organizers than we are of speakers. In Michigan e have more developed our own crop of speakers and although this proposiion of Mr. McDermott will be welcomed with open arms in our state as it ill assist us, we believe, with our work, our greatest difficulty will not be olved by Mr. McDermott's recommendation, and I am requested and inructed by our Association to ask that in Mr. McDermott's recommendation here be incorporated the suggestion that the United States Brewers' Association not only establish a speakers' bureau but also establish a corps of fifteen rganizers, men whom we could take into Michigan, for example, from Mr. McDermott's office in New York, and place them into county or two small counies to each man, men like Mr. McDowell, for example, or Mr. Eddy or Mr. Dietrech. Any of those men who helped us out so nobly in Michigan a few ears ago who would come into Detroit to the Central office and get an idea of he situation and take their grips and go into the localities where the fight was on and plant themselves in a hotel and stay there until after election lay. Men thoroughly capable and competent to take on an election from the eginning to the end, organizing the precincts, wards or election districts, and to seeing that the results were brought about. That is what we are looking for. I asked Mr. Eddy during the Minneapolis campaign whom he could recommend as such a man, and he said "Well, really, I haven't got one man whom I could send out of this office down into Michigan at the moment." That it seems to me is the great lack that we are facing at this time. I know we are facing it in Michigan.

For example, last spring we voted in fifteen counties and out of the fifteen counties there were only two that were really and truly wet. Now, that is pretty bad. And in those two counties Mr. Thompson or Mr. McDermott's staff had charge of one and Mr. Eddy, who was in the Minneapolis fight, had charge of the other, and those were the only two counties that went wet. In the other counties the campaigns were in charge of brewers, saloon keepers and broken-down politicians, men who had been in office and who were out of the game and trying to get back again, and in every one of those instances for some reason or other, through a brewer not having been careful, or because there were too many factions, or because the saloon keepers had aroused the antagonism of the voters, or through the campaigns being in charge of ex-politicians, we found that the results were disastrous. But if we could have sent a man like Mr. Thompson, who cared nothing about the local factions, or like Mr. Eddy, we would have met with success in Michigan, and we are now trying to prepare to take on at least five experienced organizers to work ahead in the campaigns that we are going to face in the 18 or 20 counties next April, irrespective of our state-wide fight, and it would seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that if the committee could see fit to incorporate this additional notion in their recommendation to the Board, that between this day and the day of our really needing the men on the 1st day of January, that Mr. McDermott could develop a capable crop of organizers, and we could use them immediately after the first of the year in Michigan.

As I say, the Michigan Brewers' Association, has directed me to call that to your attention and to respectfully request that the idea be incorporated along with Mr. McDermott's recommendation. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, do you wish at this time to give consideration to the suggestion just made. I think it is important enough to invite full discussion. The question is whether you wish to go on now with the other reports or to adopt this suggestion at this time?

Mr. DOYLE. I move that that matter be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. ZOLLMAN. I would like to have a test vote upon that proposition. I did not express myself quite as fully as I might have expressed myself this morning, and I want to amend that motion by adding this:

That it be the sense of this organization—

I do not want to place any burden upon the committee, the committee can report in accordance with the motion—I move to amend that motion to this effect:

That it be the sense of this organization that the committee incorporate in its report of its recommendations to the Board of Trustees that the organization bureau will be enlarged to the extent of from ten to fifteen men, as in the discretion of the Board of Trustees is deemed to be proper, for the purposes of organization work in the respective counties and states wherever the organization bureau deems it necessary to use them.

Mr. DOYLE. I will accept the amendment.

Mr. ZOLLMAN. When our fight in Hennepin County was on we realized that if Hennepin County went dry it meant the end of the State of Minnesota. We called in Mr. McDermott and we had practically every man of Mr. McDermott's staff in that one fight, and those men did effective work—there is not any question about that. I will take my hat off to them, and the rest of us will too. It meant the saving of that state.

Now, then, if there had been fights on in other sections of the country they would have been unprotected. As it was, we called in people who could have been used in South Dakota and Wyoming and some other place. It is for that reason that it is necessary in my judgment to make a motion to amend that motion so that that may be incorporated in the report of the committee.

Mr. GUND. Before the motion is put, I haven't heard anything mentioned as to Mr. Andreae's force. I do not know anything whatever as to what the relations may be between the United States Brewers' Association and Mr. Andreae. I haven't heard his name mentioned—I don't know whether he was asked to go to Hennepin County. All I do know is we are having a prohibition agitation and fight on and election the second day of November, and I was told only two or three days ago he had eight or nine men in Ohio. Now, if he has them in Ohio why could not he lend support somewhere else. I am simply asking this for information, because I haven't heard his name mentioned. I don't know what his relations are, but I do know what there were at New Orleans at that time. Being here from Ohio, which is the only state that has a prohibition fight on, I would like to know, to make inquiry about that?

Mr. ZOLLMAN. As far as I am concerned, Mr. Gund and gentlemen, I proposed my amendment without reference to any one and without consideration or respect to anyone else. I feel the United States Brewers' Association should have an organization bureau consisting of from ten to fifteen men. In what manner that shall be handled is a matter for the Board of Trustees and is a matter to be discussed later on, upon the floor of the convention if it comes to that point. I am simply an employee of the Minnesota State Brewers' Association designated by that Association and elected as a member of the Interstate Conference Committee, the purpose of which committee is to discuss ways and means and considerations for the purpose of conducting the various campaigns. My experience has taught me, and I think it has taught everybody else here who has been engaged in these fights, that the organization bureau of the United States Brewers' Association is not comprehensive enough and it is for the purpose of making it more comprehensive that I talked this morning and am talking now. I have no voice in saying how it shall be made comprehensive. I have my own ideas upon that subject, but I do not want to tread upon anybody's toes at this time or any other time, and I think this motion is a tentative one which should be considered and embodied in that committee's report, and when it is so considered and so embodied by that committee and submitted to the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association, it is for them to pass upon the final modus operandi in which it shall be carried into effect. That is all that this motion contemplates or intends, as I understand it.

We discussed the matter this morning Mr. Gund, in respect to the speakers' bureau, so that you may know, when we went into the county option fight in the State of Minnesota we were at sea, we had to select speakers and get them from the different sections of the country. That of itself was a task. We were forced into 56 fights before we knew where we were. If we had had a competent speakers' bureau or a speakers' bureau organized under any auspices, be it that of the United States Brewers' Association or an association of the states, we would have saved time and perhaps mistakes; but we did not, and for the reason that the situation is as tense as it is in the various states, growing as it has grown, by leaps and bounds against us, I feel for one, and I think some of the rest of us do, that there should be under the charge of the

nited States Brewers' Association a competent speakers' bureau which can be ed in various sections of this country. We had the same experience in gard to competent organizers, and I want to say for the same reason I feel ere should be under the charge of the United States Brewers' Association a mpetent organization bureau, with enough men to cover the various sections this country where fights are on, and for that purpose and that purpose one this motion has been made, and for that purpose I made a motion to nend that motion so as to cover the situation as it appears to me in my dgment after going through 56 fights in the State of Minnesota.

Mr. DOYLE. I would ask the Secretary to read the motion and the amendent. I take it as Mr. Zollman says that this meeting is not attempting to ctate to the Executive Committee in just which branch of any organization ey want to put this thing, only that they want more organizers and more eakers?

Mr. GUND. I simply want to state that I am heartily in favor of having this ferred to the Executive Board and that we ought to have ten to fifteen men our call and should have had many years ago. We have all had pretty avy assessments right along, and I had taken it for granted that such a board tisted under the management of Mr. Andreae. I am heartily in favor of it, I stated, but I wanted some information on that subject because I had eard no reference to Mr. Andreae made here and to my surprise I was told aly two or three days ago that he had eight or nine men at work in Ohio. hat looks pretty good.

Mr. ZOLLMAN. I will read the motion, as I understand it. At this time it as moved that this organization, that is the Interstate Conference Committee, ecommend to its committee on resolutions which was appointed this morning, iat in addition to the organization of a speakers' bureau under the charge of ie United States Brewers' Association a sufficient number of persons, say rom ten to fifteen, be added to the organization bureau, for practical organiation purposes. This is merely what this meeting, as I understand it, recnmmends to its Resolutions Committee to report.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, you have heard the motion of Mr. Doyle and the mendment as proposed by Mr. Zollman. Is there a second to it?

(The motion as amended was seconded.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any remarks? If not, I will ask you to vote ipon it.

(The motion, as amended, was unanimously carried).

The CHAIRMAN. I will next call on Mr. Good of Colorado, if he is present.

Mr. GOOD. The Colorado situation is approximately that of Washington. On January first the state-wide prohibition amendment becomes effective and as far as the brewers are concerned we intend to close up.

At the present time there are two actions in the courts under our home rule amendment. One is being furthered by the saloon keepers, contrary to our advice, because we thought it would prejudice any future chance of our being put back in the wet column. This action was taken up prematurely. That action was heard in the District Court and an adverse decision was rendered. It will be taken to the Supreme Court, but we feel there is no utility in it whatsoever.

The other action was brought on by the commissioners of Denver issuing licenses extending beyond January 1, 1916. The state and city have gotten together to determine this suit prior to January 1st. It will be a good thing and we will know exactly where we stand when it is decided. We believe that the decision when carried to the Supreme Court will be adverse, and we do not believe it would be advisable to recall the decision on account of the attitude of the people as regards recalls. In other words, our one idea in regard to Colorado is to keep all this agitation down and not jeopardize it to a certain extent. The strike situation has been settled, Billy Sunday has gone and all the effect has worn off. There has been quite a change of sentiment from the Colorado standpoint, especially in Denver. You must remember that Denver has one-fourth of the population of the state and we believe today were there another election held that we would have at least twenty-two to twenty-five thousand majority against prohibition.

Of course after it is closed up and they see the effect of it and test it, the workability or unworkability of this question, it will be a question for us to determine whether we shall try it again in November, 1916. If the sentment is with us we will certainly go after it again. We do not believe in laying down our arms. We believe we have a very opportune time. The tourist

traffic will be minimized and taxes will be increased—property is depreciating in value—and we believe it will be very ripe for us in November.

All they have asked me to do is to present this situation to you, gentlemen, and if in the event, after determining whether the sentiment is getting stronger and stronger, we would ask your assistance if we intend to make this fight.

I believe that we have a very fair chance of turning Colorado back to the wet column. Of course that has never been done out West, but we will try it if the conditions are favorable.

Mr. DOYLE. In the event you succeed in the fall of 1916 in making the state again wet, can the other side come along with petitions the next year.

Mr. GOOD. In two years. It has to be at a general election.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any one else who wishes to ask any questions of Mr. Good? If not, I will next call upon Mr. Speel of New Hampshire, who, I understand, is conducting a campaign in Vermont.

Mr. SPEEL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: There is very little to say in connection with the New Hampshire situation. We have a local option law there which came from the Legislature, and we faced our prohibition fight last January and reaffirmed the present local option law by three times the majority by which it was passed in 1903. We have bi-annual elections in New Hampshire, and that means two years of quiet. I dare say a year from this January 1917, we will have again to face a movement to repeal the present license law, but there is no situation in New Hampshire at the present time that calls for any activity on the part of the United States Brewers' Association.

My understanding in regard to Vermont is that no publicity is being given the fact that the United States Brewers' Association is at all interested in the saving of the state. It is going to be a very difficult job to hold the present local option law in Vermont. The state has been neglected for a term of years. There are no breweries there and the license towns are reduced now to sixteen license towns and cities, and the total majority in the sixteen license towns is under 300. So, from a mere statement of figures it would indicate that Vermont was almost hopeless, but we have gone in there.

There has already been organized a very strong local option league, headed by one of the Supreme Court Judges and having as vice-presidents many of the influential men of the state. Through the United States Brewers' Association the labor element has been organized and will be in a position to work.

New Hampshire has a very novel hotel law. No matter if a city or town in New Hampshire votes dry, the State License Commission has power to grant a hotel license in any no license city or town, to be exercised only for the guests from without the town or city. That provision was made to conserve the wonderful summer travel and patronage of New Hampshire hotels. Because of the freedom of New Hampshire hotels Vermont is suffering. We are now organizing the hotel men of Vermont in an effort to start a movement to retain the present law and to amend the present law so as to grant a similar privilege to the hotels of Vermont that New Hampshire now enjoys.

I do not know just what Mr. McDermott or Mr. Fox had in mind, but I do know that they thought the wisest policy was to make no great outcry relative to the interest of the brewers in the State of Vermont.

I have not any recommendations to make at this time. It would seem almost a hopeless task to save the state, but it is a long step from abolishing the present local option law to state-wide prohibition. We are being encouraged from day to day and rather hope that on the 8th day of next March we may have a majority vote and retain the present law. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member wish to ask Mr. Speel any questions? If not, I will ask Mr. Wessenger of Oregon to report on the situation in that state.

Mr. WESSENGER. We out there in Oregon are practically in precisely the same condition as the State of Washington, and the State of Colorado, from which you have just heard. The constitutional amendment which was adopted by the vote of the people provides for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of spiritous wines, malt and other fermented liquors, but it permits the purchase of two dozen quarts of beer and two quarts of whisky every four weeks for every family. It does not say for every person but for every family. In other words, the law is not a strictly dry law. It is as you can see simply a law to eliminate the saloons and the breweries.

We are making out there very great efforts to build good roads. We have wonderful scenery and all that, and I have figured it out by myself that the situation will be something like this; that those who live there would have

what they want in restricted quantities, but no strangers visiting there would have anything. I am satisfied that such a condition will not work at all. The people themselves will recognize the injustice of this position and we hope that a revulsion will come next year and that we may have the chance to vote in November, 1916, on the proposition of manufacturing again and distributing to the people in such quantities as the law may provide for.

Definite plans naturally can not be formulated at this time. We think that the best time will be to wait until next April, when the taxes have to be paid and so forth, and there is already a great anxiety and great anticipation from the taxpayers as to what will happen then. Even newspapers that were lukewarm or indifferent, rather they were absolutely indifferent, have now published cartoons calling the attention of the people to the ever increasing taxes. In the only paper we expect some support from, they had a very fitting cartoon not long ago in which amongst the different items which the paper itself will increase the taxes, was the lack of three hundred and sixty to three hundred and seventy thousand dollars of license money that had been paid by the saloons. There was a special sack where that was enumerated.

Now, as far as our own position is concerned, we do not think it wise to take anything into the courts as yet. Our situation is different from the Washington situation. They voted on the law, and in our case we vote on a constitutional amendment declaring it a dry state. It was the Legislature that even passed an enabling act providing for penalties and going into details about the matter, but this law is considered by very eminent and prominent lawyers as strictly unconstitutional. I think so myself. In fact if law is based on common sense, I think anybody who has common sense will say the same thing. But, as I stated before, we thought it unwise that we ourselves should attack the law. Furthermore, we have reason to believe that there will be other interests than ours which will attack this law.

We find that amongst the so-called Committee of 100 which managed the campaign, that they are split in four or five different groups now. I mean their opinions differ as to the law that was passed by the Legislature. Some are pleased with it and some find fault with this provision and some with that and some say that the whole thing is wrong, especially as it kills an important industry of the state, especially of the City of Portland.

Now, what we will do, or what we are doing already is something on this line; we try to show to the people in articles published not being traceable back to us, that a human being is not a machine, not a money making machine. Speaking of efficiency as did the gentlemen from Michigan, I believe that the workman of America is being degraded, is being made a slave of by the application of a few turns more of the screw, if he is made to work harder and to yield his employer a few nickels a day more, that borders on slavery. We have found that when in England they wanted to adopt prohibition under the plea that there was drunkenness and so forth which had to be stopped in order to increase the efficiency of the workmen there, why, the labor leaders arose like one man. You all know that, I am not telling you anything new. I am simply referring to that. I believe we could and should work on those lines. I am not harping on the personal liberty stand or anything like that, but a human being is a human being and should be treated as such. I believe in those talks, as the gentlemen from Michigan very aptly proposes it, it could be shown that if people are taught to be moderate in the use of that which is supposed to intoxicate if taken in too large quantities, if the workman is permitted a moderate use of that, it will contribute to his contentment, to his happiness as you might call it, and he will certainly make a more efficient workman than if he was discontented by the tyranny of his employer.

Now, it may be that next spring when the time is ripe or when we think that the liberal sentiment has grown still larger, then I believe we will make another campaign on a much smaller scale however and more on educational lines than we made last year.

In the meanwhile, as far as the brewery I represent is concerned, we will have to make near beer. We do that not thinking we could make money on it, I doubt if we can, but I think we can run about even; I believe that, and we do it so as to keep the doors open and so as to be an active factor in the industrial life of our city and state and since we had that published I find that the idea meets with the approval of a great many well meaning people that I did not have the pleasure of knowing before.

I think I can condense my remarks considerably by reading to you a short newspaper article which I brought along for the purpose and then I will close.

I want to illustrate what I mean by the kind of publicity. I will just read it.

"The European struggle, now smashing methods of warfare and throwing all kinds of old theories on the scrap pile is going to have tremendous influence on the temperance question throughout the world. This is the opinion expressed by some of Europe's leading specialists and psychologists. One of the results they see at the end of the war is an international commission to report on the result of the moderate indulgence in beer and other stimulants by the men at the front. as against laboratory experiments on which a great part of the argument against mild stimulants is based now.

"'The merits and demerits of alcohol are now on their trial on a scale never before possible,' declared Dr. T. Claye Shaw of London, past president of the Society for the Study of Inebriety, in a clinical lecture just delivered. 'When this war is over there will be room for a commission on the whole medical question. It is probable that many of the dicta of the anti-alcoholic enthusiasts derived from laboratory experiments with delicate time instruments will be modified or upset, whilst other reason for abstention will be strengthened and upheld. It is a colossal experiment that we are witnessing and it is bound to have a great influence upon our future handling of the great question.'

"'War brings about an 'abnormal condition of health,' said Dr. Shaw. 'It is very easy for armchair enthusiasts to rave about the danger of the rum rations, but the nervous condition of those engaged in actual warfare is one of rapid exhaustion, and the testimony of those actually on the spot is not to be gainsaid, if, as I am told, it is in favor of the ration for the men in the very exceptional circumstances in which they are placed.'"

Now, as this tells us about the war, I think some other arguments can be produced for industrial conditions, manufacturing conditions, railroad conditions and all others, and I believe that if our Publicity Department runs along the right lines and succeeds in having more of that printed in the various papers of the United States, the effect will be much more beneficial than to send wet literature to wet people. I get a lot of that literature and I am wet through and through. It does not need any argument to convert me. Our difficulty there is to put it over in the papers and I do not wish to criticise anybody or anything, but if you appeal to the common sense of the people and show them that recreation is an absolute necessity to health then at least the manufacturer of mild stimulants will get a chance again. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next gentleman I will call upon is Mr. Becker of Utah. Is he present?

Mr. MCDOWELL. Mr. Becker of Ogden, Utah, has been called to the meeting of the Trustees, and he has requested me to present a brief report on conditions in that state, which I will read.

"There have been no material changes in the State of Utah since my last report to this body. If anything we have the situation a little better in hand. It will interest you, perhaps, to learn what actually happened during the last year. Last winter the State Legislature passed the Wooton Prohibition Bill. This bill was drawn by the Anti-Saloon League and was a drastic and vicious measure in that it aimed at the destruction of the brewing business and the transferring of the liquor business from saloons to drug stores.

"Governor William Spry with rare courage and manhood and against popular clamor vetoed the bill. Since then the vilification and slander heaped upon his head by the Prohibitionist and Anti-Saloon Leaguers would put a Commanche Indian to shame. There is a question now if he will consent to accept a nomination for a third term as Governor, notwithstanding the fact that it is admitted on all sides that he has been the greatest and best governor the State has ever had. Our attitude somewhat depends upon his decision and the actions of the two political parties next Fall, at which time, another legislature and a United States Senator are to be elected as well as state officers. We are going slowly and are planning an educational campaign. Senator Sutherland is a candidate for reelection of the U. S. Senate. As you doubtless all know Senator Sutherland is one of the few United States Senators who had the courage to vote his conviction and who voted against the Webb-Kenyon Bill. State conversation with Kenyon."

That was a matter that came up between Senator Sutherland and Senator Kenyon in regard to his vote on the prohibition bill and Senator Kenyon said that they had the opposition of all the drunkards in Congress except one, and he thought that he was rapidly going that way. That referred to Senator Sutherland of Utah.

"I also endorse Mr. McDowell's statements and the recommendations of Mr. McDermott. California means the West, and if California goes wrong then good by to the West."

Mr. Becker has also requested me to read a resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association at its meeting held in New York April 9, 1915.

"In these days of popular hysteria when fair consideration for the liberty and rights of the individual is overshadowed by narrow-minded prejudice, it is of frequent occurrence that the legislators and executive officers of our States throttle their own conviction of true public policy and justice in subservience to misguided public clamor. It is but rarely that we are permitted to witness examples of that courage and appreciation of the duties of office in the face of distorted public opinion, which alone can serve to create and preserve our nation's greatness.

We therefore rejoice that we have the opportunity today of recording our recognition of the just, sound and fearless action of Governor William Spry of the State of Utah in preventing, by his legislative veto, the legislature of his state from destroying a legitimate and salutary industry and from withholding from the citizens of his state the exercise of those privileges and rights secured to them by law, by well-established custom and by every consideration of justice and the public welfare.

We tender to Governor William Spry our felicitations upon this demonstration of fearless independence, unfaltering courage and unselfish readiness to sacrifice personal interest, if necessary, in the course of highly intelligent appreciation of public duty.

We bespeak for Governor Spry a loving and brilliant career of useful public service and convey to him the assurance of our complete appreciation of his high ability, his unflinching courage and unblemished probity."

I might add, gentlemen, that a few years ago I had the pleasure of conducting a campaign in the State of Utah against the prohibition forces. Mr. Fisher, who represents the largest brewery I think in the state, from Salt Lake, could better tell you about what we were confronted with at that time. As you all know there is a Mormon vote in that state which has gone into some of the adjoining states. It was problematical as to where that vote would go, but I recall that during that campaign after a conference with the head of the Mormon Church when I was endeavoring to ascertain what the attitude of the church as a church would be, he stated that there would be no activities whatever by the church as an organization. Things went along smoothly until later in the campaign and just a short time prior to the election the same president, in a sermon delivered, I think, at Grant City, stated that a man who darkened the door of a saloon was a criminal in the eyes of God, and that was sufficient to put the church, or at least to give the members a cue of what they ought to do and they came very near doing it, or at least they did in very many communities. I want to say that we succeeded in that campaign, from the standpoint of the large cities and I further want to add to the resolution adopted this year by the United States Brewers' Association commending Governor Spry for his action, that Governor Spry is the first governor I ever came in contact with in any campaign, and he made this statement to me. He said, "McDowell, if you believe before the day of election comes around that there is danger of Utah going into the prohibition column call on me and I will take the stump against prohibition, even if I am a member of the Mormon Church and Governor of Utah. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions, gentlemen? If not, I should like to ask Mr. Schmidt of Milwaukee if he can please tell us about conditions in Nebraska?

Mr. OSCAR SCHMIDT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee: At the outset I want to say I have enjoyed the advice and the experiences discussed here today. I have been in this game fighting prohibition for about thirty years, and I want you to know I learn something all the time, and I hope that these meetings will be continued and held at least semi-annually and that the same men who have charge of their fights in their states will attend these meetings and discuss with the rest of the committee what their experiences in the past year have again brought forth. I think that our recommendations based upon the work in the different states can be of inestimable value to the Board of Trustees, and it was with that intention that this Committee was originally organized.

For the State of Wisconsin I will have only a few words to say, that fortunate in having a good organization. By that I do not mean that brewers belong to it. We have the same troubles that you have every About one-third of the brewers are not members, are not paying, but those do paying are actively on the job, everybody. We are very fortunate to very efficient counsel and secretary, Mr. Austin, who has been our and counsel for a number of years. He is an old state senator and knows ropes and we have found that that more than anything else has been of I meet the president of the Wisconsin Brewers' Association every day with am in the city for half an hour and other trustees meet with him two or times a week, so that we always have some work to discuss. We do not for any campaign.

We defeated in the last campaign three of the most vicious men in the They came from two counties which were dry and we finally succeeded defeating them for reelection.

We had the usual bills like every other state—county option, women's frage in about six different forms and we had everything else, which were defeated; and I say that can be done only by organization and by active of the brewers being on the job all the time and not leaving it to somebody

That is all I have to say for Wisconsin.

I am also a delegate from Nebraska and I will say a word on that because the serious condition in that state. Mr. Bryan some years ago made it business to drive the brewers out of the state. He preached from the corners, from all the churches all the time that he would get at the boodle as he called it, meaning the brewers, and had the Grand Jury summon banks' cashiers to find out where any money was deposited by the brewers Since that time of course the state brewers' association has disbanded.

For eight years I have been treasurer of the so-called Executive Committee consisting of three brewers from Omaha and two smaller brewers from state. These five brewers have been doing all this work and owing to danger that is connected with the business there it has been thought advisable that none of the other agencies through their employees should even attend any of the meetings of this Executive Board, because a great many of them are only there for a little while, and we felt that the danger is so great we could afford to take them into our councils.

The women's suffrage in the state we defeated two years ago at a tremendous expense and we won in the state by about 9,000 votes. If they had carried the election of course the state would have been dry. We had hoped that there would not be an election but that state has the initiative and referendum the same as most states have now, and a meeting of the drys was held in Lincoln last week under the auspices of Mr. Bryan's brother, who is mayor of Lincoln and the attendance at that meeting was from outside of the state, about 50 of the prominent men of the dry parts of other states, and it was composed about 900 men and about 300 women. It was unanimously decided to immediately call an election for next year and a committee has been appointed. I was very much surprised to learn that even there had been a state organization head appointed to that committee. They appointed eight men and some women to be chairmen of the various committees. Mr. Bryan, W. J. Bryan, has stated that he has an understanding with Billy Sunday, who has now been for some weeks in Omaha, who has promised him that he will come next September and devote a month's time and visit all the cities in that state to help make the state dry.

Of course this has been one of the hardest states to fight in because Bryan has made it his hobby for years. I am very doubtful in my mind whether we can win.

We have in Nebraska only one city, and that is Omaha, but I will say these three brewers and the two small brewers, that the fighting capacity those five men beats that of any brewers or any organization I have knowledge of in the United States. In the last eight years of which I been the treasurer of the committee they have never paid less than six cents per barrel and from that to $1.10. Now, I want to ask you among selves what has ever been done in your state brewers' associations to any such contribution as that?

On my return from a western trip of investigation last week I stopped Omaha and met with this committee. At that time it was two days before the meeting in Lincoln of this dry convention, and it was determined that brewers would contribute at the outset, if it was decided to have the $1.00 a barrel, and next year, if it is necessary, another dollar.

Now, I want to say here it is well and good to say I am interested in every state to vote wet whether I do business there or not, but I do not think it is fair to have the brewers in certain states that are making money and have a good organization to expect from the United States Brewers' Association that men or aid that ought to be extended to states where the resources are small.

I want to state to you gentlemen that in Wisconsin we have never asked or received one dollar and we do not expect it and that ought to be borne in mind by states which have large interests not only in the brewing business, but especially when they are making very much more money per barrel than the brewers in the east or in the central states, having besides large liquor connections and other sources of income which you cannot get in South Dakota and in Montana and in Wyoming and in Nebraska. Therefore, I have favored a bigger aid to those states that have a very few small breweries instead of giving this aid to the states that have large breweries.

I think the state organizations which have large breweries as members, in these large states that do, like Illinois, New York and Wisconsin, and other states, should fight their own battles and leave the resources to which we all contribute, three cents a barrel, to those states where our interests are small.

I am frank to state my position to you gentlemen on these matters, because it is a vital question at this time with the brewers, because you all know there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among individual brewers, with this organization, and it is not a time to find fault. Let him be responsible who may, but it is not in my opinion a good thing to find any fault with the organization bureau or with Mr. Andreae's bureau or with anybody else's bureau. I think the time is so precious at this time that we should forget everything except to fight in every state where there is a fight to be made.

I believe that our resources should be conserved to the seven states that have state prohibition fights next year and if the following year we have no state elections that need our money which we contribute to the United States Brewers' Association you must remember, gentlemen, that the United States Brewers' Association needs the one cent dues which most brewers are only paying. It is only the extra assessment of two cents that gives any money to do any extra fighting with, and for that reason I urge that the members should pay the extra two cents, for if we do not, we have no money for such fights.

I have listened with a great deal of interest to all the speakers, especially so this morning, and when you expect the United States Brewers Association to furnish organizers for counties, what is the use of asking for ten men? You need 500 and where will the United States Brewers' Association finance any such proposition as that? I am heartily in favor and will vote on it that we have at least fifteen men, who they will organize in states. You can not expect those men to go into county and city fights. When we have ten or fifteen county elections in Michigan and Wisconsin and Illinois and in every state every year you can not expect enough organizers to go around for any such thing as that. I am heartily in favor of getting as many as we can, as the finances will permit and fifteen trained men, of course, can do much more effective work than one hundred called in at the last minute.

One man to a state; that is all I think can be expected from the United States Brewers' Association when there is a fight in a state, because all states have some kind of an election every two years.

As far as the speakers' bureau is concerned, the arguments we heard this morning were absolutely correct. Every day you have a campaign and everybody wants speakers. We get this and that man and this and that man makes a speech, but he is not effective because he has not got the facts to answer the questions put to him in these meetings, and if you want an effective speakers' bureau it is necessary to have men and to pay them by the year and have them meet and every other means by which they will take up this question and thoroughly discuss is amongst themselves, and become posted. It is, of course, to be expected that if Wisconsin or Illinois, or New York wants such speakers from the bureau that they will pay the expenses of those speakers; but of course in the small states which have not got large interests, they would get them at the expense of the United States Brewers' Association. Of course there are not sufficient funds coming into this organization to carry out all these things which we ought to have. It is simply impossible for the Trustees to finance them. I will, of course, vote for all these things on the Resolution Committee. I thank you. (Applause.)

Mr. McDERMOTT. I want to hearily concur with the remarks of Mr. Schmidt. He is a man who has had experience in this work before the United States

Brewers' Association ever started to do anything along the lines we have been trying to do in the last eight years, and I want to say to you gentlemen assembled here this afternoon that the gauge of battle is thrown down to us today that the territory west of the Mississippi, from Louisiana to Minnesota, every state in that western territory is in danger. By that I mean those states which are now wet are threatened with prohibition—they may omit Missouri this year but they will be after it next year or the year after.

The suggestions and the recommendations that have been made here today have been made by men who have been watching this situation on the firing line for the last seven or eight years and who have gained their knowledge in the fights that will occur.

The report from California and the report from Utah, the situation in Montana, Washington, Colorado, in all those states, that there is a chance to win back, and reports from New York and reports from Vermont where state-wide elections confront us next spring, clearly indicate that we have got to get into a position where we will do trench fighting, and when I say trench fighting, I mean that we must be supplied with the ammunition and the men to do progressive and aggressive fighting as the occasion requires.

The organization of the speakers' bureau is imperative, in my opinion, as I recommended here this morning. As to the additional men required for the organization bureau of the United States Brewers' Association, I have constantly recommended that for years. We have always been confronted with the question of finances, whether we had the time and the money to retain the men from year to year.

I want to say to Mr. Schmidt that it is true we should not be called upon to furnish men for county prohibition elections in different parts of the United States, but the occasion requires it at times when, as in the State of Michigan, there were ten or fifteen or twenty or thirty county elections at that time. We should have a trained force of men sufficiently mobile so that at such a time three or four or five men could be put in there.

The conditions confronting us in the United States to my mind mean that in the next two years we will either grow stronger or weaker, and our battle line is the Mississippi River. As I understand the feeling west of the Mississippi River, so will we stand or fall south of the Mason and Dixon line and so we will stand or fall in the balance of the United States.

The organization of this Interstate Conference Committee is along the lines that were originally plannel four or five years ago which was taken up then but gradually allowed to drop. I have always claimed and I still claim that a conference of this kind two or three times a year in different parts of the United States and with the men who are doing the active work, not necessarily brewers or brewery proprietors, but trusted representatives or trusted employees of the companies they represent should assemble together and thresh these questions out and gain from the experience and knowledge, as we all do through the work of the year, the most effective and best things to do in the future. [Applause.]

I should like to call upon Mr. Doyle of the Illinois State Brewers' Association.

Mr. DOYLE. I made a written report on the 23rd of June. Since that time we have had no election. I am not advised of any expected election to be called in Chicago next spring. If that election is called I think that our committee locally there will take adequate means to take care of it. I do not think it will be necessary for the United States Brewers' Association or anybody else to help out Illinois.

I was impressed with the suggestions and representations made by various gentlemen regarding the increasing of the staff of the organizers of the United States Brewers' Association.

Now, in Illinois, when we started this business eight years ago, we would employ a man for a campaign and then let him out for the balance of the year, but our state board came to the conclusion last year when we first had the suffrage parties to deal with that the proper thing to do was, as Mr. Schmidt said, to keep working all the time. We have three reliable expert men employed by the state association who do not do a thing except to attend to this wet and dry business, and I can assure you gentlemen we have found something to do every day in the year because there is always something stirring.

Mr. RICKEL. Is that three or five?

Mr. DOYLE. I am not speaking of myself or Mr. Boseman, who runs the East St. Louis office. I say that we have three other employees who just simply travel and make notes and report everything in the different districts as they go along.

We have never had county option put over us although we have a majority of our counties dry. They are dry simply because all the townships, villages and counties have voted dry.

Now, as the result of experience we have had with two different subjects, I want to suggest to the gentlemen who are here a very serious matter, that if you are living in liberal states which have not the initiative and referendum and have not female suffrage, I want to implore you to defeat those two things at all hazards. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. As time is passing and it will be necessary to give our committee on resolutions time to consider its report and to submit it, I suggest that we dispense further with the reports from the representatives unless there has been a change in the situation of any of the states from which we have not heard. If there has been a change, the meeting will be glad to hear from the representatives of those states, I am sure.

Mr. OSCAR SCHMIDT. There are several states I have not heard from yet which have representatives here.

The CHAIRMAN. I just suggested that if there has been any change since the last meeting, or if there are any gentlemen here who were not present at the last meeting, that the meeting would be glad to hear from those gentlemen. In that connection I can briefly tell you what the situation is in the State of Missouri since I represent that state as a member of the Conference Committee.

The Prohibitionists, as you know, were defeated twice in recent years, once in 1910 on the issue of state-wide prohibition and again in 1912 on the local option fight. Since then they have changed their tactics, and I understand now they are going to confine their efforts to the election of dry delegates to the Legislature which convenes a year from next January, and their effort will be to endeavor to put through statutory prohibition at that time but with an emergency clause to vote again upon this measure if it is passed, by referendum. Necessarily we will have to direct our fight there and concentrate on the election of members of the Legislature.

The brewers in our section also impressed upon me their wish to call the attention of the Conference to the possible impending increase of the present tax on beer at Washington. They feel that if such a thing is proposed by the authorities there or by Congress that it ought to be very strenuously opposed by the individual members as well as by this Association. We feel you cannot gain the respect of people by simply laying down and letting them put anything over you that they choose to. We in Missouri feel that we are paying more than our just proportion of the national taxes and that there are a great many other ways and a great many other interests that ought to contribute their share.

I do not know whether this amendment ought to be made the subject of a resolution or recommendation to the Board of Trustees, but I do believe it ought to be borne in mind then by a little agitation among the members, or possibly upon the floor of the convention if you see fit; it ought to be taken care of.

Mr. OSCAR SCHMIDT. I think it is necessary that you gentlemen should all bear this in mind, please do not forget that when the extra fifty cents was last put on, it was put on by the recommendation of the Brewers' Association, and that is what I got when I went to Washington and asked Senators and Congressmen to vote against it. Therefore, I think it is well that all brewers bear this in mind, perhaps in the discussion in our general meeting or at the Executive Session of the Brewers' Association.

Mr. Chairman, there is a delegation here from Montana where they will have a state-wide election next year. Mr. Charley Kessler is here, and I would ask to have him explain the situation in Montana.

Mr. KESSLER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Interstate Conference Committee: I feel there has been sufficient of a change in the situation in Montana in the last two years to warrant going over it at least briefly. I feel that those speakers who have preceded me this morning and this afternoon have unquestionably worked out the general situation in such a way that it leaves very little to be said. I want to pay a special tribute to Mr. Nagel, or Mr. Nagle of Buffalo. I consider that his speech was so full of meat it practically robs any one else of the privilege of saying very much, and I do feel that practical application of the recommendations and of the advice that was given us by Mr. Nagel, if I pronounce his name correctly, would probably enable us to come down here to Springfield or to any other place that may be

selected in the future, and instead of having a rather long face and a sol and certainly very serious discussion of the issues before us, we prob would be enabled to have a little clam bake, shake hands with each other go home and attend to our business with considerable more pleasure th some of us will be able to do at this time.

However, I believe I was called upon particularly to state what my impr sions are relative to Montana. I want to say that the last Legislature, one that met in January, 1915, was not elected either as a wet or dry legis ture; it was elected like all those legislatures are in odd years. There was political significance attached and no close election at that time. The Ant Saloon League people have embraced the opportunity to get very busy. W have the initiative and referendum out there so you will understand wh guided us to a great extent in our actions and such work as we undert during the session of the legislature itself.

We have about twenty breweries in Montana. Our people had a number meetings prior to the convening of the Legislature. We had our last meet about a week beforehand, at which a legislative committee was named w some three or four were delegated to remain there the entire sixty days. Y will, therefore, understand that we realized the seriousness of the situa that confronted us. Moreover, we have never done any real professio lobbying at any time in the last ten or twelve years, but we have never fa to have one or two persons there in as quiet an attitude as they could reas ably maintain watching the legislation.

In the last six or eight years I believe it may be said to the credit of th brewers that they were instrumental in having certain legislation pass frequently over the opposition of certain members of certain other trades, b I am happy to say not of the brewing trade however, and we believe th certain remedial laws have been passed. Amongst them, I might say, the que tion of selling to minors, the revocation of licenses for offences and so forth was made very nearly automatic. In fact, some brewers with whom I ha discussed these laws tell me they are dangerously so. In other words, th laws are so simple that there is no escape from them. It might be that in jury and other trials that have occurred there that the very simplicity of those laws has defeated the purpose for which they were passed, namely, to cure the evils, that is, such evils as we could. Before juries, which you a know are very human institutions and as a rule are thoroughly in sympathy with the communities from which they have been selected, it is possible that those juries felt that the laws being so severe were at times unfair. The re sult was that many and many times when in the lower courts we had hoped that convictions would be secured and that revocations would follow for the more flagrant offences at least, we were disappointed. The result was a few years after these first laws had been passed we followed the example of the brewers of Ohio—I believe you have your Dean character law there and laws of that type—we felt best to have our laws made upon the lines of first and second offences; the first offence of course being the present law, that is the existing law at that time, and the second offence being revocation or rather suspension I might say for a period of about 30, 60, or 90 days; more or less in the nature of a discretionary proposition. After the third offence it was arranged that the revocation should be permanent, license taken away and so forth. This is more or less in accord with the Dean law of Ohio and other laws that have been passed in some of the older communities.

These have been tried out now since 1909. In 1915 after some five or six years trial of these laws and very few revocations, very few convictions and so forth, we were somewhat at our wits end as to what to do next. We went into the session with serious misgivings I can assure you. The Anti-Saloon League's local superintendent, Mr. Pope, and others had made many statements and threats as to what they were going to do. We realized that we were facing either constitutional prohibition amendments or statutory legislation in the Legislature itself. After some couple of weeks of campaigning on the part of the Anti-Saloon League, they introduced their bills in both the lower branches of the Assembly, both of those bills being constitutional amendments framed along the lines of the Arizona law. However, we found that there were serious objections to that in as much as that contained provisions which were too much on the Washington idea, which after all is only a personal restriction law. It is not prohibition as you have already discovered in hearing from the representative from Washington, Mr. Davis. We felt that with the weapons the Prohibitionists or rather the local option and other reform elements had in

their hands, it would be highly advisable for us to have a statutory prohibition law enacted or rather submitted. We bent all our energies toward that end for a period, I imagine of about six weeks. The bill was signed the last day I might tell you, which shows you the fight was fairly hot to get the Legislature to consider a bill of that type. I can assure you it is real prohibition if it passes.

I have a letter in my pocket—I am not going to inflict it upon you—but merely tell you that if the people of Montana vote in favor of prohibition, and it is our intention to let them know they are voting on the real "Simon Pure" article, they must want it because we have been told by some of our best attorneys that this law will certainly hold. Of course our campaign is a year ahead and it is our intention to show up this bill in relation to the home, the hotel and domestic life of the people. Under this bill it appears that they will not be able to have even a bottle of Jamaica ginger in their homes, if it goes into effect. The church is allowed to have the use of wine, which is apparently guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. We did not consider it advisable either to exclude the churches from the use of it. Some of our friends told us we had made a mistake, but that remains to be seen. However, I believe the bill that they are voting on will be sufficient to show just how they feel about it.

Amongst the other bills passed there—and I do not want you to be shocked when I tell you—the brewers out there defeated the partial Sunday closing bill. Some people with whom I have discussed that question say that it is unheard-of thing, and apparently it is, so far as state legislative work is concerned.

In this connection I might tell you—I do not wish to make any invidious comparisons at this time—but it is a fact that some of the wholesale liquor people differed greatly with us upon the advisability of doing that.

Mr. HUPFEL. What was that?

Mr. KESSLER. As to the advisability of opposing the partial Sunday closing bill. The brewers felt that we would strengthen our position by having an all-day Sunday bill, and we worked on those lines.

We were obliged, on the last day, to appeal to the Governor to get that bill out of committee. We went there almost on hands and knees to get out the Sunday closing bill so as to have it voted on.

The former early closing law was largely of an optional nature, but through the efforts largely of the brewing people out there, at this last session, we made that compulsory all over the state. At the request and solicitation, and with a fair understanding of the matter between the larger employing corporations and ourselves, we took up the matter well in advance and found the hours that would seem to suit them the best.

We found, for instance, that in certain lines of activity—I might say in mining work—they felt that one of the worst hours for them to have the saloons open would be the early morning hours.

The question would naturally arise: Why not change those hours, in case you are going to have early closing, to suit the hours of the employing companies to the hours of the saloons?

On the face of it, it is quite simple, but when you approach companies employing 25,000 men, you have to make concessions to what they want.

We found the hours that would suit them best appeared to be one o'clock, which was already the established law in the state, and the law as to opening hours, which varied from six to seven o'clock, had to be changed, which was against our own wishes and against possibly the wishes of a majority of the people; but I might say in addition that at the same time they realized that some hours would have to be established to please these people, and I do not believe that it was a sop thrown out to them either, but that it met a necessary condition; so we made the closing hours from midnight to eight o'clock, all over the state, in all incorporated cities. In all the unincorporated sections, the law is from ten o'clock.

That and our Sunday law will strengthen the law, together with the law as to the sale of liquor to minors and to drunkards—these, in my opinion, will help us enormously, once we take the position in this section, because where, as Mr. McDowell said, they do not want saloons, you can not clean them up satisfactorily. I am somewhat of the opinion that he is right; if they do not want the saloons, you can not run them well enough; at least we thought so.

I have made one or two notes—I do not wish to tire you, but I have wandered from my subject here.

The question of clubs came up. Up to within two years we have not had great deal of trouble with the so-called liquor clubs. These clubs, as in other sections of the country, as nearly as I have been able to learn, have been established to beat the existing license laws. The more powerful clubs the state, in nearly every instance, defeated any effort to put any sort of re lation on the existing clubs, basing it upon the theory that the gentlemen larger clubs could do no wrong. That went along to a certain point, until found the temper of the legislature was not quite so friendly.

The result was, laws were passed limiting the number of clubs in any city eight, and there was also a regulation or limitation of one club to every thousand people. You will admit that that does not give them much leeway clubs.

These clubs are entirely under the supervision of the city council. The previous laws passed prevented the formation of any clubs in communities three hundred population or less. So, in many instances, I believe the laws Montana are very strict, if not almost too inflexible in some respects.

We believe if there is anything in cleaning up places, surely we have not to lose; but possibly Mr. McDowell's theory, as expressed this morning, will the one that will carry these people against us.

As to the population in the eastern part of the state, I believe it is pertinent to mention that at this time. I do not think our growth has been quite as heavy as was that of the State of Washington, I believe it was stated at 120 per cent in ten years. However, we have gone from 375,000 at our previous census to something over 600,000 at this census. That is a fairly good growth.

I might state to you the danger in that growth of population exists entirely in the fact that it is not a native population. I would trust the native population to vote wet, just as I believe has been the case in California and Nevada but we have recruited this population from such states as North Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, etc.—this is no reflection upon the citizens of these states, but they are the people who have come into our state, and largely within the last five or six years.

Up to two years ago many of these people had no vote—now they have a vote. We are in a dangerous position, if we try to bring out a big vote we will bring out the vote against us as well as that for us; so we are confining ourselves to making new citizens in such localities as we think we are reasonably safe. That includes the population around the mills and the smelters. We are not doing anything to increase the voting population in the eastern part of the state.

At the present time local option fights have been started in the eastern part of the state. We were told last winter, in case a prohibition bill were to be submitted, that the Anti-Saloon League, namely the Columbus, Ohio organization—I believe Mr. Baker is the superintendent of that organization—had sent out word that they would not push the local fight in Montana if they had an opportunity to vote on state-wide prohibition. Naturally they wanted that in the form of a constitutional amendment.

Suffice it to say, we were fortunate in getting that switched over to a statutory provision, on the theory that if the people did not like it in a couple of years it would be easier for them to go back to the former condition than to defeat a constitutional amendment.

We were told, however, that they would not start this fight. Our impression out there is, as nearly as we can tell, that the local fights which are being started out there at the present time; that that is being done entirely by the state local option crowd. If that is so, it is possible their leaders down here are not yet in sympathy with it; but you will easily understand, with one or two or three victories there, they will certainly be for it.

So they are leaving their local management to superintendent Pope and his numerous help from fifteen or sixteen boards of different kinds; but if they want it, there is no question that the organization at Columbus, Ohio will assist them to the fullest extent. That of course remains to be seen.

They have arranged an elaborate program of speakers; speakers of national reputation, such as Wiley, and I believe our old friend Superintendent Morse of Michigan, will be there. He has not disturbed us as yet, but Governor Hanley, I should say, and many others, have already made one appearance and more are making their appearance at the present time. They have announced that they are going to center every possible effort they can command on Montana. From the standpoint of the Anti-Saloon League, I don't believe that two cents' worth. Montana would be a very desirable state to win.

he present time in Montana the only dry territory is Indian reservations, military reservations, etc., and they are all dry, as they are in all other parts f the United States. However, they certainly intend making a fight there next ear, and make it very interesting—they feel they are going to get away with t in 1916.

The remarks of Mr. McDowell this morning with reference to suffrage nterested me particularly. If I understood Mr. McDowell correctly, and if he as no objection I would like to ask him if I did understand him correctly, vhat he stated was that the suffragists in the northern end of his state were ot necessarily committed to prohibition. Is that correct?

Mr. McDOWELL. That is correct.

Mr. KESSLER. Now, we have a similar situation on Montana—I prefer not to ention the names; they would not be of any interest—however, I can do so if t is desired by any one—we have had numerous informal conversations, I won't ay conferences; they were not conferences, they were conversations, with some f these people, and we find that their attitude may be expressed in a dozen vords; it is not very much to say, but it is another thing to put it into execu- ion, and I certainly, myself feel that we are going to commit ourselves to that r we will lose the official heads' good wishes, which I think we have at the resent time.

Several of these leaders—not all of them—have told us that if we will see to he enforcement of these laws and if we will show a genuine interest in them nd a disposition to back them up, that they will not take any part in the rohibition proposition; in other words, they will let the people handle it as hey see fit.

That of course spells neutrality, doesn't it? But on the other hand they ave stated that they consider the interest of the women and children demand hat they go beyond that, that they must enforce these things. Possibly, then, hey themselves will come out in opposition to prohibition. That is not neu- rality; that is friendship.

Now the question is, will we be able, with the help of the eastern people who re interested in that territory, to put such a program into execution? We eel we will. We are going to try it, and our first opportunity will occur in hree months from now. You may say "Why not already?" I will tell you. Some of these laws do not go into effect until the first of the year; notably such aws as that which will prevent licenses being granted in certain sections; and he legislature was fairly liberal, as you will see, when they refused to allow hese laws to go into immediate effect, but postponed them until the first of the ear. The result is that we can not do a great deal until that time, and I be- lieve when that time comes it is up to the brewing people out there to put their shoulders back of the wheel, back of these laws, and to enforce them; nd I certainly can vouch for the most of them out there doing it. Some have ot been consulted as yet; but when that time comes I believe you will find hat we are going to do it; and in that respect we know we have the support of hose eastern shipping brewers I have spoken about. They realize that they are s much interested as we are.

Now there is another point I would like to bring up, and then I will close. Of ourse all of us know about these things, that gambling is permitted in many places, sales to minors are made under certain conditions; drunkards are given eer that they should not have, and so forth. For years past we have passed esolutions condemning this and expressing our displeasure at it. Out there he time unquestionably has come when some activity must be shown along these lines.

A short time ago the brewing people from Great Falls came down to Helena. We had a conference there and the Great Falls people told us that we would have to assist them in having the laws enforced in Great Falls, that the local officers would not enforce them, that the sheriff was inactive, and the county attorney said no complaint was being made. The Great Falls people told us we would absolutely have to take some action.

We had a meeting on that point and determined that one of the gentlemen from Great Falls should call upon headquarters—higher up. He went there and was told—now, I do not mean city headquarters, I mean state headquar- ters—he was told there that they would take up the matter; that the Attorney General was out of the state at that time, but as soon as he came back, he and the other gentlemen would take up the matter.

That was about two months ago. Meanwhile we found nothing had been done. One of these gentlemen came down on the 6th of October, the day before

I left Montana. He came down and said "This gambling business has not been attended to, and I have come down to see what you people intend to do. Is this state association a dead one or a live one, or what kind of an association is it?" I told him that we hoped to be considered amongst the living, and asked him what was his idea. He said "There is one thing, as far as we can see, that must be done. We can not get the local officers to take any action. I suggest the appointment of a committee to call upon the Governor and the Attorney General, if you people will agree to it." I said "Certainly we will agree to it, and we will be glad to accompany you." The result was that a committee of two was appointed, one from Great Falls and one from Helena, and they called upon the Governor and had a conference which lasted about two hours, or a little over, with the Governor and the Attorney General. We have been promised from headquarters, that is, from the Attorney General's office, that every sheriff and every attorney in the State will have notice, and I imagine that by the time we get home we will have plenty to do if this goes through, and I have every reason to believe that it will. You will then find that the Montana brewers have all committed themselves unquestionably to a pretty hard road to plow. We will have to make good, because we promised to make good, at that meeting. We are doing it for the reason that we think it is going to help us in our fight a year from now. If we lose, it will be due to the fact that we started too late; but we have certainly started, and that is something.

Now I hope that we will not have to do what was suggested to us. I might add, by the way, that there are certain practical questions. The Attorney General, who is a very estimable gentleman, a fine lawyer, said "I will need evidence. Are you gentlemen prepared to furnish evidence?" We agreed we would do what Mr. Nagel said as to Buffalo, we would have to employ detectives to scure evidence that would hold. Without that, I really believe the eastern end of the state is going against us, but we have every opportunity to stave it off by methods along these lines.

I will close by saying that my experience with former meetings has convinced me that when many of us do penance, instead of putting on a hair shirt and peas in our shoes, we are careful to have the hair shirt lined and we boil the peas in advance. Thank you.

Mr. SCHLICHTING. I did not come prepared with a set speech, but I am going to give you a few facts from a state that is blessed with everything you can think of.

In the first place, we are blessed with local option. Before a city or town can be voted wet, we have to have twenty-five freeholders sign a petition asking the city or town board to grant an election. Then we have to vote it wet to have it wet. That has to be done every spring.

Now, I want to say that in some cases, in the smaller towns, there are not twenty-five freeholders, although ninety-five per cent of those people would vote wet; not having the twenty-five freeholders, they can not have a saloon.

I want to state further that I am proud to say that we have two-thirds of all the brewers in our state present here to-day; in other words, we have two out of the three brewers, and we manufacture the magnificent total of about 35,000 to 36,000 barrels among the three of us.

Mr. HUPFEL. What state is that—excuse me.

Mr. SCHLICHTING. South Dakota. Therefore, gentlemen, we are not financially in a position to make very much of a fight. Our hearts are in the right place, and our energies are there, because I put in sixty days personally living amongst the legislators of our state, trying to stop certain legislation.

Among the things that we accomplished was partial suffrage. Had that passed, the women of our state would have had the right to vote on school questions and upon the license question. You all know what that means. That was stopped, but unfortunately we have the initiative and referendum. If we had not had that, our legislators would not have endorsed and put us to the expense of a state-wide campaign, but the temperance people could and did circulate a petition and had it ready to be presented, and upon the strength of that we will be thrown into a state-wide campaign for next year.

Now, gentlemen, in the talks heretofore there has been one thing overlooked which to my knowledge is one of the most serious of them all; and that is this, that nearly all the states west of the Mississippi and a great many of the states east of the Mississippi and south of the Mason-Dixon line, are already dry.

If you have noticed, South Dakota is blessed with receiving the attentions of your Anti-Saloon League man from the State of Michigan, who is on our trail all the time; he lives with us; he has an organization and he has four people that I know of on his pay roll, and that makes, with himself, five. They are active all the time in our state. Besides that, they import from the eastern part of the United States and from other localities men whose object is to work for prohibition. They have, in our neighbor state, at the present time, Billy Sunday. We know what he has done in other states and what he is doing in Nebraska today.

Now, gentlemen, here is what I want to picture to you, and that is this, that although we are financially all big losers at the present time, unless we can get assistance, and assistance enough to help us struggling little brewers in the western states, we are going to lose state after state, and finally it will grab you, because the temperance people, their great work is to get as much territory as possible so as to cramp the rest of us. Last year they got four states that we know of; they even got Iowa, and it is going dry the first of January.

Now, we have got Montana, South Dakota and several other states that I do not remember at the present time that are going to vote this coming fall, and unless you assist us in trying to stem the tide, we are going to lose. We have some possibility of winning if we get plenty of assistance, but we must have orators, we must have experienced men to help us.

So far, we have been able to cope with these things; we have defeated county option by the vote of the people at four different times. We have defeated women's suffrage at three different times, and I want to say that this association, the United States Brewers' Association, through the efforts of one gentleman, Mr. Edward Dietrich, has been able to cope with it, and he has always been fortunate in winning. Now, I want to say that he is no hypnotist, he can not hypnotize these people, and I want to say there is one reason and one reason alone that he has won, and that has been because he understood the business, and he had the vim and the courage to work with it. No inexperienced man can accomplish what an experienced man can assomplish.

I well know that, gentlemen, from the fact that I went to the legislature last winter for the first time, and I want to say that I was as green as grass ever grew, and if I had been wise, if I had cut my eye teeth, I think I could have headed off some of these things. I did head off some of them, even though I was not wise. Now, I am in accord with having this organization large enough so that he can get some assistance. I am told that Mr. Dietrich is going to be taken away from us and put elsewhere. That is one stumbling block, and I am afraid that if you do so, and if we have a man in South Dakota who does not understand the situation well enough to cope with it, that it is going to be disastrous to us. A state is not a small thing. We haven't the population you have in these eastern states, but we cover some four hundred and odd miles east and west, and three hundred and odd miles north and south, and no man can come into our state within a few months before a campaign and get that situation down so he knows where he is at.

Now, to show you how serious our case is, I want to state that our Governor in the office, in the face of all the things we have gained by popular vote, went into the State of Minnesota and other states and made dry speeches at the time of their elections. Those are the facts. Now, you can imagine what those things mean to us.

All we want is somebody who can help us, and we need financial support, because, gentlemen, no three breweries that are selling 36,000 barrels in a state, can afford to fight alone; it is out of the question, we can not do it. Therefore, gentlemen, it is up to you to protect your own interests by helping us fight, because, if you do not, the results are going to be disastrous to us and later on disastrous to you, because every time they clip our wings a little more they less we can fly, and that is what they will do,—that is what they are doing; they are just clipping our wings one feather at a time and pretty soon they will be clipping the bones and getting down to the body, and the poor bird has got to quit flying and die. That is our situation.

I want to thank you for the goodness you have bestowed upon me in listening to a few words from South Dakota. I think Mr. Walgreen, who is with me, can lay a few facts before you.

Mr. WALGREEN. The way our situation lines up is about this: Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota and Nebraska are on the firing line with the Anti-Saloon League. It is up to the United States Brewers' Association to see that they are held where they are, at least; and of course we want to get the states

back, as far as we can. As Mr. Schlichting has told you, we are only three small breweries in South Dakota. We need your assistance.

I believe if the United States Brewers' Association would establish offices out west of the Missouri River somewhere, to handle the situation in those four states, and throw their forces out there to take care of that situation during 1916, they will be doing a work that is well worth while.

I have listened with a great deal of interest to the talks along the line of having a bureau of speakers. I think that is a very good thing. Get the very best that money can procure. I am also in favor of increasing the organization force. In our state we have studied over the proposition of getting some one to handle the situation there during the coming campaign. We have been unable to find any man in the state who is capable and who has the time to take hold of it. We have got to rely on the United States Brewers' Association to send a man out there. The kind of man that wants to be put into the state, of course you all know. I mean a man who can deliver a punch and who has something back of it to follow it up with.

The CHAIRMAN. I will next ask Mr. Over to tell us of the situation in Rhode Island.

Mr. OVER. I represent Rhode Island, and not being present at the last meeting, I would like to make a report for that state.

Rhode Island, as you know, is the smallest state in the Union. The last time the question of prohibition came up in that state was in 1889. Rhode Island went for prohibition in 1886, and they went back into the wet column again in 1889.

The question of prohibition in itself has never been taken up in the legislature, nor do I believe it has ever been discussed by the citizens at all. The main question down there is a question of license or no license.

There is a population of about 565,000, of which I think the wet area covers a population of from 530,000 to 540,000. The balance is dry. You can see by that, that Rhode Island is in very good shape regarding the license question.

Prior to 1907 the statute stated that the license question should be voted on by the citizens of any town or city in the state only when a petition had been signed by ten per cent of the voters in any particular city or town. The Anti-Saloon League people in that way have made several attempt to have a vote on the question in the different towns, including the city of Providence, which city, as you probably may know, has about one-half of the population of the state. The matter came up before the Supreme Court, and through the ambiguity of the wording of the Act, the Judges threw out these writs and stated that the whole question would have to be submitted to the people in every town and city in the state. That came up about three weeks before election. The result was that the wet forces won wonderfully. Towns that had not been licensed for fifty years were brought back to the license column. At the present time we have thirty-seven cities and towns where they have licenses, and seven no-license towns. That was the first year; that is, 1907, and since then, Mr. Chairman—I would like to have you take note of this—that we were assisted materially by the organization bureau of the United States Brewers' Association, headed by Mr. McDermott, Mr. Moffett and Mr. Thompson. They did good work for us in that year, and they have since done good work for us.

We vote on that question now every two years only—it comes up again next year.

We have gotten the various labor organizations in that state to pass resolutions favoring the license question. That was done through the efforts of Mr. Moffet and Mr. Thompson.

There is a law in force in Rhode Island that if any licensed dealer, wholesaler or brewer should sell to any one who does not possess a license, knowing that such person intended reselling those goods, the licensee's license is subject to revocation for at least a period of five years, and with that in mind, speaking for the brewers, I do not believe there is one brewer in the state who sells to any one unless he possesses a license, or unless the sale is made to a private family. That take into consideration the question of clubs, and no person can sell a club unless that club has a liquor license—I mean legally sell it.

In Providence the fee for clubs is $25 a year; simply a nominal sum. The retail license is $800.

The question of clubs has, to a certain degree, provoked the retailers, they claiming that the club can dispense its liquors to nominal members for a nominal sum, by paying $25.

In 1907, when this matter was sprung upon us, we formed an association outside of the Brewers' Association, consisting of the brewers and wholesalers of the state. At that time we called the organization the Rhode Island Liquor League; but since that time, for obvious reasons, we have changed the name to the Rhode Island Associates, believing that name is much better, in the eyes of the public, than the name of the Liquor League. We meet quite frequently. That association of the Associates conducts the state campaign.

It is necessary to register before the end of June of each year if you wish to vote that year, and in the spring of each year the Rhode Island Associates communicates with every liquor dealer in the state, asking him to call upon all his friends, and so forth, to register. Large cards are distributed to the saloons and restaurants and also to the barber shops and other places, with these words on them: "If you wish to vote this year it is necessary to register before June 30th." The name of any association is omitted. The political parties in many instances distribute these cards for us.

We keep out of politics on both sides. The question of women's suffrage has not come up at all in the state. We feel it is detrimental to our interests.

In the fall of the year our elections take place, on the general election day, the second Tuesday in November. About a month before that, literature is prepared, consisting of five pieces, about the length of that sheet of paper I hold in my hand. They are printed in English, German, French, Italian and some in Yiddish. If we know that a voter is a Frenchman, we put in one of these leaflets in French. Every one gets the leaflet in English, every voter in the whole state. They receive these two days before the election. Certain arrangements are made with the post office authorities so that we get preference over other letters mailed. They are all mailed by first class matter, and therefore that insures prompt delivery. We insert each day, in every newspaper in the state that is willing to accept the ad from us, and that takes in all the newspapers of the state, about three or four—we simply state the facts briefly: "How do you wish liquors to be sold, under a well-regulated license system or otherwise?" Then, at our own expense, over the signature of certain labor organizations, we appeal to the workingmen, and that has been very effective. We have had labor men go throughout the state and address their own labor organizations. Men of their own kind seem to appeal to them more than outsiders. The question of obtaining speakers to come in and make any of our matter known publicly, outside of the press and these leaflets, has not been in favor in Rhode Island. We have believed it is better for us to work under cover than otherwise, particularly as there has not been any issue there. If the matter should present itself in a form that we should have to make an issue, then the question of speakers will be considered.

Speaking for our association, we are fully in accord with the question of having a speaker's bureau. We are more in favor of increasing your organization bureau. I think it is a farce to think that an organization such as we have in the United States Brewers' Association should limit itself to four or five men and expect those four or five men to tour the country and sometimes expect them to be in two or three different states at one time. I think it is physically impossible to expect those men to do anything of the sort, and I will say, Mr. Chairman, that we are thoroughly in accord with this recommendation.

I thank you, gentlemen. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, it has been urged that we continue receiving reports from the delegates who are here, until we have heard from all sections of the country, but the reporter has just reminded me of the fact that there is a limit to his physical endurance, and he would like very much if the meeting would give him a chance to rest up a bit, and I therefore suggest that we take a recess of fifteen or twenty minutes.

Furthermore, the suggestion has been made that the time could be occupied by the Committee on Resolutions in making up its report. Before asking them to do so, however, I want to ask the gentlemen present whether they wish to bring anything further before this meeting for consideration by the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. MCDOWELL. Before the conference takes a recess, I would like to suggest that, in view of the fact that we have had a good many suggestions made today from the various states, all of which I am very glad to have heard, that

these conferences should be held more frequently; say semi-annually, and that the Committee on Resolutions be empowered to embody in their recommendations the matter of calling this conference together again, say next May, in some city, Chicago or some other western city, so that the representatives from the various states can again assemble. I think much good might be brought out of that.

Mr. KESSLER. In seconding that motion, I would like to ask Mr. McDowell if he would consider a slight change in the time for the meeting?

Mr. MCDOWELL. So that it will suit all of the members, as nearly as possible, it is immaterial to me.

Mr. DOYLE. If I may make a suggestion, I think that most of the spring elections occur in April, and I think that Mr. McDowell's suggestion about May would be just about right, because then those elections would all be over. If you want a full attendance, you have got to have the meeting at a time when there is nothing doing in the states.

Mr. MCDOWELL. I will say that, so far as California is concerned, we have elections every time the sun rises and sets (laughter). We have them now. We had approximately 120 last year. We have had 39 this year, and they are still on, and they will be coming on until November, 1916. There is no stopping them. Whatever time may be suggested as suitable and convenient for the other delegates, I think we can find some way to get a representative here from California at that conference. I know we will be busy with local elections and with the state-wide election also—we are busy all the time out there on this question.

Mr. OSCAR SCHMIDT. I would suggest the first week in May.

(The motion as amended was seconded and unanimously carried.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, gentlemen, I would suggest that we take a recess of fifteen or twenty minutes.

(During the recess it was decided that an adjournment would be taken and the conference called together later, if it was so desired.)

EXHIBIT No. 1032.

(From U. S. B. A. files by Fox.)

Minutes of an Executive Session of the United States Brewers' Association, held at the Hotel Kimball, Springfield, Mass., Friday, October 15, 1915, at 11 o'clock A. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. Edward A. Schmidt.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, this is an Executive Session and none but members of the Association will be permitted in the room. If there are any present who are not members of this Association they will kindly leave the room.

I declare the session open for business. New business in is order.

Mr. ANHEUSER. I would like to ak a question, just what "new business" means.

The PRESIDENT. Any business.

Mr. ANHEUSER. All right, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that as a member of the Board of Trustees, I have read with very great interest Mr. Andreae's report upon the subject of what he has done for our cause in the past year, and I now request that Mr. Andreae take the floor and advise these gentlemen of the report he has made to the Board of Trustees.

The PRESIDENT. Does Mr. Andreae wish to take the floor?

Mr. ANHEUSER. Yes, sir, so that he shall read his report.

The PRESIDENT. Does Mr. Andreae wish to take the floor?

Mr. ANDREAE. Yes, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT. You have the privilege of the floor, Mr. Andreae.

Mr. ANDREAE. At the desire of the gentleman who has just spoken I will read to you the report I made to the Board of Trustees, as I read the report I made to the Board of Trustees last year. The report is dated October 9th.

To the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Assn., New York City.

Gentlemen: I beg to report the activities of my organization during the past year as follows:

PRESS WORK.

The personal liberty articles appearing in the American Leader are being republished, in thirty languages, in whole or in part by about 800 newspapers with a total circulation of 6,000,000 copies. There are thus being reached through this channel 18,000,000 readers bi-weekly. The organization of this press and the elements surrounding it by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers has now reached the stage at which practical results can be obtained throughout the country by the application of proper organization methods in any locality where this press is represented. This has been proved beyond question in Ohio where in the last campaign through the instrumentality of the Foreign Language Press the registration of voters of foreign origin or foreign extraction exceeded in one county alone by over twenty thousand anything ever known in the political history of the county.

In March of this year I was elected a Vice-President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers and appointed the accredited spokesman for the organized foreign language newspapers of the country. In this capacity I delivered, at the invitation of the International Press Congress held in San Francisco, the address before that body on behalf of the Foreign Language Newspapers of America, and have since addressed various commercial bodies in the same capacity. Arrangements are now under way to have me deliver under the same auspices similar addresses before Chambers of Commerce or other commercial associations in the chief centres of the country, and I am informed by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers that dates for my appearance before such bodies are being arranged in about fifteen of our larger cities.

At my suggestion the Foreign Language Newspapers Association has decided to use its influence and efforts to bring about an organization of the general business interests of the country for the purpose of combating by practical means the freak laws and coercive legislation, which are becoming an increasing menace to the property rights of the citizen and the business development of the country, and I have been placed in the position to interview and discuss plans for such an organizaion with some of the leading commercial men of the country.

The Association had recently in contemplation the summoning of a convention of the 1250 German and foreign language newspaper editors in Washington for the purpose of laying out a concerted policy to be pursued by this great press in its crusade against the destructive tendencies of those who are today controlling the legislation of the country, and to present resolutions embodying the views of this press to the President of the United States, and to the Governors of the individual States of the Union. The holding of this convention was made conditional upon my agreeing to deliver the address at the convention and take charge of the necessary work incident to the carrying out of the policy decided upon by all the newspapers concerned.

To my great regret, owing to the circumstances in which I have now been placed, with practically no funds under my control, and the funds actually promised me withheld, I saw myself unable to undertake this work, and this important move has in consequence, for the present at least, been abandoned.

For the same reasons, I shall be compelled to notify the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers that, unless present conditions are altered, when the arrangements now in effect between that Association and myself terminate, namely on January 1st and May 1st, 1916, I shall not be able to renew them, as they involve personal guarantees which I am no longer ble to fulfill. I shall of course continue to maintain active relations with the Association in any direction in which I may be rendered able to do so, but the educational campaign in the press itself and the vest groundwork of the organization I have thereby been instrumental in creating during the past two years, will, I greatly regret to say, be destroyed at the very moment, when, with adequate means, it is capable of producing the most effective and far-reaching results.

The President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers has informed me that he has been repeatedly approached during the past eighteen months and urged to carry on this organization and general campaign work in cooperation with men other than myself in your Association, but that he has refused.

The same condition exists in reference to the organization bureau established by the German-American Alliance in conjunction with my own organization and in accordance with certain plans and policies suggested by me two

years ago. The first Vice-President of the National Alliance and the Chairman of its Organization Bureau tells me that he has been approached through certain channels and informed that I shall not have the means after January 1st of continuing the arrangements under which his bureau and my organization are working, but that, if he will continue to carry on the organization established through me along the lines hitherto pursued, the necessary financial means will be supplied through other parties in your Association, provided he will work under their direction instead of under mine. This, he has notified me, he will refuse to do, so that, unless other elements in the Alliance are willing to take over the work, so ably conducted by him, this important organization work will likewise be destroyed.

The German-American Alliance Organization bureau has done active work in holding meetings, forming new branches and societies and instilling new life into old branches in Illinois and Ohio, and, through the German Press and the German Clubs and societies in Texas, created a strong agitation in that State against the franchise amendment recently defeated there, which would have disfranchised a very large number of foreign born voters. The Foreign Language Press Association performed the same work among the foreign language newspapers published in Texas.

Since the field force at the command of the bureau of the German-American Alliance consists of only three men, when it ought to be five or six times that number, it is not possible to cover more than a limited amount of ground in one year. The whole force has for the past months been engaged in organization in Ohio, where the most important campaign affecting the interests is now in progress.

Practically my entire available field staff (ten men) are today at work in Ohio, in charge of the campaign work in the various counties, or groups of counties, in which organization is in progress, and many of them have been at work there since the beginning of the year.

I should mention that the representatives of labor working with me have been so employed since the beginning of the year, Mr. Adolph Kummer in particular having, at the urgent request of Mr. Proebstle, been working at my instructions for the past ten months under that gentleman's direction in Ohio. This may prove of interest to your Board, in view of the fact that the statement was made at a recent meeting of your Executive Committee that Mr. Proebstle had expressed himself in a disparaging manner about Mr. Kummer.

I regret that in the case of my labor bureau also I am informed that intimation has been conveyed by a representative of the U. S. Brewers' Association to the Brewery Workers Union that it is intended to withhold from me the means to carry on my work in conjunction with labor, with the consequence that the elements cooperating with me have been thrown into a state of uncertainty and unrest and that the confidence between those elements and myself which is essential to effective joint work has been largely undermined.

Surveys have been made of Kentucky, at the request of the Kentucky interests, of Maine, at the request of Mr. Gardiner, and of Ohio, at the request of the Ohio interests.

GENERAL LITERARY AND PUBLICITY WORK.

Apart from my own speeches and writings, which through certain influential channels have been placed in the hands of the leading business men and other prominent men of the country, with the result that a considerable correspondence has ensued with many of them, the salient features of the past year have been the progress made with the news-bureau established last August, and that of the Hearthstone Magazine, which this August reached a circulation in paid individual subscriptions among the smaller communities of the country, of 30,000.

The news-bureau now supplies its weekly news-letter to over 5,300 of the 12,000 weekly papers of the country, all published in the smaller towns, and the list is steadily increasing. The total circulation of these papers is conservatively estimated at 1,000 copies each, so that the actual circulating medium of publicity here utilized represents 5,300,000 subscribers, and, since each copy of a newspaper is conceded on an average to be read by between three and four individuals, the total readers actually reached every week amount to between 15 and 16 million.

The actual pieces of literature reaching readers by means of this bureau and the foreign language press alone may be computed, according to another met-

of reckoning sometimes used in this connection, to be 431 million annually, namely:

Foreign Language Newspapers 6,000,000 reproductions of personal liberty articles 26 times a year	156,000,000
5,300,000 reproductions of our news-letters in 5,300 weekly papers, having a total circulation of 5,300,000, 52 times a year	275,600,000
Total	431,600,000

It is to be noted, also, that these pieces of literature not only go to the individual readers direct, but are paid for by them, and it may therefore be presumed that they are actually read.

The circulation of the Hearthstone was increasing so rapidly in advance of the advertising rates that it was thought wise, for financial reasons, to stop further increase until September, when the advertising rate increased from 40¢ a line to 70¢ a line, and the actual linage contracted for at the increased rate in that and the following months promises to more than double, thus enabling me to largely increase the circulation, while reducing the average cost.

At this juncture, however, your financial committee passed a resolution directing the discontinuance of this publication as soon as conveniently possible. As I was unable to convince the committee that it was destroying one of the most valuable assets I had built up, and one which within a year or two would double and treble in value, not only at no additional cost, but at a steadily decreasing one, I appealed to the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association to save this asset, with the result that I have the assurance that, provided this Association can secure the means, which it will know before the middle of October, it will guarantee me sufficient funds to carry on and extend the publication.

The play "The Passing of Hans Dippel", presenting the story of a German saloon-keeper of the highest respectability being gradually ruined by the dry movement and his business destroyed without compensation by the operation of the option law, was produced by an excellent company in November and December last in eight cities in Ohio and Missouri, but owing to the complete collapse of the theatrical business at that period, which was practically universal, was withdrawn at the end of the year.

The contribution of weekly articles to the labor press through the Brauer-Zeitung has continued throughout the year.

A complete collection of my articles and addresses on personal liberty and the prohibition question has been published in book form, with my permission, by a publishing firm, and I understand that the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association offered to pay a pro rata share of the cost of providing all the libraries of the country with a copy of this book, if the United States Brewers' Association would join in the undertaking. But the proposition was refused by the United States Brewers' Association, whereupon the N. W. L. D. A. undertook the entire cost, and the book is now available in every library in the country.

A compilation of the population of the United States of foreign origin or extraction by States and Cities, with their actual voting strength, and the location of the foreign language newspapers, has been prepared and is ready to be placed in the hands of campaign managers, wherever elections may be called.

STAMP PLAN.

Every effort has been made to extend and perfect the discount stamp plan inaugurated by the National Association of Commerce and Labor, and some progress has been made in certain directions. But the official disapproval of the Board of Trustees of the method of putting the plan in operation as originally devised has deterred the interests in many localities from cooperating in the plan, whilst all our endeavors to carry it out in those localities in conformity with the wishes of the President and Board of Trustees have met with insurmountable obstacles.

FINANCIAL.

My organization has received from the treasury of the United States Brewers' Association since September 1st, 1914, that is to say fourteen months, including October 1st, 1915, $16,666.66 towards the funds for its support. I was

summoned before your Executive Committee early in the year, and, after an exhaustive discussion of the estimates of expenditure for the ensuing twelve months and the fund I had accumulated, together with the probable income to be expected from the sale of stamps, I was informed that a sum of $100.000 had been voted by the Board towards my fund during that period. I have conducted the organization and laid out its work in accordance with that assurance, but as only $16,666 has been paid of that sum in the seven months including October 1, 1915, my reserve fund has now fallen below the amount necessary to enable me to discharge the personal liabilities I have undertaken. In fact, the brewers' fund which I had accumulated was exhausted in April, so that the $16,666.66 actually remitted from your Treasury has not sufficed since then to pay my own personal reimbursement for more than six of those seven months.

I have been informed that your Executive Committee, when asked for remittance under the appropriation made by your Board, declined to make further remittances until an audit of my expenditures had been made, and a firm of public accountants was accordingly employed by the Finance Committee for that purpose. This firm, through six or seven of its employees, has since report and figures, compiled from our books and vouchers, are, I believe, now in the hands of the President.
investigated down to the minutest and most delicate details all the dealings and operations of my organization from the date of its inception, and its voluminous

Respectfully submitted.

PERCY ANDREAE.

Now, gentlemen, I wish to add a few words to this report, and I will ask your indulgence for ten minutes while I add these words.

I believe every man in this Association, whether actively engaged in the work I am doing or others are doing, or whether passively so engaged, has only one object in view, and that is the best possible results that can be obtained. We have one common cause, and there should be no difference of opinion whatsoever as to what that cause is, or as to the desirability of making that cause permanent in the country and beyond the attacks of those who are opposing us.

Differences of opinion with regard to methods or means are natural, but I want you to just allow me to take you back two years and a half ago when a meeting was held in Chicago, owing to the fact that at that time it seemed that nation-wide prohibition was threatening us as a certainty and when a committee, a national committee consistng of delegates from every state of the union where the brewing industry was represented, was appointed to meet in conjunction with the Board of Trustees for the purpose of devising a plan of procedure or plan of organization and determining who should take charge of that plan when devised.

That meeting was held in New York and at that meeting there was a unanimous desire, at any rate, a desire without a dissenting voice, that I should take over that work. I did not want to take over that work and so stated. I had agreeable positions that brought me in an income that was sufficient for me. I had gone through a great deal of work of a similar kind, and I told the gentlemen who approached me that I would rather that they took some one else. When they insisted I made my stipulation because I knew, gentlemen, that work of the character I would undertake—and I suppose it is no secret that the outline of the organization was one that I had presented to the body—that no such work could be successfully undertaken unless the man who undertook it was first allowed a free hand and, secondly, had the loyal support of all those he was to represent. I made, therefore, those stipulations that I should have a free hand and I made the stipulation that I should be left unhampered and uninterfered with by other bodies and that I should be as unconnected with this industry, as far as the public was concerned, as it was possible for me to be. I said that I would have to form my own organization outside of this organization and proceeded to work along the lines of that organization.

Those terms were unconditionally accepted and the assurance was given me that all the means necessary to carry on this work and the sum I stated and the sum that was also accepted as the necessary sum required to carry on the work successfully was $100,000 a month, to cover the entire United States.

I stated that the kind of work, the character of work I would have to do would be such that no visible results could possibly be seen by any one in the organization for at least two years.

Now, gentlemen, I want you simply to bear in mind that this was the condition under which I entered into the task which I undertook. Now, that has been very, very largely forgotten by many. I admit that there are differences of opinion as I said with regard to means and methods, but gentlemen you ought to give a man—and I do not believe there is any man who will refuse to do so—a fair show. You have got to treat a man fairly and justly, and that is all I ask at the hands of this body. I know that there are some who disapprove of the plan I have. I believe that there are some who think that nothing has been accomplished. If what I have read to you to-day—and I can give chapter and verse for every word, and it only is an outline of what has been done—does not satisfy you that in these two years or two years and a half I have been working visible results have been shown, then I do not think anything else would prove it to you unless it be this:

I have said in this report that this business throughout the country, where this element that I have gradually and slowly and plodingly organized in every locality in the past and in the surrounding elements, that is the leaders of thought, college and professional men, and generally the leaders of those to whom I am appealing that that organization has now reached the point that it must be utilized wherever those elements exist and there is a very strong misapprehension in the minds of many of you gentlemen I know as to the value or strength of this particular element.

Do you realize, and this is something that surprised even the International Press Congress and the Foreign Language Newspaper Association itself—do you realize that of the total vote of this country eight million votes belong to this element; that eight million votes is one-half of the largest actual vote that is cast in any election held in this country; that it is more than one-third of the total eligible voting strength of the citizenship of the country. Do you realize that this particular element is more susceptible to the guidance of leaders than any other element in the country; do you realize that this element to the largest possible extent is the element that stands for the cause you stand for, that stands for the cause of personal liberty and the rights and customs and such things of another description that brought them over to this country?

Now, gentlemen, this element is practically equally distributed over thirty-three states of the union. This element is in the country districts, largely represented as one compared to two in the cities. That compilation of the population of the United States of men of foreign extraction or birth is a compilation of the utmost possible value to you wherever you may have campaigns, and it is only necessary to let me know where that element can be of assistance to you and with the proper means at my command I can set that organization in motion in any district.

Now, I want to suggest this to you because I know that the statement has gone forth, just talked about as gossip, and it is untrue about it. I would ask you, not one of you but two of you or three of you to go to Ohio independently, go to Cleveland, Ohio, or any other place where this element has been organized and has been made effective at the polls, and investigate for yourselves and I will give you all the assistance you may need, but I would prefer that you conduct your own line of investigation so that there can be no possible suspicion that the stage has been set up to deceive you. I would like you as a committee, if you will appoint one or form one among yourselves, to go to the State of Iowa where this organization work has been done where, as you know, the Iowa brewers could not be saved because just in Iowa you will find the effectiveness of that organization and how, if only it had not been left to the eleventh hour, it would have been instrumental in saving that state, and that state can be still saved from state-wide prohibition, in my opinion, if the proper methods are pursued, and I am not only expressing my own views when I make this statement I am expressing the views of the Iowa brewers themselves who worked and worked wonderfully with this organization, but unfortunately the campaign ended in their downfall. I would like to ask you to go to Texas and see what the organization did in Texas in its small way.

But, gentlemen, unless I am welcome in a state or in a campaign and my organization is something that is regarded as worth trying, why I cannot do anything with it. Now, that is the general part of it.

On the subject of finance don't, for goodness sake, let this thing go under at this time. I am speaking now of those various things I have mentioned here. Don't let it go under at a time when all the money which has been put into it will prove fruitful and produce results such as you have never seen produced at any past time; don't do it not only for that reason but for another one.

I stood before you gentlemen two years ago at Atlantic City when I la succinctly all the various things I proposed in my organization, and I copy of that address to every member of this association. At that me pointed out to you that our great trouble was that we had in the past neglected our friends and tried to conciliate our enemies.

Gentlemen, if you let this work go under, if you let this foreign la press feel that it does not help you, if you treat that element as though not worth considering, the danger is that that element will resent it and against you. In my experience, and I have come together with men classes, men who probably would never speak to you as they speak to the simple reason I appear entirely outside of you—I find the great danger this interest is confronted with today is not the danger from its enemies the danger—it is from the loss of those friends who have stood by it u present moment through thick and thin and who today say your cause is less, because you make it hopeless, and "The only way in which we can s in bettering conditions in this country is to sweep clean for prohibition then start anew on an entirely clean slate."

Gentlemen, I could talk to you for hours on this subject, on the ma things that have entered into the work I have done. I have placed my h and my best ability at your disposal as I promised I would and I want t tinue to do so; but, gentlemen, you have got to support me not only wi necessary means but with loyal assistance and cooperation. That is what I you, give me help. [Applause.]

Mr. ANHEUSER. Mr. Chairman, I have a resolution here that I will o this body in my behalf, and I will ask Mr. Evers (?) of the Anheuser-B Association to read it for me.

Mr. EVERS. The resolution offered by the Anheuser-Busch is as follows

Whereas, in the spring of 1913 it was mutually agreed between a Com of Brewers of the United States acting in conjunction with the Board of tees of the U. S. Brewers Association, and Percy Andreae, that he, P Andreae, should place his services and his time for five years at the disp the industry for the purpose of inaugurating a liberal movement agains hibition along lines to be determined by him; and

Whereas, the main stipulation made by Percy Andreae in undertaki work which was agreed to by the aforesaid representatives of the industry that he must have an entirely free hand and not be subjected to the inte ence or dictation of boards or committees; and

Whereas, an extra assessment of two cents per barrel was levied on and by members of the United States Brewers' Association for the expres agreed purpose of financing and supporting such movement conducted by P Andreae, now therefore,

Be it resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the agre aforesaid so entered into with Percy Andreae be in all its particulars fully kept and observed; that the Board of Trustees be and they are h instructed to pay to Percy Andreae for the purpose aforesaid as orig agreed not less than one half of all moneys in excess of $150,000 rece the Treasury of the Association on account of dues and assessments November 1st, 1915, and that Percy Andreae from time to time and in pa lar at the annual convention of the Association, account either to the tion or to the Board of Trustees for the disbursement of these moneys.

Be it further resolved, That in as much as only $16,666.66 has been p the sum of $100,000 appropriated for one year from April 1st, 1915, by the B of Trustees for the purposes of the Andreae organization the balance due the months of June to October, 1915, inclusive, be now paid to Percy Andr

Mr. ANHEUSER. Mr. President, I now move you that this resolut passed.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, is that motion seconded?

Mr. BEIS. I second the motion.

Mr. PABST. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Pabst.

Mr. PABST. Gentlemen, I have listened to the wonderful oratory of Andreae, and while I am not in position to refute some of the state which he has made reflecting upon some members of this Association for fering with him in a manner that would be unfit for any gentleman to be of, those who have been accused can probably take care of themselves.

The statement of Mr. Andreae's wonderful circulation, running up in millions of the publications which he has made go away beyond my con and I believe that if Mr. Collier or Lesle's or other representative publi

knew of the wonderful publicity that Mr. Andreae has been able to effect with his publications that he has made, I believe that we could not hold Mr. Andreae in this Association. I believe there would be other fields for him that would be away beyond what we could afford to pay.

So far as the financial end is concerned, I have been a member of the Executive Committee and the Executive Committee has had no other motive than to find out and inform themselves of the work that Mr. Andreae was doing. That Committee was appointed by a resolution, if I remember correctly, of the National Association of Commerce and Labor and the United States Brewers' Association; that committee consisted of six, three from the Brewers and three from the Association of Commerce and Labor.

There have been no attempts to hamper in any way, shape or manner Mr. Andreae's doings, but was within our province and the object of our appointment was to determine what Mr. Andreae was doing so that there would be some coordination between his work and that of the other committees and organizations of your Association. I cannot but be impressed with the fact underlying and imminent in Mr. Andreae's report as well as in his speech that the men who have charge of your Association here are not honest, that they are playing favorites, that they are withholding money from one and possibly giving it into other hands.

Mr. Andreae has had at his command sufficient funds to carry on the work which he had in hand, and I believe he has today a sum that will carry him for some time. The committee which was appointed, the so-called Finance Committee has instructed or has informed Mr. Andreae that the moneys which have been appropriated by this Association would be forthcoming and would be paid. I am about to assume the responsibility and have the honor of representing this Association in the chair. I want to say to you gentlemen that it may not be your loss, but I know it will be and by God it would be my gain if I refrained from accepting the honor of being your President under conditions such as have existed in this organization for some time past. [Applause.]

I want to say to you gentlemen that if you have no confidence in your Board of Trustees and your officers then by God throw them out and get somebody else. If you men want me I want your loyal support and, by God, you cannot get me otherwise. You can hire some one and pay them to do as you damn please, but by God I will not put in my time with a lot of bickering and petty jealousies. Unless you get an organization and stock by it and stick to what you do and support the man you have chosen, you had better disband and let this whole industry go plumb to the devil. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT. The chair recognizes Mr. Gardiner.

Mr. GARDINER. Mr. President, in view of the resolution that is before this body I do not know whether I am in order in rising to speak upon a subject not directly connected with it, but if I am not in order, Mr. President, I will ask the indulgence of the floor for a few moments until I may be able to make reply to certain statements in Mr. Andreae's statement which I think that, although I have never been informed, apply to me or to those under me.

When Mr. Andreae took command of the bureau which he has so signally served, and since it will be borne in mind that present at all those conferences and meetings to which he has referred I expressed the opinion that it would be impossible for this Association to raise sufficient funds to carry on both organizations to the extent to which the Association was entitled to have them carried on, and I furthermore suggested that both organizations, Mr. Andreae's bureau and the bureau which up to a time shortly preceding that to which I refer had been under my control but from which I was without at the time mentioned—I suggested that Mr. Andreae was the man under whose direction both forces should be carried on. That recommendation was not agreed to and I was again placed in charge of the bureau over which I now preside.

I want to say to you gentlemen and to Mr. Andreae particularly, with all the power at my command, that I have never, by word or action, said or done a thing that reflected upon Mr. Andreae in the administration of his office.

I wish to speak particularly to the statement that some men in this Association have approached the director or president of the Foreign Language Newspaper Association with the idea of having him go along with his work under some other auspices than those of Mr. Andreae. I wish to say that never have I been guilty of such a treacherous act and to my knowledge there has never been any other man in this Association connected with me or without who has tried to do such a thing.

I had a meeting with Mr. Hamerling in Philadelphia at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel sometime, I suppose, about two years ago, which meeting was requested by him and when I came to him he said he wished to consult with me about using his newspapers, foreign language newspapers, in Pennsylvania, in a campaign which was on at that time in that state. In that interview he referred to Mr. Andreae and so did I, and both of us in the most complimentary terms. I told him that I would refer the proposition to our Board of Trustees and if they saw fit to engage the services of the foreign language newspapers through Mr. Hamerling that I would so report it to him. The Board decided otherwise and nothing was done. We won the campaign and I have never seen Mr. Hamerling since.

In regard to the German-American Alliance I have known Dr. Hexmer for years; we are both Philadelphians. There has never been by me, and so far as I know by any one who presumed to act for me, any effort made upon Dr. Hexmer or any other member or official of the German-American Alliance looking to the change of arrangements now existing between Mr. Andreae's bureau and the German-American Alliance over to my bureau or to any other forces in this Association. I would ask the gentlemen to accept these statements as being most positively and absolutely true.

I have no intention nor has any one under me, so far as I know, of antagonizing Mr. Andreae or his bureau to the slightest extent. Mr. Andreae has repeatedly told gatherings, gatherings of brewers in various cities of the union in my presence and at other times I believe, and I have as repeatedly endorsed his statements that as between him and me there is the most absolute and cordial harmony prevailing, that each man recognizes the necessity of the work of both being conducted under absolutely harmonious relations. So far as I am concerned that pledge, that statement has never been violated. I wish to say I do not believe it has ever been violated by Mr. Andreae.

I speak today with as much feeling as it is possible for a man to inject into his words. For the first time in my life I feel that I am repelling an assault which goes right down to the very essence of my being. I have never been accused of treachery and I have never been guilty of it, and I ask you, gentlemen, and you, Mr. President, to accept that with that degree of sincerity and truth with which it is uttered. (Applause.)

Mr. BEIS. Mr. President and gentlemen of this convention, I am glad that so many of the representatives of the brewing industry of the country are here upon this occasion to hear what is being said by those who represent the agencies that have been at work for you.

I do not understand, Mr. President and gentlemen, that Mr. Andreae's address was an assault upon the gentleman who has just had the floor. There is nothing, in my judgment, in that address which points to Mr. Gardiner. There is nothing in that report that refers in any way upon the gentleman who preceded him and who, I am sorry to say, took the name of God in vain and used invective in discussing a matter that so nearly concerns you and your future.

Whatever is done here shall not be, gentlemen, I hope, the victory of any faction or of any set of men in this organization. As has already been suggested you are all working and the men who are employed by you are supposed to be working all of them to a common end, and that is to subserve your interest incidentally only to establishing the one point and that is the word "liberty." That is the thing that you are all fighting for and your business is only an incident to it and so are the names of the gentlemen who are employed by you, whether it be Mr. Andreae or Mr. Gardiner; they are only incidents. The question is are the operations that are being conducted by them for your good. That is the thing for you to inquire about. Men cut no figure and should cut no figure in this proposition except in so far as the question arises whether or not you are treating them honestly, fairly and justly.

So that the discussion here upon the question as to whether or not this resolution shall be adopted, gentlemen, involves in my judgment two propositions. One is this: Whether or not you entered into a contract, as the resolution recites, in 1913 with Mr. Andreae, and the adoption of that resolution involves the question of whether or not you are going to stand by the contract that you then made with him, or whether you are going to repudiate it.

The next question involved is whether or not the agencies that Mr. Andreae has set on foot and set in motion by your employment and with your money have been done in good faith for the great cause, as I say, in which we are all unanimously interested without division, or should be at least.

Now from the report—I have not the details and I suppose there are many members who have not the details, who do not know how much money has been raised, who do not know how much of that money Mr. Andreae has had, who do not know how much of that money Mr. Gardiner has had, who do not know how much money has been appropriated to other sources who have been in the work of publicity for this organization. I think we ought to be enlightened upon that. As a member of this organization without being upon any committee, without having any knowledge—we do not get any detailed information in any of the reports here, I suspect I am with hundreds of others of the organization out in the dark. I do not know anything about the financial conditon; I don't know how much money has been raised; I don't know where it has gone to. Now, it is time to find out. Let us know something about where our money has gone. I do not ask for the details, but let us see where the money has gone to.

I have got a right to speak, I represent an organization here that contributes its little mite, it may not be as much as some, but to the organization I represent it is a good deal in the stress of times.

In Ohio where we have had a fight now for the last five or six years—and while I am talking to you about Ohio I want to bring to you the news that I believe with the splendid organization we have in Ohio on the second day of November we will again put ourselves on record as being against prohibition.

In 1912 an election was held under a resolution which was introduced by our friends in the Legislature and there were selected delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The Andreae organization, so-called, was put into the field there. We selected a majority of the delegates to that Convention. That Convention wrote licenses into the Constitution of the State, something that no other state has.

Last year after a terrific fight we came out victorious as you all know, and this year we expect to come out victorious again.

We have had actual experience with the ideas and plans Mr. Andreae has advocated in Ohio, and we have got practical results. I speak knowingly because I am from Ohio and I have had something to do intimately with the work that has been carried on there.

Now, I say do not let us come here and swear and call each other names; that is not the spirit in which things are accomplished by any organization. There should be unanimity.

Now, I do not doubt that every agency that has been set on foot by this organization, their activity has been done in the very best of faith.

Now, then, you made your contract with Mr. Andreae. You agreed to supply him with the necessary funds to carry on his work. Now, the question is before you in this resolution, after he has severed the connections that he had which were making him, as he said, all the income that was sufficient for his living,—as he has cut all those off and gone into your employ, the question is whether or not now you are going to treat him fairly, honestly and justly and observe your contract with him.

This resolution does not call for all the money that you agreed to give him as they read it; it calls for only one-half of the excess over and above $150,000 which, as I understand, it was admitted at the time was the amount necessary for the actual overhead expenses of the Association itself, so one-half of all over $150.000 would give him less than two cents per barrel which he would be entitled to, according to the letter of the contract you made with him, according to the spirit of the contract.

Now, it seems to me you cannot afford to abandon the work Mr. Andreae has undertaken. He has spent your money in the establishment of these different things you have enumerated here. Now, they are about to bear fruit, you are about to abandon them. There would be just as much sense in a farmer who sows his wheat in the fall and which crop grew up and ripened under the weather conditions in July and the farmer said "The wheat is there ready to cut but I guess I won't cut it." That is exacly what the work of Mr. Andreae has done. He has got his organization into shape where it is going to bear fruit. The question is, after you have spent your good money, whether you are now going to abandon the crop you have sowed through your agents and let it lie in the fields to rot and let the enemy come along and absolutely put you out of business.

Gentlemen, let us get together in this Convention. I plead for harmony. I have no fault to find with either agency. Mr. Gardiner has done good work. Mr. Feigenspan's committee has done good work and the officers and members

of other committees have done good work. Now, let us in that spirit pas resolution, gentlemen, and go on and continue with our work and meet enemy instead of fighting amongst ourselves. I thank you.

Mr. ANDREAE. I merely want to say two words to correct a misapprehe in the mind of my friend, John Gardiner. I did not refer to Mr. Gard either by name or by inference. I had not Mr. Gardiner in mind. What Gardiner says is true. His problem and my trouble as he once expressed self comes from that which exists in the imagination of those who surround I think Mr. Gardiner will recollect making that statement. That statem true. I was not referring to Mr. Gardiner. I said that certain men been approached and asked whether they would conduct the organizatio work that they were doing under the auspices of men different from m Whether that was under the auspices of Mr. Gardiner or Mr. Fox, I know, but Mr. President you will remember I have been before your mittees and you have stated to me that you think and your committee th that the German-American Alliance bureau that I had should be condu under different auspices; that the Labor Bureau I had should be condu under different auspices so that you see from the very things I learned in y own committee I knew enough to give, at any rate, the color of truth to the s ments made to me by the men with whom I was working.

There is nothing in the nature of treachery that I was suggesting. I merely a question which we can discuss amongst ourselves as to whether t work should be done under these auspices or under those. That is the question. It has, as a matter of fact, been the question for two years in various committees that I have had to attend as to whether I should co this work or whether it should be left to the Association.

I wish distinctly and emphatically to say that I accuse no one, no perso no body of persons, of treachery or anything of the kind.

Gentlemen, it is merely a question of a difference of opinion and an h difference of opinion is something that every man is entitled to, and there nothing else I want discussed here and, please for goodness sake, don't use words as "treachery" and so on. They are not in my mind and they sh not be in yours.

Mr. LIEBMANN. Mr. President and gentlemen, I would like to begin answe the statement of the gentleman that represents one of the 33 brewers of who signed a five years agreement to pay an assessment of two cents a bar The first statement that the gentleman makes as to living up to our contract fully endorsed. I think this Association presided over by its officers has n in the last 50 years of its existence or even longer repudiated or violated in slightest respect any contract that it has entered into. [Applause.]

The contract with Mr. Andreae provides for his salary. There is nothi the contract about the brewers raising two cents and turning over the amo that is being raised by the two cents to any one man to spend it as he sees but even if that were the contract it comes with bad grace from any se brewers—and I refer to the Ohio brewers right now to say that we ought to that thing and then withhold the funds for supplying that very thing. [A plause.]

The funds of the Association prior to some six or seven years ago, regular dues, were just about sufficient to carry on the routine work of Association. I was one of the many that were stampeded off their feet Chicago by the eloquence of Mr. Andreae. There is no one who could mak plausible a statement of his case as Mr. Andreae, but as Mr. Pabst has and as Mr. Andreae himself has just said, there is a difference of opinion I think in this country the majority rules and the majority against Mr. And on some of the things he has done is overwhelming.

I want to say one thing, because the question has always been raised, as animus. Mr. Andreae touched upon the labor question. I want to refer to gentlemen the fact that the labor question of the United States brewers been successfully handled ever since the inception of this brewers' associa I do not think with all the troubles that some of you may have had that can point to any industry in the United States, short of such powerful tr as the steel trust and similar organizations—you certainly cannot point to industry which depends upon the workmen to take away your produce w has had so little trouble as our organization in labor matters. In the way that Mr. Andreae complains about the labor matters, which he was in certain directions to keep his fingers off, because we have an efficient committee, I now hark back to a great many years ago, to the year 1901, w

Mr. Andreae tried to inaugurate the National Protective Brewers' Association for the express purpose of taking up the labor matters because in his opinion the United States Brewers' Association was not handling them in an efficient manner. At that time the Association was almost disrupted. At that time the Ohio brewers seceded and we were all glad when they came back into the fold. Surely, in view of the record of the labor problem nobody can say that the labor situation handled by the Board of Trustees was botched up in any way.

I have not the eloquence of Mr. Andreae to convince you as to the wisdom of some of the things that he does. He has referred to a report of a firm of accountants. Let us have the information before some of you gentlemen now and then we will know what we are talking about. I don't know—no, I am going to switch back to another subject, to the same subject rather. When this shipping bureau came up which started to disrupt the organization, Mr. Andreae took issue with the then Secretary of the United States Brewers' Association and accused him frankly and openly, right before the Board of Trustees, of practices which he would not stand for, and at that time——

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Liebmann, we are discussing this resolution. I think it would be wise to confine yourself to it.

Mr. LIEBMANN. I just want to say there is no animus and I will be through. At that time he demanded a vote of censure against the Secretary and not one of the sixteen Trustees sided with him. In other words, it was a difference of opinion of sixteen to one. It is the same thing, so far as the Trustees are concerned now as to certain things to be done.

The resolution calls for the support of Mr. Andreae by financial help. I would like to know whether the Ohio brewers have paid their assessment this year or last year.

With reference to the foreign press, we are told that it is of vast benefit. I read the "Leader" every week and there are some very able articles in it written by Mr. Andreae, or presumably by Mr. Andreae, but I think that if these articles are translated into the newspapers that subscribe to the foreign press they are way above the head of the average reader. Even if that is not so, do you gentlemen know that $80,000 up to now has been spent for this proposition? Have any of you read the "Hearthstone?" Do you think it is worth at the rate of $85,000 in eight months? Have any of you seen the play "Hans Dippel?" I haven't. I don't know whether it is worth $15,000 to produce a play in eight or ten cities in Ohio and two or three cities outside of Ohio? Do you know that since the time of the Andreae Bureau of the moneys that have been spent $55,000 alone represents the amount for traveling expenses?

If at that time when this question came up between Mr. Andreae and the United States Brewers' Association there had been any animus on the part of any of the trustees who still were trustees four or five years ago, do you think they would have taken up this work and asked Mr. Andreae to take charge of it? I am glad to say as far as I am concerned that at the time Mr. Andreae made the eloquent speech in Chicago I was the one to move for an assessment of two cents per barrel.

Mr. Pabst has stated that at all times Mr. Andreae has had the funds. That he has had the funds sufficient to carry on his work. The Board of Trustees has never interferred with him until after they found out what some things cost and they do not think the Hearthstone Magazine and the Foreign Press is worth the price we have paid for them.

Mr. ANDREAE. I would like to answer some statements Mr. Liebmann has made because they will cause misapprehension in the minds of the gentlemen here. That is in regard to expenses. I want to tell you, gentlemen, when before a body of this kind sums are mentioned and are stated to be sums that have been expended for this purpose it is absolutely necessary for you to know for what reason they have been expended and what the purpose was. You gentlemen do not know what we know, you don't know what had to be done. Now, gentlemen, when a statement of that kind is made you have got to give me time to refute that statement which is likely to cause that misapprehension in your mind.

Mr. Liebmann has stated for the American Leader alone $83,000 was expended. If you had expended $250,000. gentlemen, it would have been cheap. Mr. Liebmann says that he reads articles in the Leader and he conveys the impression to you as if that work in the foreign language press consisted merely of a few highbrow articles that were published in that magazine. Now, gentlemen, that is merely an incident, a small incident, a beginning in producing this organization. The expenses that are incurred in this particular branch

of my work are expenses of a very varied character. In the first place, these articles form merely a foundation and are translated and are used editorially and otherwise by 800 newspapers, and the editorial policy is laid out by men who travel, directors of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. It is not easy to keep 800 newspapers, who get not a cent for what they are doing, in line to keep up this work. The Foreign Language Newspaper Association deals directly with the press. The press, especially the foreign language press, is practically in the hands of the leader of the foreign language element where that element exists—priests, rabbis, political and social leaders of these people are the men who control the press and those are the men who are seen, those are the men who lead wherever campaigns are on.

Now, let me give you one single illustration. Now, in Cleveland, at this date, just as it was done a year ago through the instrumentality of that press and the people who surround it—and the people who surround it, gentlemen, do not work for nothing—we have schools—you can go to Cleveland today and I can take you around in Cleveland from locality to locality where there are schools and, in a great many instances, the priests of the foreign elements are there before the blackboard showing the voters, and in a great many cases the leaders are the spiritual advisers. For instance, I will give you one instance when three or four weeks ago Mr. Hamerling was in Cleveland. The President of this Association, a man whom they worship throughout the country because he has done so much for them, he had the clergy of this city belonging to this element come together and he laid out the policy to be pursued in their churches, in their congregations, in their schools and the necessary instruction is being given day and night. That can be done anywhere. It has been done in Youngstown, in Toledo and wherever this press is.

Merely to state a figure of $83,000 and let it go at that as meaning merely the publication of a few articles in a magazine, that is wrong. Don't go away with that impression.

Now, the statement is made that travelling expenses have amounted to so and so much. Gentlemen, I have today thirteen men in Ohio. Those men travel all the time and they are there to travel all the time. What is the good of having a set of men and keeping them at home where they can do nothing? They have been in Texas, they have been in Iowa, they have been in Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and everywhere around. The more travelling expenses the better the work is produced, and I tell you gentlemen the work has been produced. Now, don't take figures without knowing what those figures indicate and what they mean because that is not right.

Mr. GUND. I rise as I wish to correct Mr. Liebmann's statement wherein he referred to the Ohio brewers seceding in 1901. That was not the case, so far as our company is concerned, and I do not think that was the case with some other companies. I just wanted to correct that.

Mr. LANDSBERG. I was one of a committee appointed by the President of the so-called Finance Committee in connection with the National Association of Commerce and Labor, consisting of Keeley, Pabst and myself. I was nominated by the committee as the chairman of that committee. This was subsequent to the convention held in New Orleans last November. In fact, it commenced at the convention when a like committee was appointed by the National Association of Commerce and Labor by its President to meet and formulate plans for unity of action, due to the reason of the unrest and gossip by the brewers that the so-called Andreae Bureau was expending money at that time injudiciously and extravagantly.

A committee was appointed three by the brewers and three by the so-called allies. We met from time to time, and as we were discussing matters we saw a duplication of work; money expended by the New York office for some things that were being done by the Chicago office with no cooperation or coordination between each of the two organizations, although as it has been stated here, the most beautiful harmony existed.

The committee as it progressed asked for an audit, which was acquiesced in by Mr. Andreae, for the purpose of ascertaining where the money was spent and how it was spent. That audit was made by Messrs. Wade, Barrows, Guthrie & Company, chartered accountants and a copy of that audit is in the hands of Mr. Andreae and also the Secretary of this Association.

We came to the conclusion after deliberating and considering the Hearthstone that it was not bringing the desired results for the amount of money which was being expended. For that part of the year ended December 31, 1914, the Hearthstone Magazine cost $23,500. For the first six months of this year ended June

30th, according to the auditors' report, it cost $22,500. The articles appearing in the Hearthstone Magazine in the opinion of the committee were not bringing the desired result where it was claimed that they were distributed in the rural districts of the United States. The Hearthstone proposition as a proposition was put up to journalists by various members of this committee to men who are in that line of business; and the concensus of opinion was that for the purpose of aiding our cause—and that is the only reason the Hearthstone was issued—it was taken over from the whiskey people, where it was known by another name, I believe, and rechristened and called "The Hearthstone"—that the articles appearing therein were not of such value in bringing the results to justify the money expended.

At a meeting held on September 18th last the committee unanimously decided to abandon the Hearthstone Magazine and so instructed the President, Mr. Andreae, to wind up its affairs at the earliest possible date.

For those of you who have not read the Hearthstone, to satisfy yourselves as to whether it is bringing the results—whether you are going to have the same opinion that the committee has, I would advise you to get copies of it—copies can be had here in this room, the Secretary has them.

There is no personal matter or desire on my part or on the part of any of the brewers constituting that committee to harass Mr. Andreae or to criticise his work. We have tried to give him the fullest cooperation that was in our power. We have had, as has been expressed here, differences of opinion, which every man has a right to have. We are on that committee representing you brewers, we are giving our undivided time to that matter, for the purpose of getting some unity of action and of defeating the enemy. There is nothing on the part of the committee that at any time has been expressed to me, where any enmity has been shown to Mr. Andreae; but if we are going to be on your committee and you haven't got faith in this committee, then instructions should be given out here to the President to appoint a committee that you will have faith in. We have no other reason and no other purpose except for the good of the cause; for the purpose of bringing unity of action; to stop duplication work, to stop duplication of the expenditure of your money, and that is the opinion of your committee, and I want to reiterate that it was unanimous. Mr. Andreae's opinion is different. Each one has a right to his opinion; but as far as I am personally concerned, I have always tried to assist Mr. Andreae in every way, shape and manner. That, I think, from past experience, can be borne out. There has never been a time when, in any way, shape or manner, either directly or indirectly, that any member of the committee that I have heard, including myself, has ever passed any distasteful remarks about Mr. Andreae, except our opinions on certain matters. Thank you.

Mr. BEIS. I do not want the imputation to be made that the brewers of Ohio are disloyal to the cause of liberty and to the best interests of the brewers of the country.

If the Ohio brewers have failed to turn over to the National Association the two cents per barrel it is due to the fact that they have been informed—and that information is verified by the books of the Treasurer of this Association—that the two cents per barrel which they understood was to be used for and which they voted for the purpose of publicity, was to be turned over to Mr. Andreae; but the books of this Association show that those funds have been diverted and Mr. Andreae has not received them, and that is the reason why the Ohio brewers say whenever you give that money where we voted it we will give that money to the Association. That is the only reason.

The Ohio brewers you must remember, gentlemen of this Convention,—I don't know whether you appreciate what it is to go through a campaign, you gentlemen from the East don't know what a campaign is, you have never had a prohibition campaign in New York. We spent last year, and the books will show it cost the brewers and liquor dealers of Ohio half a million dollars to make the fight last year. It will cost another half a million dollars this year. Now, gentlemen, where did the money come from? How much was contributed by the United States Brewers' Association? We made the fight practically alone and single-handed, except for the assistance we got from the Andreae Bureau.

Don't say we are disloyal. We want your assistance and cooperation and at the same time we want everybody to be treated fairly, and that is all we are asking by this resolution, is that you live up to your contract. You know the arrangement was made, every one of you who was present when it was made,

that Mr. Andreae was not to be hampered by committees or by different boards in his work. There is a reason for that. No man can go on and conduct a campaign if he is going to have Tom, Dick and Harry and everybody else butting in and giving this direction and that direction in his work, particularly in a campaign which involves literary effort. I don't know whether you know that or not, but that is the fact. I hope nobody will go away saying that Ohio is disloyal. Let me say to you gentlemen that if Ohio ever does go dry it will be a sad day for every other state in the union.

Mr. SCHLISTING. Mr. President, I am glad that I am not interested in this fight further than being a small brewer and from the West. I hold the highest regard for both gentlemen. It was only yesterday, in this very room, and upon that very platform, a gentleman told us that we were above the average as to square dealing and honesty, and I thank God that I still have confidence enough in humanity to think that 95 per cent of us, yes, and 95 per cent of all the people are still honest, and only five per cent dishonest.

Now, gentlemen, having these conditions confronting us and knowing that we are all trying to be honest, let us have a little bit of honesty and trustfulness and confidence in our Board of Trustees. This matter that is before us at this time looks to me like a man who is in our employ who is somewhat dissatisfied with the action of, we might say, our Board of Directors at home. He finds out that we have a meeting of the Board of Directors and he thinks something has been done to which he wants to object and he goes before the stockholders. Now, gentlemen, we all know about corporations and we know it is pretty hard to get details and facts to every stockholder that might be in a concern. Some of them are small and some of them are large, but invariably I stand by the President and the Board of Directors and it is very much the same way here today.

I think the resolution is uncalled for and that it should be sent back to the Board of Trustees with an expression of our confidence in them. [Applause.]

I want to say, and I think every man in this room will bear me out in this, that the members of our Board of Trustees are our chosen men, men of affairs, men who are the heads of large corporations which are being conducted successfully, and if we haven't got confidence in those sixteen men, as compared with one man's statement, then it is time that we retire and go home and say that we have lost confidence in humanity; and when we do that, gentlemen, we want to say to ourselves that we are doomed, because any man who hasn't got confidence in humanity hasn't got confidence in himself. Confidence in yourselves, in your boards and in your partners is the thing that helps us to be successful. There isn't one of us who could be successful alone. We have all got to unite and help one another. In unity there is strength, but if we are going to be divided we are going to fall.

Now, gentlemen, I think that the only thing that we can do at all is to place implicit confidence in our trustees, in our officials whom we have elected, or whom we are going to elect, and let them conduct the working out of the small details. Figure on this, gentlemen, that these gentlemen we are going to elect today are not hired help. Think that they are only working for us for our own good. They are giving up their time, they are giving up their money, they are giving up their energy for us who are not able or may be aren't large enough or may be haven't got the time to give to the cause. We all try to do our little best but the work and the criticism all falls upon the Board of Trustees. We may be out doing things but we are not criticised. It is easy to criticise, but it is hard to act and to do things, and the man who hasn't got confidence enough in the world except only to be a criticiser isn't a good active member in any organization. [Applause.]

Mr. President, I therefore take the liberty at this time to make a motion that this resolution be referred to the Board of Trustees, to be acted upon by them as they see fit. [Applause.]

Mr. ANHEUSER. Mr. President, I recommend that this resolution that I gave to you a few moments ago be put to a vote before this body now.

The PRESIDENT. I agree with you.

Mr. ANHEUSER. We have had all this talk; now let us see what we are to do.

The PRESIDENT. Now, gentlemen, I would like Mr. Pabst, the First Vice-President, to take the chair, if he will, please.

(Mr. Pabst took the chair and the President took the floor, being greeted with prolonged applause.)

Mr. SHMIDT. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention: I did not think that it would be necessary for me to take the floor at any of the gatherings of

this Association, especially in the closing hours of my administration; but I have felt, since you have heard the report of Mr. Andreae, that if I did not do so I would be remiss in my duty toward the Board that has served with me and the heads of the various committees and the committees themselves.

I want to assure you—and I believe that I cannot be charged with anything to the contrary—that during the time that I have occupied this chair, I have presided over these meetings as well as those of the Board with absolute fairness, with absolute justice and with an absolutely open mind upon every question that has been presented. Every proposition affecting any of the departments of this organization that has come before the Board and that has been referred to the proper committees, I want to say has been treated with absolute fairness, with absolute justice to all.

When the committees, in their wisdom, after weighing all the facts in the case, have recommended to the Board that certain action be taken, it was done after the subject had been thoroughly exhausted and it has been done in the belief by the committee and those in authority that it was for the best interests of the brewing industry of these United States.

The appropriations that have been made to the various committees, as I said before, have been based entirely upon necessity as it has been presented and weighed and considered. Therefore, every action of your Board, as well as of the committees, has been absolutely regular, legal and in accord with the prescribed by-laws and rules of this body, and it cannot be questioned and should not be questioned. If we have not been liberal enough, that is no reason why things are not fair and just. We have cut our cloth in accordance with our income.

I feel now, as I said before, in the closing hours of my administrations, that you should not vote upon this resolution in the majority, that it should not prevail, because I believe if it does, you are going over the heads of your own trusted representatives. Have they done anything or does the record contain anything that shows that they have failed in their trust, that they have fallen down in it, that they have sacrificed your interests or violated your confidence? I do not believe there is anything that can be construed in that manner. Therefore, I ask, gentlemen, in casting your vote today that it be in opposition to this resolution and that you go home feeling, whoever you elect today—and I believe it will be my honored friend, Mr. Pabst—that he will discharge those duties just as I have discharged them and that the new Board of Trustees will do exactly the same thing, and that the best interest of the brewers in these United States will be conserved by this body.

I thank you very much. [Applause.]

(At this point the President resumed the chair.)

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, are you ready to vote on this resolution?

VOICES. Question.

The PRESIDENT. As many as are in favor of the adoption of the resolution will signify it by saying "Aye," those opposed "No"—the noes have it and the resolution is lost.

Mr. ANHEUSER. I am indeed very sorry to see you have turned down the resolution. You have repudiated a pledge you gave to Mr. Andreae and his work. We were a party to that contract. Now, gentlemen, I am very sorry to say, and I do not say it in any spirit of defiance, that the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association will not violate this contract, and I now tender our resignation from the Association.

A VOICE. I move that it be accepted.

Mr. WOODARD. I move that it be accepted.

(The motion was seconded and upon being put to a vote was carried.)

(Mr. Anheuser, accompanied by two others, thereupon left the room.)

Mr. CERVENKA. I don't think that the resolution ought to be accepted. I rose to a point of information, and the point I was going to ask was whether the Board of Trustees had any report, as a Board, on this matter. We have heard only from individual members of the Board of Trustees. I fully agree with my friend in what he said about the stockholders at home, but I believe that the directors ought to make their proper report to the stockholders, and then there will be less dissatisfaction. I am surprised that the resignation is accepted. I think that it should have gone—really I don't think it is a proper action, gentlemen—it might be—I don't know but I must say as a brewer I am surprised.

The PRESIDENT. The chair rules that this body is competent to discharge any business presented to it. If somebody makes a motion to rescind the action of the body or to refer it——

Mr. CERVENKA. I make that motion.

Mr. WOODARD. After all, we are all friends, we are all associates, each one needs the other, and we have so many enemies outside of this room to fight against and we are all members here and there is no reason why we should not amicably dispose of our differences. There is no man who appreciates Mr. Andreae's work more than I do, but it is up to us as a body of men to select those whom we wish to govern us and I, for one, take off my hat to you gentlemen who give your time and your ability and your thought—to what? Helping me and my associates make money, just as much as you help yourselves. I believe that you make sacrifices for us that we have no conception of. I know that we can never hope to return what you are giving us. You do it unselfishly all you men. Why, there is no glory in being the President of this Association or any other association except in the knowledge that you have done your work well and you get your approval from the rest of us men for having done it.

Now, I believe in being a very frank person and I think I am a frank person and I will be glad to be the one to go out there and ask those gentlemen to come back, and let us all get together and fight the fight together.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, is the motion seconded?

Mr. NAGEL. I second the motion, and I want to say a few words.

I am a member of the Board of Trustees and have listened with a great deal of attention to both sides of this proposition. I want to admit first of all that as a member of the Board of Trustees I am a heart supporter of Mr. Andreae's work, as far as policy is concerned. I do not know Mr. Andreae personally and there is no personal feeling connected with my views. I have also the greatest confidence in the work of the President and of the various committees. There are, as you know, sometimes differences of opinion, and I think this is largely due to that difference of opinion that men have who have worked along certain angles, forming concrete ideas, and they sometimes conflict. I am thoroughly in accord with the suggestion that the Board of Trustees is competent to deal with this subject; but I do say that the Board of Trustees in the past has not dealt with this subject in the line that it should. This Andreae matter has never been discussed in the Board of Trustees as a body. It has been discussed in the Executive Committee and only brought to the Board of Trustees in the shape of a report, and when I attempted to discuss it, I was stopped from discussing it personally. There are certain things on both sides of it that I think we can remedy. For instance, I do not approve of the idea of stopping the payments at this time; it is like a manufacturer manufacturing an article and stopping the process while the article is being made. It is like discharging a bookkeeper in the middle of your business and letting your books go to hell. If we had confidence in Mr. Andreae to conduct the work for two years and a half, why is it we have not confidence in him to continue it? I am perfectly loyal to the gentlemen who are trying to find a way to settle this thing. I do not believe that the question of discontinuing the Hearthstone should have been done by this committee of six. I think it should have been for the Board of Trustees to decide. I myself may have had some views on that. I don't know whether they would have amounted to anything, but I have never been given an opportunity to discuss them if I had them. Now, if you are going to conduct this business in an orderly manner, along lines of decency, along lines of results, and you are going to hold me, as it seems to be the impression of the members here that the Board of Trustees should be—if you are going to hold me responsible to you then I say some of these matters must be discussed in the future in the open meetings of the Board of Trustees and not be combined in the minds of a few assume the authority of the Board of Trustees in doing anything in final results. This matter of Andreae, as important as it is, has never been discussed in detail and never an opportunity given to argue out the details such as they have been argued out here today. I have heard more about it in this room today, after sitting one year on the Board of Trustees, than I ever knew before, and certainly that is not a very good recommendation for me as a member of the Board of Trustees, if you are going to hold me responsible for any action——

Mr. PABST. May I interrupt you just one moment? I was present at a board meeting in the City of New York when the Andreae matter was discussed for hours. We started in the forenoon and adjourned for lunch and ended in the afternoon. Whether you were at that meeting I don't remember.

The PRESIDENT. I think that discussion is irrelevant, it does not refer to the resolution.

Mr. NAGEL. You have been very liberal in allowing the gentlemen to speak. I am only defending myself as a member of the Board of Trustees, as you have allowed Mr. Gardiner to defend himself, as to the action I took in this matter. Now, the only question I ever heard discussed was on the question of the report that the Executive Committee should make. At the time when the question was brought up for discussion immediately Mr. Landsberg got up and offered a resolution that it be referred to a committee of six, and when I attempted to discuss it Mr. Schram told me that I was not in order and said that I could not discuss the merits but could only talk on the resolution.

Now, I am not complaining——

Mr. PABST. I beg your pardon for interrupting you again.

The PRESIDENT. Will you permit the interruption?

Mr. NAGEL. Yes. I am not criticising anybody. I am stating the facts. I entered into this office with a full appreciation of my duties and I want to perform them in the best way I know how, and I want to bring the facts before this body, if anybody is going to be held responsible. I believe there are certain details about the Andreae Bureau that might very well be changed. I think perhaps there is a little duplication on his part and a lot of things might be avoided. I believe there is nothing in the hearts of any of these gentlemen that they want to crucify Mr. Andreae, and there has been a conflict and the conflict was left to five or six gentlemen without coming out in the open to the Board of Trustees for the Board of Trustees, as a whole, to take this matter up and settle it. That is what I think ought to be done. That is the reason I seconded this motion and I think it should prevail. I do not believe that we should allow a big corporation like the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association to leave this Association. I think if this matter can be left in the hands of the Board of Trustees that it can be settled and I hope that we will be able to come here next year and tell you that everything is working harmoniously.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, this motion has been seconded. What is your pleasure in regard to it?

VOICES. Question.

(The motion was put to a vote and unanimously carried.)

Mr. CERVENKA. I move that the resignation of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association be referred to the Membership Committee.

Mr. SCHLISTING. Wouldn't it be better to appoint a sub-committee?

The PRESIDENT. Why not refer it to the Board of Trustees which will meet this afternoon?

Mr. CERVENKA. All right, that is agreeable to me—I then move that it be referred to the Board of Trustees.

(The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

The PRESIDENT. Is there any other business, gentlemen? If not, a motion to adjourn will be in order.

Mr. FITGER. I move that we adjourn.

(The motion was duly second and carried.)

Thereupon, at 1.00 P. M., the Executive Session was adjourned sine die.

EXHIBIT No. 1033.

(By Cooper Lyon. New Orleans, Nov. 17, 1915.)

Opening address by Mr. Percy Andrrar, president:

I think it might be well, in order to bring up such matters as may occur in the minds of those present, to read the by-laws and constitution of this organization, so that every member here present may be fully alive to what the Association is, just what its purposes are and so on. The Secretary will read the constitution and by-laws that were passed at the National Convention.

The by-laws and constitution were read by the Secretary.

Well, now, gentlemen, you have heard the reading of the constitution and by laws of this Association as determined upon by the constituent members of the Association. Now, the work that has been in progress during the past year is embodied in a report which will be submitted to those interested at this Convention in New Orleans. I don't think it would be proper for me to read here the report which is going to the larger convention that is to be held here tomorrow, but I do want to dwell upon one or two particulars because they are particulars which are of considerable interest to this Association and its future

existence. I want to recall to your minds the history of this Association right from its origin. You will remember that, at the last Convention of the United States Brewers Association, a notice was issued, calling together the members of the allied trade at a meeting to be held during the United States Brewers Convention in Atlantic City, which meeting I was asked to open and address with a view to conveying to the members of the allied trade the desire on the part of the industries represented in the United States Brewers Association, that the associate membership that had theretofore existed in the United States Brewers Association should be abolished, and that in substitution of that associate membership, which had not proved of any particular value in regard to work and other matters of importance, the allied trade should form an organization of their own, and should proceed to work on other matters of importance, and the allied trade should form an organization of their own, and should proceed to do all that lay in their power to aid in the general campaign against prohibition. It will be within your memory that I did open the meeting, and that I did make the address that I was asked to make, with the result that this organization was formed. When the organization started into existence, it became, of course, important for the organization to provide that which is necessary to any organization, and that is the sinews of war in order to carry on their part of the campaign against what they had been asked to war on.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee, the question of finance came up, and the ways and means of procuring same was discussed, and a plan was discussed and it was unanimously adopted. The plan was that an assessment on a percentage basis be made, which basis was founded on the amount of business done by the members of this Association. It having been passed practically unanimously, steps were immediately taken to carry out the plan on a large scale, and I was instructed by the Executive Committee to see the brewers in Chicago and explain to them the plan and request their co-operation in carrying it out. In other words, it was considered only feasible with the co-operation of the brewers and they were, therefore, asked whether they would aid in the collecting of the assessment agreed upon—it being understood, of course, that no member was to be assessed against his own will—in other words, it was to be a voluntary contribution, and to aid in the collecting by taking stamps from the National Association of Commerce & Labor and invoices of members who had agreed to that assessment—the assessment to be at the rate of 1% on the amount of the invoices with the exception of certain trades where a general understanding with the trade had to be previously arrived at in order to fix the assessment.

The brewers of Chicago heartily concurred and the plan was started in Chicago. Thereupon this Association employed two men to call on the trade, and these men went outside of Chicago to other cities, presented this plan to the trade and invited the co-operation of the brewers in carrying out this plan. I wish to say that, from my experience, the success of this plan, in spite of certain opposition to it—not on the part of members of the Association, but on the part of others outside of the Association, has been really very gratifying. We have to date, after the plan has been in operation for about four or five months, collected quite a considerable sum of money, which is intact—not one cent of it has been expended, with the exception of the cost of collecting it, which consists of salaries of men engaged in the collection, and the amount we have today is about $70,000.00. And there is no doubt that, if we receive the co-operation on the part of others, a very considerable sum can be made available annually, and it will have to be made available if we are to cope successfully against the prohibition movement.

Now, gentlemen, I presume that most of you know that this plan or scheme has met with certain opposition in certain quarters in the brewing industry. What is the cause of that opposition, I do not know. I consulted the President of the United States Brewers Association in regard to the plan, asking him what he thought of it, whether he approved of it and whether he thought it was feasible. His answer was he thought it was ideal, and he believed that it could be made a plan to extend all over the United States. And I want it distinctly understood that before the plan was put into operation the President of the United States Brewers Association was acquainted with the details, and not only saw no objection to it, but heartily expressed his approval of it.

Now, gentlemen, that is the history of the financial end of the National Association of Commerce and Labor. When I undertook at the desire, and I think I may say, a unanimous desire of the brewing interests and also the

distilling interests of this country, to lead the fight against prohibition, I made certain stipulations, and those stipulations were unanimously agreed to. I stipulated, naturally, in the first place, that I must receive not only the moral but financial support of all of those who desire that this work be taken up—Second, I must be left a free hand and not be hampered by committees and boards who might wish to direct me in directions that, according to my way of seeing matters, no work could be successfully done. Now, I was assured, when I undertook the work, that the funds which I stated would be necessary to carry the work on successfully would be forthcoming. Well, gentlemen, they were not forthcoming, and one of the reasons why this organization was started and this plan of financing was inaugurated, was to make up the deficiency in the funds which had been promised me.

Now, that is the history of this organization.

I explained to the gentlemen in the brewing industry, that, if any leadership was to be successful, that leadership would have to be entirely separated from the main industry involved in the campaign—that is the brewing and distilling industry—that is, I put it to the gentlemen, representing the brewing industry assembled in New York for the purpose of discussing ways and means of carrying out this plan, and that the farther away I could be removed from the United States Brewers Association or any other association, representing the so-called "liquor" interest, the better the success my work would be. You gentlemen know as well as I do that whenever a campaign is waged in any state or in any locality, if there is any possibility of the statement getting out that the campaign is a brewers campaign, that in itself is sufficient to defeat the purposes for which the campaign is waged. You take for instance, in the state of Ohio before the recent election, the whole state was placarded with one statement, which was "Vote down the brewers amendment." Whenever any movement is allowed to be called a brewers movement, that in itself is sufficient to kill it. That is the reason why, and I have no other, I made it an absolute condition that I must be allowed to carry on this work under a flag that was not directly or indirectly connected with a brewers organization.

Since I have been connected with this organization, at first merely as a member, and for the last six months as its president, I have been enabled to go out and make business addresses under the title of *President of the National Association of Commerce and Labor*, and I have been requested right and left to make addresses publicly, which addresses I would never have been asked to make otherwise and which addresses would never have been listened to by as large a crowd had I been obliged to state that I was representing a brewers association. Gentlemen, that is in itself a factor of the greatest importance in this particular movement, and, gentlemen, I believe it was understood that it would be necessary for me to sail under the flag of this organization in order to carry on the work successfully.

Now, I have made this statement to you today, because there is some matter to come up today, which I believe will be definitely settled during this convention, and that matter, if not stopped, will disrupt this organization, which has been formed under such really promising auspices. The interests represented by this organization are quite as important and are quite as large as those represented by the sister association. You represent the allied trade, and I want to tell you, gentlemen, that when you figure the labor, when you figure the investment, and when you figure all of the other factors that we are presenting to the public against prohibition, you are far larger in regard to labor, and possibly in regard to investments than the brewing or distilling association. Now, that is a fact that may possibly be surprising to some of you. You have the privilege of running your own business and of running your own campaign provided you run same in harmony and co-operation with those who are running the same campaign in defense of their interest.

Now, I admit that I do not know what is the reason of the general objection to this organization on the part of some of our friends in the brewing business, but I presume that those objections will assume some definite and tangible form during this convention, but I do believe this that, in view of the fact that the statement has been made, and it has been made to me that the financial arrangement of this organization will only be approved by those at present in charge of the United States Brewers Association provided that the money collected by this organization is handed over in its entirety to the United States Brewers Association. At least, that is my understanding, and it remains with you gentlemen whether that is your intention—whether it should be done or

whether it should not be done—because money that you collect without the co-operation of the United States Brewers Association, should remain in your control and before taking it from you the least that you can ask is that you be given the courtesy of a request to contribute same. That is the position that I take, and, gentlemen, I consider myself as representing you because I occupy the position as President of the Association. I represent the brewers also, and should anyone come to me with a suggestion that, in my opinion, would be against the dignity of the brewing industry or against the dignity of any association representing that industry, I would object to it.

Gentlemen, that in brief outline is the situation that confronts this organization, and I think these matters should be thoroughly discussed at this meeting, and find out what your position is. I believe thoroughly in complete harmony of all associations and all interests that are working to the one end, and that is the defeat of the fanatical interests that are trying to destroy our organization and interests. Every organization has its own bottom to stand upon and, if anything is desired of this organization by others, why let it be conceded if it is the wish of this organization to concede it.

Now, gentlemen, I have nothing more to state to you. I think that the general work that has been done during the past year practically speaks for itself.

I think that these matters should be thoroughly discussed—every man express his views as to just how he feels, so that something may be done in order to come to a definite understanding as to what this organization represents and what this organization demands in its own interest.

Gentlemen, the rest is up to you.

(In connection with the testimony which shows the relations between the United States Brewers' Association and the National German-American Alliance and their active participation in financing the National German-American Alliance the following excerpts and articles translated from the Mitteilungen, the official bulletin of the National German-American Alliance, are submitted in evidence:)

EXHIBIT No. 1034.

[Mitteilungen des deutschamerikanischen nationalbundes der vereinigten staaten von Amerika—Bulletin of the National German-American Alliance. Philadelphia, Pa.]

Issues examined: April, 1917 to January, 1918, with the exception of the December issue.

This monthly Bulletin of the German American Alliance contains also articles in English.

General argument:

1. Opposed the declaration of war.
2. Now that war has been declared, they are loyal to the government.
3. Love for German art, literature, music, etc. does not conflict with political loyalty.
4. After the war, German-Americans can serve their adopted country by again promoting friendly relations between Germany and the U. S.
5. Expression of opinion, guaranteed by the Constitution, does not constitute disloyalty.

Statement, May, p. 1, suggesting Germany's ultimate victory found in an article, reporting Kuno Francke's lecture at the U. of P.

Article by Edmund von Mach, "Here we stand." in the June issue, p. 1 is absolutely un-American in point of view.

The American Press controlled by British.

Britain America's hereditary enemy.

Munition makers profiteering.

Regret that division in the ranks of the German-American Alliance has made it impossible to exert the proper influence upon American politics; closer organization for future activity urged.

During these critical times the Americans of German extraction must exercise self-control, even though they are subjected to unjust accusations.

Inasmuch as we are fighting the German government and not the German people it is wrong to make an issue of German in the schools, or to oppose any furthering of the best there is to be found in the non-political Germany. The U. S. has the political loyalty of the German-Americans; it is asking too much

to demand that they throw away their love for the 'Cultural' side of Germany. Deny any political affiliation with Germany.

Duty of the Alliance to assist in the defense of the editors of the Philadelphia Tageblatt, who have been accused of treason unjustly.

The Liberty Loan is recommended, but neither so frequently nor so vigorously as might be expected.

(Translations.)

Position of the German-Am.—Relations to Germany—Loyalty, etc. May, p. 1, article, "Germany's Future," report of a lecture delivered by Kuno Francke before the German Club of the University of Pennsylvania.

Speaks of the wonderful unity among the German people at this time, even the social-democrats are assisting the government. * * * Translation: "First of all he (Kuno Francke) expressed the conviction, that the war would not end with the political and economic annihilation of Germany. 'But even,' he continued, 'if the German arms—which fortunately is unlikely—should finally be overcome by a superiority in men and money, the German spirit will remain and will busy itself undaunted with the creation of national conditions, worthy of a people, which has in such a wonderful way stood this test of national fitness and virtue, unique in history."

Even during the war, the Germans are busy planning a new and better Germany. Translation: "The German Emperor himself is filled with the burning, ennobled, and spiritualized Germany." Translation: "In regard to the army, Prof. Francke hopes, in case that disarmament cannot be put through, that it will even more than before become a national institution—a people in arms—with the elimination of those defects which existed before the war * * * ".

Then discusses probable changes in government etc.

June, p. 1. col. 1 ff., article by Edmund von Mach, "Here we stand. Translation: "What German is there, who, during hard times, did not have the desire to stand shoulder against shoulder with like-minded people, for united one challenges fate and knows that even though the individual falls, the just cause will be victorious.

We are German. No one is permitted to attack us on that score. Every drop of blood in our veins carries the message, the heart whispers it, and thought answers with a thundering 'Thank God.'

As citizens, of course, we are Americans. And we are also proud of that; for we are certain that the time will come again, when here too one will recall again freedom, and justice, and love of mankind. Yes even to-day in this mad period, the 'Murder-purveyors' would not have succeeded in driving us into war, if their almost unbelievable campaign of lies had not pointed out indeed the wrong way to many Americans whose hearts beat in true love for humanity.

Citizenship brings with it duties, which no man of honor will dodge. Nationality, however, also has its obligations, and whoever neglects these, suffers injury in his soul. A sin against nationality is like a sin against the Holy Ghost. And what doth life profit us, if we injure our souls?

The state is like a gaint forest. Its value consists in the mass of the individual strong and healthy trees. Trees which are rotten at the heart, are useless, are a menace. Whoever has German blood in his veins, and desires to excuse the sin against his nationality with the cowardly words: 'I am an American citizen,' is like such a rotten, decayed tree. Let us therefore, leave it to those others, who do not know the pride there is in being German at heart, to sin against their nationality, and let us become clearly conscious that we can only then be readily valuable citizens, if we remain true to ourselves.

A large newspaper in Germany has recently in sharp words condemned us, and the disgrace in this matter is that the newspaper was correct. (Refers to the 'Kreuzzeitung'; disgusted because the German-Americans sent pledges of loyalty to President Wilson and states that those concerned have no right to consider themselves German.) To be sure only in so far as the disgraceful, cowardly demonstrations in many newspapers here printed in German were concerned. One almost died from shame, when one saw these acrobatics here. To-day the President was a bad man, because he wished to have war with Germany, and to-morrow he was a fine fellow, because he had attained his end, and from fear of lese majesté, one sent him pledges of loyalty.

And this happened here in the country where one swore and owed allegiance to the Constitution alone and to no one else. And the people who wrote that, and often went so far, that they said, they and the Germans here would gladly

go to war, were German. Who can then criticise the German newspaper, that it, in German anger, expressed the wish, we should henceforth never call ourselves German?

I do not criticize the newspaper. I would, however, like to correct it and tell it: 'You have only looked into a few newspapers and have found them decayed and rotten. If you could have looked into millions of German hearts here, your own heart in your body would have laughed, for there everything is truly splendidly German!' And what is the meaning of 'splendidly German'? Honestly and genuinely!

In the first place, 'honestly'. An honest man keeps his oath. We have sworn allegiance to the Constitution here, and that means that we cannot, nor are are we permitted to help the enemies of our country. 'You dear ones over yonder in the old home', says many a German heart here, 'I have hoped, and prayed, and labored that peace might be maintained. We did not succeed. Now we are at war, and now I am not permitted to help you any more. You understand that, don't you? for you too are indeed German and know that a German does his duty, and even though his heart might break."

'Genuinely' in the second place, for there stood the decision not to allow oneself to be led astray neither by word nor deed into taking a single step on one's own initiative which might make us traitors to our Godgiven Deutschtum. Our representatives in Congress declared the war in the early morning hour of holy Good Friday. We, however, never wish to, and never shall play the part of Peter, who disowned our Lord Jesus, his dear, faithful friend.

If the Deutschtum in America is to live on as a moral power, it must then be active now as a moral power. If it now hides itself cowardly behind the American citizenship papers and disowns the best which God has given it, then it has gambled away every claim.

Publicly many of us played the part of Peter on Good Friday. He, however, went away and wept bitterly, and later did great things for the Lord and for truth. It is not yet too late. Pastorius, that great man, before he died, blessed the German descendants in this country. A double blessing therefore rests upon us, and we should declare ourselves courageously and proudly before all the world.

'Here we stand. God help us. Amen.

Cambridge, Mass., May 13, 1917.'

April, p. 4, col. 1, editorial, states that even though we are in a condition resembling a state of war, war has not yet been declared. Warns Germans against secret agents who employ any means whatsoever to procure evidence against spies. Translation: "Everything must be aboided which is not in accordance with the highest duty of a citizen of this country. No German-American will forget the duty which he owes the country of his choice, and to which country he has given his best, and he will unite his utterances and his deeds only with the best interest of this country. To be sure it hurts to see oneself falsely judged and surrounded by spies, but we will always, faithful to our traditions, do right and impose upon ourselves above all, self-control, calmness, and caution."

Apr., p. 8, col. 2, poem, "The German Emigrant."

May, p. 2, col. 2, Translation of the above poem.

Reminiscent of the charms of Germany, and closes, the father speaking to his son:

"So swear each day anew and raise your hand,
To pledge for your own country's cause that stand
Which I uphold as to my birth—and fatherland."
But mark my son, what father further states,
"Some other name and faith may be your lot in time.
Yet ne'er forget your father's home and clime,
For proudly you may praise its high estates.
And when life's destiny goes smooth or roughly past,
When skies above seem light or darkly cast,
Remain in spite of all in German ways,
The best we know on earth, the best always."

May, p. 5, col. 3, editorial quoted from the Fort Wayne "Freie Presse." States that one of the weakest points of German diplomacy is the treatment of the German-Americans. The article states emphatically that the Germans by coming to America and swearing allegiance separated themselves from any political relations with Germany; Germany, however, might have done some-

thing to strengthen the "Kultur"-bonds which connect the German-Americans with Germany. Cannot comprehend the state of mind of the gentleman who wrote an article in the "Kreuzzeitung", censuring the German-Americans on account of their attitude in the present war. Translation: "Our oath ties us to the United States, and the moment war is declared, we have only one obligation—our duty towards the United States. Only a fool would expect anything else."

May, p. 4, col. 1, article editorial page, "Peace and Patience." Translation: "The hour of destiny, which has threatened to strike for some time for the Americans of German tongue, has now broken upon them and has struck them with its full weight. What we German-Americans as honest, peace-loving, citizens of this country and as true American patriots attempted to avoid, a conflict between the old and the new Fatherland, has now unfortunately after all become a reality.

Doubly serious and severely trying is therefore the period in which we have to live at present. Even though the soul-suffering which we have been obliged to endure for some time and now even more, has an intolerable and even crushing effect upon us and occasionally threatens to bring us to the brink of despair, and even though it seems to grow so gloomy and dark about us, the German-American has nevertheless in this difficult hour of trial and tribulation constantly a true, honest friend, who stands by him bravely in his darkest hour of suffering, holds his head high, and instills in him new courage for the future. And this friend is one of the noblest virtues, which mother Germania has placed, so to speak, as a dowry, in the lap of the betrothed Columbia. This virtue of virtues has always marked the American of German descent conspicuously, and has made him distinguished above all other races who have sought and found a second home in this country; namely the unaffected, simple, never failing loyalty towards his fatherland by adoption, the country of his own free choice.

The annals of the history of our country teach us that, and with golden letters it will also have to be written in the future history of this country: The American of German descent remained, in the most difficult time of trial that can be imagined, faithful to the oath to his adopted country, in unflinching and truly Germanic manner. Even though with bleeding heart, he has nevertheless himself fulfilled his duty towards his adopted fatherland uprightly and honestly, in the war against his own mother-country."

Article continues, that due to this loyalty it is possible for the German-Americans to take up the cudgels for the country of their origin without sacrificing an iota of their loyalty to the United States. Refers to President Wilson's statement that we are not fighting against the German people, and continues, Translation: "Now, to be sure, how President Wilson pictures this to himself, to make war upon a people from pure humanity, to expose them to further terrible afflictions and at the same time be favorably disposed towards that same people and cover them with the cloak of christian love and humanity, is a problem which I at this moment cannot nor wish to solve, but on the contrary will leave it confidently to the acumen of the historian, when he with the pencil of truth fearlessly writes the history of this war and of this country. For, as Joseph Matt says quite correctly in his 'Wanderer,' since the entry of our country into the war every opposition to the policy of our government, or rather of President Wilson, ceases for us. We are to submit to our fate and indeed without grumbling or complaining. Thank God, we learned to do this in our earliest youth; the iron obedience and the severe discipline, which we, one might say, have imbibed with our mother's milk, is, at any rate, of great service to us in this period so serious for the German heart and soul, and in this difficult hour of trial.

But at this very moment the Americans of German origin and descent unite more closely than ever before and see to it, that in their adopted fatherland, the German spirit of true, unadulterated, active love for one's country points out the way to the Hurrah-patriotism, how the honest civic duties are to be performed, and how in the hour of danger, one can, is to, and must serve his fatherland by deed and not by gush and empty words."

Article then refers to loyalty of previous times, especially of Mühlenberg, and continues,

"And to preserve this German spirit in the future and also after the war for our adopted fatherland, and to mingle it with the American spirit of enterprise, is and remains the task of the organized 'Deutschamerikanertum'. The spirit of honesty, of love for one's country, in a word, the spirit and character

of the German people, whose preservation and not whose destruction is the aim, as President Wilson said so wonderfully in his message, must and will prevail in our adopted country.

Therefore a mighty task still stands before us, which can be accomplished by means of unified action and solidarity as American citizens, who not only preach practical Americanism but also put it into practice. There are two catch-words which at this time should serve as a password for the American of German tongue, and these are: 'Orderliness and Patience'!"

The article closes by quoting from the "Wanderer", stating that the future will recognize the German-Americans, provided that they remain unified. "The Deutschtum is bowed down, but not broken".

May, p. 7, col. 4. Report of the New Jersey Branch, Translation: "The G. A. State Alliance of N. J. * * * regrets most deeply that the peace of our country was not maintained and declares to recommend to its members to fulfill their duty towards their adopted country as faithful and loyal citizens."

May, p. 3, col. 2, article stating what constitutes treason; also that one cannot surrender citizenship at will; inasmuch as one is likely to be misunderstood it is best "to keep one's mouth shut". Closes, Translation: "We definitely believe that nothing whatsoever will happen to those Germans who remain quiet and obey the law. On the other hand one must not forget that the spy-system is very elaborate, wherefore the best advice which we can give our readers is "Silence"."

May, p. 6, col. 3, warning issued by the Attorney General to Germans.

May, p. 6, col. 4, President Wilson's statement regarding the behavior of Germans in America during the war.

May, p. 8, col. 2, proclamation issued to the various branches of the Alliance and its members. Urgently request every German-American and also those who are enjoying the hospitality of this country to observe the special obligations brought upon them by the state of war. Even though the right of meeting is not denied to the branches of the Alliance, they are, however, requested to refrain from anything which might offend, for example pictures of the German rulers are not to be displayed, and the German flag is not to be shown. Urges the Alliance to assist those who may lose their positions due to prejudice, and continues, Translation: "We shall not be guilty of detracting from our dignity as American citizens, but will keep sacred our oath of allegiance: however, we cannot and will not degrade ourselves to knaves in our way of thinking and join in the howling against Germany and her allies. With heavy hearts we shall do our duty as American citizens, and leave no stone unturned to bring about a speedy peace and the re-establishment of friendly relations between the United States and Germany.

German language, German customs, German belief, and German song and literature can and will be cultivated also in the future in spite of the existing circumstances. These are necessary and of far-reaching significance when the war is over and when reason has gained victory over war clamor, in order to begin again the friendly relations between both countries and to establish them permanently.

Meanwhile let there be in force the words: "Orderliness is a citizen's first duty." * * *

May, p. 6, col. 4, squib, Translation: "The Americans of German descent are facing severe trials, which they will, however, overcome and which neither will nor are permitted to change anything in their character."

May, p. 3, col. 1, article stating that Germans can become American citizens, even during the war, under certain conditions.

June, p. 2, col. 2, poem asserting loyalty to the stars and stripes.

June, p. 3, col. 1, article "The Future of the Alliance" gives Hexamer's views. Asserts loyalty, emphasizes future activity of Alliance.

June, p. 3, col. 3, criticises Attorney General Gregory's statement, that the foreign-born citizens deserved praise for their behavior. States that doing one's duty as a citizen does not demand praise, but merely just recognition. Offended by the insinuation that any doubt existed regarding the position of the foreign-born German-American citizens. This same theme is further developed in the issue of June, p. 4, col. 2.

June, p. 1, col. 4, editorial from the "Cincinnati Volksblatt", "We German-Americans", dealing with the criticism made by the 'Kreuzzeitung' of the statement of loyalty issued by German-American. Translation: "A German-American is not a German, but an American. The furthering of the German language and German views is carried on solely for 'cultural' purposes

and not for the promoting of German political interests." * * * States further, that it is not contrary to loyalty, if the German-Americans try to preserve and introduce into American life those things German which will be of ultimate benefit to this country. * * * Translation: "If the accusation is made, that the Germans do not reveal an ardent enthusiasm for the present war, one may reply that noisy demonstrations are not characteristic of the Germans. They do not display their emotions. One may admit, however, that they are not in sympathy with all the reasons for the war, which are advanced. It is a matter of indifference to them, whether Germany is a monarchy or something else. It satisfies them that the U. S. are not a monarchy and they will never allow, that they depart from this form of government. The Germans are also of the opinion that the difficulty could have been settled in a different manner than by war, nor is it clear to them, why we should support England, who has always been our enemy. They would take this same position, if the affair had concerned another country. But this will not change their fidelity in the least, and the fact that so many Germans have enlisted for service voluntarily, provés how serious they are in their purpose of being found loyal and honest. In like manner they will willingly do everything that is necessary in order to help our country to victory, for no one can injure his fatherland without inflicting the greatest damage upon himself.

If the Kreuzzeitung gave itself up to the belief that the Germans would prove to be enemies of the U. S., it gives us the greatest satisfaction that it finds that it erred in this respect."

July, p. 8, col. 1, statement made by the President of the Pa. Branch, asserting political loyalty to the U. S.

Sep., p. 4, col. 3, editorial page, "The rights of citizens". States the law regarding the right of free speech, the holding of meetings, the distributing of pamphlets etc. Concludes by saying that one would naturally exercise the necessary self-restraint imposed by these critical times, but that does not mean that it is necessary to give up one's civic rights. One need not be a coward if ones wishes to be a loyal citizen.

Sep., p. 2, col. 2, poem entitled "Enough". Long years ago I took an oath of allegiance to my new country, and I have kept it faithfully and still keep it even to-day with sore heart "when flesh of my flesh is being torn into bits by a pack (of hounds) drunk with envy and hatred." "No heart has ever brought a greater sacrifice, than to refuse help, when the blood of its people cried to heaven, and nothing can further increase my sufferings." "And let this be enough! The duty of one's oath is sacred; therefore it should not demand that which is so unholy! I shall not help in lacerating the people from whom I descend." "Where this is treason, speak inhumanity shamelessly the verdict in the name of law! Let come what may! I am ready! Here I stand, and cannot do otherwise! Amen!"

Oct., p. 3, col. 3, editorial quoted from "Deutsches Journal". If it is true that there is an organized German spy system in this country, it is the greatest enemy of the German-Americans, who hope that the Government will speedily put an end to any spying.

Nov., p. 1, col. 1 ff. article in English by Martin Green, "High Army Official Tells of Fidelity of Citizens of Teutonic Extraction."

Nov., p. 5, col. 1. Statement of loyalty in English, also repeated in the issue of Jan., p. 5, col. 1: "Where We Stand. We are citizens of a republic, and know no other allegiance. America is our country, and any disaster to America would be our disaster. Whatever our language, we have the same flag. Whatever blood runs in our veins, there is but one loyalty in our hearts. The victory of American ideals in this war means for the German people the realization of the hopes and dreams of the revolution of 1848. America, now and forever!"

Nov. p. 8, col. 1, quotes from "Der Zeitgeist" on the resignation of Dr. Hexamer, as president of the German-American Alliance: Translation: "It is not merely the bad state of Dr. Hexamer's health alone, . . . which has moved him to resign, also the hostility which his strictly American position immediately after the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany aroused in various Branches (of the Alliance) contributed to making any further activity in the interest of American 'Deutschtum' distasteful to him."

OBJECT OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Nov., p. 4, col. 2, article quoted from the "Iowa Reform" discussing the resignation of Dr. Hexamer as president. Translation: ". . . probably at that

time there was in his mind the organization of the millions of German-Americans in the country into a mighty union, not indeed to pursue here German politics nor un-American aims, but only to gain for the German-Americans here the position due them, and to pave the way to greater progress for German language and German essence and store of knowledge which have been more than neglected here for a long time."

Nov., p. 5, col. 1, editorial page, statement in English: Aims and purposes of the National German American Alliance, incorporated by Act of Congress etc.

January, p. 1, col. 2, New Year's greeting from the President of the Alliance, S. G. von Bosse: Translation: "* * * The year 1918 will prove to be an assay crucible for the German-American National Alliance. And with this there will arrive a turning point of great moment in the history of 'Deutschamerikanertum.' We have learned in the past year as never before—all have learned. Our schooling has, however, not yet been completed, and what the teachers of the future still have in store for us is concealed behind a sphinx-like mask.

If we have only realized the one point, that for us as American citizens of German descent, the possibility of realizing our idealistic aims is contained only in organization, and indeed in strict organization, then the year of humiliation and broken spirit has nevertheless been a beneficial one. And we know of thousands that they have not only come to realize this important point but have made it their own. War, like no other disciplinarian, teaches that the individual as such, for the welfare of the whole, must not only restrict himself but often sacrifice himself. It has forced upon us to a certain degree self-discipline and self-control. * * *

The desire for vigorous organization has opened the eyes of many regarding the purpose and aims of the National Alliance. * * * At this time we are, to be sure, not permitted to forget the state of war. The National Alliance has gone through all attacks, uncurtailed and dignified, and will prove itself to be a truly American institution in the process of the formation of the American race on the basis of the noblest qualities of the German people. We have never fostered an official union on the basis of national-political diplomacy, but represent from the very outset a cultural and politico-economic mission, emanating from and carried on by us and intended for our American people. What a German editor wrote a short time ago applies: "In the proper compromise between Americanism in nativistic form and German-American ideals, there lies the main task of the men of the National-Alliance, who feel themselves called to be leaders of those of the same race in the United States, or at least to be intelligent advisers. Unswerving Americanism in political matters and maintenance of the ideals of the race of poets and thinkers should be the two guide-posts for the entire 'Deutschtum' of the U. S."

The new year 1918 may bring to the world the longed for peace. But on the other hand it may be obliged to reveal at its close the same weapon-bristling hostility. For us, as far as 'Deutschamerikanertum' is concerned, there is only one task: to see to it during the new year, as far as we are able, that the one organization, which to-day and later can take the position for us all which we, aside from our political, religious, or personal views, consider the correct one, will remain alive and be developed to the best of our ability * * *."

Jan., p. 5, col. 1, New Year's greeting in English from S. G. von Bosse, stating the aims of the G. A. Alliance.

Jan., p. 2, col. 4, editorial on the election of the new president of the Alliance, quoted from the 'Philadelphia Sonntags-Gazette.' Translation: "* * * The new president, if he understands his task and that of the Alliance correctly, will no doubt find it necessary to steer a somewhat different course, which will put greater emphasis than has been the case heretofore upon the Americanism of the members, and which will again and again bring proofs, that in political matters, they are truly and only American citizens, without any inclination whatsoever towards the German government and to the German empire as a political conception. He will be obliged to lift up to the realization of this all members of the Alliance, who, in spite of the storm and stress of the great historic events, have as yet not freed themselves from the hyphen, and everything which it involves. The better Americans the members of the G. A. A. are, the better will they be able to stimulate the interests in German language and literature, to gain also in this country admirers and friends for German art and science, and to put the German people aright in the judgment of the American nation, which even before the entry of the U. S. into the world war, was influenced by means of an unscrupulous and spiteful propaganda against everything German."

Jan., p. 4, col. 1, editorial page, quoting from Max E. Socha, of the Cal. State Organization: "It is necessary to continue the organization of the G. A. A. in order to re-establish friendly relations between the old and the new fatherland after the war." Translation: "Our activity has been temporarily checked and made powerless by the existing conditions; but the time will come, when all of us who value our old native country and who cling with faithful love to our new home, in new and better times will be able to unfold our activities again for the welfare of those countries which we love and which are dear to us, and then we can and must add to the American national character in the process of formation, such manners and customs as well as such ideals which are characteristic of the Germanic race, and which are considered by other nations to be good qualities, and which have received the admiration and recognition of the world. * * * The Alliance is a national necessity and must continue to exist for the weal and welfare of the new nation."

POLITICAL POWER OF THE ALLIANCE.

April, pp. 1, 2, 3, article, "Unified Deutschamerikanertum: Dream or Reality?" by S. G. von Bosse, later elected president of the Alliance. States that at present, in spite of the great efforts and many sacrifices of the past, unity among German-Americans does not exist. Bosse states that his ideal is the same as that which has been held by others previously, namely, Translation: "I should like to see Deutschtum firmly established in a strong body, entitled to representation, based upon one platform, which takes into consideration all interested parties and which devotes itself exclusively to the maintenance and spreading of German Kultur. It would have to be necessary that all creeds, all different political views, all classes whether rich or poor, educated or uneduwas nondoubt the founding of the G. A. N. A. * * * The best Germancated, could unite in this body. * * * The most effective step in this direction was no doubt the founding of the G. A. N. A. * * * The best German-American element, with few exceptions, is not engaged in the National Alliance, neither actively nor passively," due to the lack of propaganda among them. Bosse states further that the most effective attempt to develop that which the N. A. is striving for, was made in the founding of the 'National Conference Committee of the German-Americans' on May 29, 1916. He continues. Translation: "That the enthusiasm of the conference was not a straw fire, was shown by the nomination in the republican camp and by the election itself. It had been recognized that an unified Deutschamerikanertum was only possible, if unified, it uses the only means which promises success in our country, the 'vote' of the citizen. The presidential election served as an assay crucible. That it did not turn out as expected, is not the fault of the conference. Even though the Deutschamerikanertum of various states combined with the enemies and traitors of true Americanism, it was after all due to the indefatigable activity of the conference leaders, that a decisive victory of Wilson was averted. If all German-Americans had voted with the vast majority of their fellow countrymen, especially in parts of Ohio and California, then no doubt could have existed as to a strong (gesalzen) defeat of Wilson. A bit of reality was nevertheless felt in Deutschamerikanertum."

"But now, what next? * * * Is it not true, to-day after the presidential election as before, that the 'Kultur'-work of German-Americanism can be carried on successfully only at the ballot box? Or can the introduction of German instruction in the schools, the warding off of prohibition, etc. be accomplished in a different manner? What the conference committee is striving for is contained in the National Alliance. It offers in its constitution, in its declaration of aims and purposes, an ideal point of impact, however, it lacks the practical arrangements in order to translate its aims into reality."

Bosse bemoans the fact that the young German-American is brought up without any interest in Deutschamerikanertum. He states that his active interest was aroused by a trip to Germany, and continues: Translation: "But we cannot all go to Germany. But one thing we can do: create here an image of the great Bismarckian Spirit of Germany with its efficiency, its willingness to sacrifice, with its intelligence and with its capability."

July, p. 7, col. 1, "Call to those of German race!" issued by the Chicago Branch. Translation: "The world-storm is shaking mightily the German oak and is making her vibrate to the very roots, but nevertheless she stands firm in the storm and raging elements, here as well as over there." Complains of the lack of appreciation of German American achievements in the U. S. and

continues. Translation: "And yet! Are we not ourselves to blame for this disdain?—Certainly, mistakes have been made in the past. If unified, we had shown our strength, had early enough been interested in national politics—don't misunderstand! in *national* not party politics—then things would certainly be in a different condition to-day. But why weep over lost opportunities? *If we will only learn from that which we have neglected to do better in the future!* * * * The Deutschtum of Chicago numbers in round figures 600,000 heads. Of these about 125,000 are entitled to vote. Shall their just interests and wishes indeed always be unrepresented?

In unity alone there is strength. A strong bond must unite all of us. And this bond is the German-American National Alliance. * * *

Every German in this great country is a 'Kultur-pioneer,' and has therefore to fulfill a noble task, which he may not shirk, if only on account of his love for the land of his choice. *One can only love, if* one gives his best. This is the real, last aim of the National Alliance."

Other references urging greater political activity:

July, p. 7, col. 3.

Oct., p. 4, col. 1 ff, also p. 6, col. 4.

Nov., p. 7, col. 3.

Sep., p. 2, col. 3, extracts from article entitled, "The duties of the secretaries of the association;" Every secretary should make it his duty to unify the 'Deutschtum.' Translation: "Not in an association upon which they look indulgently, which they tolerate patronizingly and, filled with political forbearance, allow even occasionally to have something to say, but into a firmly rooted power, which they at least consider of absolutely equal rank and treat as such, whose advice and voice prevail and whose anger they fear and avoid."

AGAINST THE WAR.

April, p. 3, col. 3, report of the action taken by the Reading Branch, dated Mar. 12, 1917: Translation: "The Reading Branch of the D. A. Z. B. issues the following declaration of principles: 'As a result of the critical position evoked by the breaking of diplomatic relations between the U. S. and Germany, the Reading Branch of the D. A. Z. B., in spite of its loyalty towards its adopted fatherland, unconditional and beyond all question, sees itself forced to take a very energetic stand against the slandering and indeed treasonable agitation of unscrupulous agents of the powers waging war against Germany, which has as its purpose the forcing of our country into the war under any circumstances.

Mindful of the fact that this intended war has no other purpose than to impose upon America the burden of the results of the European war of nations, which a bankrupt Europe cannot shoulder, we warn earnestly and protest vigorously against the entry into the gigantic conflict.

The intimate friendship extending over more than 130 years which unites our country with Germany, the indefatigable Kultur-work in the U. S. of the Germans who have immigrated, and their attainments in the development of this country, combined with their frank, peace-loving and cultural, but also self-sacrificing character ought to incite us to attempt to put all means into operation in order to avert war with the ancestral country of these people.

We believe in the freedom of the seas, and in the forcing of this right by our country, we would not only refrain from criticism, but we would gladly and self-sacrificingly support with our property and our blood every step in this direction and every procedure which aims at this, if this were to take place on an impartial and broad basis for the benefit of all nations without distinction, and not merely to the advantage of a single nation.

We believe that the majority of the inhabitants of our country, if informed of all the actual facts, would agree with us on all points and would raise a protest against war with Germany.

We believe in the Constitution of the United States, by which every citizen is assured of the right to give free expression to his opinion, and from this point of view, we take advantage of it, to issue the above declaration, and do this in spite of convulsive attempts of a press influenced by foreign countries, to brand such proclamations as unpatriotic and seditious.

Signed by the committee.

April, p. 5, col. 1 ff, article in English by the Rev. Gustavus Hiller of Indianapolis, entitled, "Shall we plunge into the maelstrom?" Argument against our entry into the war. Cites practically every argument which has been advanced by the Pro-German element.

Oct., p. 3, col. 1, editorial from the Philadelphia Tageblatt. States that when the U. S. were still neutral, the sons and daughters of German soil in America vowed solemnly to do all in their power to help the old home, but to-day, their hands are bound, and they are no longer able to help their brothers and sisters, because they, "by the will of a congress have become the enemy of our country". States that our country is now still calm but when the first wounded arrive from abroad, it is the general hope that the people will rise to avenge the slain and wounded. Are the Germans who worked with all their power to avert a war between the U. S. and Germany, or perhaps those "who unscrupulously conjured up this disaster" to fall prey to the wrath of the nation? It is necessary for the Americans of German tongue to keep up their organization during this period of enforced inactivity, cherish especially German song, through whose power later all distrust will be dispelled.

U. S. WAR AIMS.

Sep., p. 5, col. 1. ff, article in English, "Down with the Kaiser". Discusses at length the organization of the German government with the purpose of showing that "the war-cry: 'Down with the Kaiser!' may sound good to ears of the ardent believer in democracy, but it is nonsensical and misleading." The concluding paragraph: "In Conclusion we observe the fallacy of the cry, 'Down with the Kaiser'. The Kaiser's powers, his prerogatives, his authority, are much less than those of the President of the U. S. * * * With the Kaiser falls and fails the unity of the Empire, and nothing remains but a lot of 25 powerless, emasculated States. But that is exactly what Great Britain wants for its own economic reasons. And that is the intrinsic meaning of the improvised war cry: 'Down with the Kaiser'. We Americans who firmly believe that the will of the people is the will of God, should let all people work out their salvation. If Germany has wronged us or interfered with our international rights, it should be held strictly to account. But it is impossible to benefit the German people by punishing and abolishing the German Government."

Jan., p. 5. col. 3, on editorial page, in English, "A Journalist's Prophecy". Quotes from W. H. Hulbert, who predicted about 1880 that the U. S., as the country becomes more wealthy and more powerful, will spread itself out, not only commercially but militarily, and gradually break down democracy, temporarily at least, and even perhaps develop into Caesarism in time.

MUNITION MAKERS.

Apr., p. 4, col. 4, squib on editorial page: Translation, "The munition-makers of our country have become the destroyers of our commercial peace."

CONSCRIPTION AND MILITARY SERVICE.

Aug., p. 8, col. 1, Petition circulated to influence the members of Congress to vote for the Mason Bill, which will provide that none of the conscripted or drafted men shall be sent for service outside of the territorial limits of the U. S. unless such men shall volunteer for such service.

June, p. 3, col. 2, Statement of Dr. Hexamer, that the G. A. A. had for years recommended universal military service, not in the sense of "German militarism" but according to the "Swiss" system, in order to develop the necessary discipline among the people, true manhood, and genuine love for our country.

GREAT BRITAIN.

April, p. 3, col. 1, poem, "Roger Casement". States that Casement's unpardonable sin was that he loved Ireland more than Albion, for the same sin the best blood of Ireland has flowed in streams. Condemns England for the method by which she attempts to gain the love of her people. Some day the "father" will perish through the hatred of his "children." "Shame upon the hangman, but fame for his victim! The future generations will tear asunder England's mask, but honor him, of whose heroism the last Irish harp will still sing."

April, p. 6, col. 4, article in English from the "Open Court", written by J. W. Pennypacker, entiled, "England's Illegal 'Blocade' strated first". Upon the seas at least "this fight of Germany's is our fight and the fight of all neutral nations".

Aug., p. 7, col. 3, report from the Pa. Group. Petition addressed to members of Congress for the purpose of establishing postal communication with Germany. The introduction contains the following: "** * the postal communication with the old home was made very difficult—by the British mail robbers"

Sep., p. 4, col. 1, editorial, entitled "Learn to suffer without complaining", quotes from the "Colorado Herold": "* * * What can be done against all this huge heap of harrassing, which, for the greatest part, is carried on at the instigation of British agents." * * * During the civil war there was considerable hatred among the opposing camps, but not on the same huge scale as at present, on account of the "skillful British tricks".

October, p. 6, col. 1, report from the Kansas Branch: Translation, "In his annual report, President Frohwerk showed that we owe the present condition of our country to English influence in this country. We are, as our ambassador Page in London once said: 'Lead and governed by English influence!'"

FOOD CONSERVATION.

Aug., p. 8, col. 2. Translation of Mr. Hoover's request for publicity of food conservation. States that the German Alliance is not properly organized for such a purpose, but refers the request to the German-American newspapers, who will be only too glad to assist in reaching the German-Americans.

THE PRESS.

April, p. 4, col. 1, editorial, "A word of warning". Dr. Hexamer's experience shows that every utterance of German-Americans is picked up by the pro-ally press and twisted, therefore it is necessary to be on one's guard against the British spies.

April, p. 5, col. 1, repeats the same warning in English, but speaks of "alien agents" instead of "British spies".

April, p. 5, col. 2, editorial quoted from the "Beaver Falls Tribune" in English, attacks Great Britain's motives, and also states, as American newspapers are printing 'news' that comes directly from the hands of the British censor, it is absolutely unreliable. Great many newspapers subsidized in behalf of the war. "Even the government dare not trust information that comes through its accredited agents. President Wilson is forced to confirm every incident before he can form a just conclusion".

April, p. 6, col. 2, article in English, "Lying as a fine art", states that facts regarding the activities of a German raider are distorted by press. States also that the Allies sunk a passenger boat without warning, causing a loss of 26 lives. "We will see a fresh eruption of slander during the coming months. John Bull, beaten and bankrupt, wants to borrow more American money—and wants to drag Uncle Sam into the war to save his bacon. His only chance of doing it is through our reptile press, and Tories like Senator Lodge and Congressman Gardner.

Congress ought to investigate how much British money is spent in this country to subsidize hired liars of the Allied Press Propaganda."

May, p. 6, col. 1, states that State Senator Fellinger of Ohio has been misrepresented by the pro-British press.

June, p. 5, col. 2, article in English, "Stirring up the people", states that the subsidized press of our country has seized upon every accident in munition plants to raise an outcry about German plotters.

Aug., p. 4, col. 2, editorial urging the support of the German newspapers. Translation: "* * * the German newspaper is to-day for thousands of us the only comfort, it *alone* occasionally brings a bit of sunshine into the home of the German-American."

Aug., p. 5, col. 1, article in English, "Must". Newspapers under orders from some central point.

Oct., p. 4, col. 2, on editorial page, Urges unity among German-Americans. States that the interest in the German newspapers became active only after it became evident that the English daily newspapers with few exceptions, were systematically inciting and poisoning the people against their fellow citizens by means of inflammatory and lying articles.

LIBERTY LOAN.

Nov., p. 5, col. 3, statement, editorial page, in English and German regarding the second Liberty Loan. "* * * The U. S. is our country, and in lending

the government money, we are lending it to ourselves. Some of the purposes to which the money is to be applied, such as the creation of a great merchant marine, which will enable us to dominate world trade after the coming peace, not even a pacifist could object to." * * * Discusses the financial advantages and concludes, "It is not merely a duty, it is an opportunity. Patriotism and sound business judgment both point to the same line of action."

Nov., p. 7, col. 2, statement that the Pennsylvania Branch had, at the request of Mr. McAdoo, recommended the purchase of Liberty Bonds.

Jan., p. 5, col. 4, letter from Mr. McAdoo, thanking the Association for its share in the Liberty Loan Campaign.

Jan., p. 6, col. 1, statement that the Cincinnati Branch had been congratulated by the Treasury Department, because they had disposed of $25,000 of Liberty Bonds.

DEFENSE OF THE EDITORS OF THE PHILADELPHIA "TAGEBLATT."

Oct., p. 7, col. 3, report of the Philadelphia Branch: Translation: "The Philadelphia Branch * * * has decided to take a stand in the "Tageblatt" affair and to support the accused not only in a moral way but also in a financial." Continues that appeals are to be sent to all other branches in the state and country to raise the sums necessary for the defense of the two editors accused of high-treason and conspiracy. The vice-president of the catholic associations assured them of their support. Translation: "One of the speakers explained why Werner and Darkow, as well as the "Tageblatt" had gotten into such a position. That Mr. Werner had sought in his editorials solely to further the peace movement. Both editors had never thought of committing high treason. That in the history of the American "Deutschtum" covering more than 230 years there had never been as yet a Benedict Arnold, and that there would never be such a one."

October, p. 8, col. 2, official appeal for help addressed to the various Branches.

GERMAN IN THE SCHOOLS.

The numerous articles dealing with this issue are all very much alike. The points cited in favor of German in the schools are about the following: cultural; practical value in the study of sciences, etc.; to combat the enemy successfully, it is necessary to be thoroughly familiar with German and all that is associated therewith; France, England, and Germany are stressing foreign languages, are we less clearsighted than they?; we shall again be on peaceful terms with Germany later—are we not cutting off our nose to spite our face by depriving the future generation of a valuable language?; according to President Wilson's statement, we are at war with the German government and not with the German people; German has an educational value. Some typical articles:

October, p. 1, col. 1. ff.

July, p. 4, col. 4, also p. 5, col. 1.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU.

August, p. 8, col. 4, statement in English regarding the organization of an employment bureau for Germans, contains the following:

"Lists of firms that discriminate against German employees should be kept, and revised regularly. These lists should be read at stated intervals in the societies and churches, so that people of German blood may know those who hate and persecute them in order to patronize the others who are fair."

F. J. A. N.

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Incorporated by Act of Congress.

The National German American Alliance regards the entire German-American Press as its Organ and requests it to give its communications the largest possible Circulation.

Ninth Year No. 9 Philadelphia, September, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICA AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

By HENRIETTA BECKER VON KLENZE.

(Address delivered before the General German Language Society in New York, April 26, 1917.)

(Concluded.)

Much more difficult is the situation concerning German plastic art. Those teachers who are intent on acquainting their pupils with the architecture of France and England have plaster casts of cathedrals and secular structures in abundance at their command in our museums. On the other hand but few German-Americans have so far been found making possible a comprehension of German architecture by this means. The German Museum at Cambridge is almost the sole shining exception. But what is the situation in Chicago, in New York, in Milwaukee? Nothing, or next to nothing is to be found there. So that the widespread opinion obtains among Americans that Germany has unfortunately nothing to offer the beginner in architecture, in sculpture, or painting who would seek experience and development of taste in Europe. And before and after there prevails the idea among Anglo-Saxon Americanism that although Germany is "efficient," art and culture are to be found in England and France only! What is the situation among our German-American young people?—Do they know that not only the German cities Rothenburg and Nuremburg are fathomless sources of picturesque and poetic beauty, but that especially in recent times a revival of German art has taken place,—a revival aspiring not only upward to the loftiest heights, but also penetrating downward to the lowest classes, and aiming at the ennobling of daily life, by creating really beautiful forms for all objects entering into our daily needs. Do we ourselves know all this and are we intent on realizing it, and to let our young people participate in it? Something is already coming into being but more should be done. Stereopticon slides of modern as well as old German cities are now under preparation. An increasing number of people are exerting themselves to disseminate a knowledge of these facts by means of popular lectures. And those who take an interest in the young people must see to it that an appreciation of these values will dawn on them.

Just here it is where the German spirit should be introduced to complete the American conception of democracy. The German is not only anxious to see the common man placed on a level with those more favored before the law, and that he may hold the ballot in his hand;—these privileges of democracy he has indeed in mind, but they are to him not all of democracy. More valuable than these seem to him the democracy which makes the common man a partner in the ownership of those treasures that alone make life worth living. That his right to promotion in society and the adorning of daily life is not curtailed, that his spirit may soar aloft on the pinions of music and art beyond the misery of existence. This expresses itself in Germany in the form of endeavors such as the Free Popular Stage. In this people and artists have united in order to let the poorest laborer enjoy the productions of the great dramatists of all ages. By co-operation with the city authorities the crowning of the work has been accomplished. And just in these war-times especially no less a structure than the Popular Stage House in Berlin, costing millions and bearing as proud device the beautiful words: ART FOR THE PEOPLE.

If these efforts on the part of modern Germany to attain to a worthier life were made clear to our young German-Americanism, it could not only successfully refute the unfounded accusations (based on ignorance) against Germany that have grieved us all so bitterly, but it could in a way entirely different from that pursued hitherto aid in the new structure of the America of the future.

In order to do justice to this task the American of German descent needs yet something further. The German-American youth of school age should avail in much larger measure than heretofore of the teaching of German in our public schools—in our colleges as well as in our High Schools. That this instruction is often inadequate is a complaint that hits Germanism. If German parents send their children to the German classes they could prevail on the school authorities to adapt the instruction to their needs. And let no one imagine that the German-speaking child needs no further instruction in German. Experience teaches that German-speaking pupils are only too often the most ignorant in the realm of German history, not so much as to mention literature. The High School instruction would be the best possible completion of the German schools

of which I spoke above, and which must be more or less of dilettantic nature, must inspire rather than really instruct and thoroughly educate. At present one hears from many sources the complaint that the German instruction in schools, colleges and universities suffers owing to the prevailing indifference and the general hatefulness toward Germanism. Many private schools have abolished it entirely; in High Schools the classes have shrunken, and in many large institutions the authorities have positively advised students against sharing the German instruction seeing there would soon be no more openings for German teachers to be found! Here German-Americanism could furnish relief. Send your children to the German classes! If the rest stay away the instruction can be so much the better arranged for them. Have them trained as German teachers, in order that German instruction may be given to the next generation better and with deeper comprehension of Germanism than has ever been the case! Thus our young will become qualified to take a practical part and give effectual help in constructing new America.

This now brings us at the close, to the question which young German-America itself perhaps puts to us: To what end all this? Why are we to know all this? What help can this give us, what help can it render our fatherland—America? Let us not be misled by the bitterness of the moment to reply: "Of what concern is America to me? I am a German; German Kultur only interests me!" No, this would only completely estrange the young people from us. Youth looks forward not backward. This is the country of their future. And for their sakes we must eschew all bitterness no matter how justifiable. For their sake we must apply the words of the famous Greek to ourselves and even enlarge on them: "We are here not to join others in hating but to join in loving," and in building up. In order to aid in the reconstruction, in order to construe our work and carry it forward better than heretofore therefore our German-American youth must be schooled, in order that it may contribute that which it is particularly qualified to contribute with the greatest success and benefit.

That the state, America of the future, will not bear a one-sided Anglo-Saxon impress must be evident to all. From all lands the millions of peope who wished to build up on new foundations streamed in here. Although it outwardly bears the form it received at the outset, the inner (web and woof) make-up of it, is more complicated than that of any single race. Each will contribute his mite and it is plainly evident that some little time will elapse before the structure "thickens" to its final shape. Whatever the rest may then have contributed as their particular part, one part shall originate from Germanism: This trait, of striving for the beautiful, the good and the true, not from considerations of utility, but from an appreciation of these in themselves. This ideal, impressed on American life, could then lead to a great, to an original art, to that which we have thus far lacked so completely.

I would close with the words of the recently deceased Harvard Professor Münsterberg, who was himself a champion of, possibly a martyr to the German ideal in America,—the words he speaks to German-Americans saying: The new world needs your distinguishing talents and your particular strength. No one can, like you, put in living commanding form the deepest longing of the times, no other has so much to offer for the morrow and the day after, you, who have brought your German legacy across the ocean, your hour has struck at last—oh that it may not pass unimproved!"

* * * * * * *

(Stitched copies of German-America at the Parting of the Ways may be procured at cost price from Mr. Rudolph Cronan, 340 East 198th Street, New York City.—Editor's announcement.)

ENOUGH!

By VICTOR G. WICKE, Bellaire, Ohio.

Long ago I swore an oath!
I kept it faithfully and will do so,
Even now, when yearning and bitter sorrow
Are breaking my heart without mercy.

I am loyal to you my own fatherland!—
We contracted the most sensible of marriages;
As a reward for my hard labor
I found in your arms prosperity.

I had indeed a charming youthful love,
But that I left in my far native home
When aspiration drove me to a foreign land,
From the still harnor to the storm's confusion.

And if I often too have seen in dreams
What once was the delight of my youthful heart,
Duty has controlled my wishes
And I have faithfully kept my oath.

But now my new fatherland?—Ah, now!
My soul today beholds you with wonder,
For flesh of my flesh is slashed to tatters,
By a mob drunken with envy and hatred.

A greater sacrifice was never made
By any heart than to refuse help
When its nation's blood called to heaven,
And nothing can further increase my anguish.

And let this be enough! The oath is sacred,
Therefore it should not demand
What is so unholy—I shall not help
To cut to pieces the nation from which I sprung.

If that be treason, it is inhumanity
Which so pronounces it, without shame, in
The name of the law!—
Let come what will!—I am prepared!
Here stand I and can do no other!—Amen!

DUTIES OF ALLIANCE SECRETARIES.

It is certainly a very deplorable yet undeniable fact that in many city and county organizations of the alliance the secretary does not sufficiently realize the great and high responsibility placed on him by his office, that he accepts it partly under constraint and unwillingly as the case is so often among Germans, and therefore after attending to the absolutely necessary business in a perfunctary manner considers his duties fully discharged.

This circumstance prompts my present article, and I wish to designate it as a bugle call to the secretaries of all the societies of the National Alliance. This is one of the most dangerous defects that gnaw at the vitals of our Alliance and is one of the causes why it is not even approximately in development and strength what one may and must naturally expect of such an Alliance of German-American citizens of the United States.

Every secretary should make it his sacred duty to devote himself with all eagerness and seriousness, wholeheartedly and cheerfully to the active participation in the beautiful task of building Germantown here in this country into one great and united whole. Not into an alliance to be looked down to with the smile of toleration, or one that is suffered with patronizing mien and which is allowed in an ebullition of political forbearance to even participate in discussions, but an alliance of firmly-rooted power, which is considered and treated as a full equal whose advice and voice are domineering and whose anger is feared and shunned. Many of our secretaries will lay the question before me, in how far his insignificant help could contribute to the realization of such an exalted aim, and these of little faith and of much fear of whom there are unfortunately a large number, I would remind of the old latin sentence: Multum in parvo. There is much in the little things. It means much for the success of our undertaking and the prosperity of our alliance if the entire influence of the officers, of each officer especially that of the secretary, which may be comparatively insignificant in the aggregate of the National Alliance is fully and completely exerted in the local organization. If by virtue of such influence in its smaller sphere the but too frequently partial unity is completely restored and preserved, if it succeeds in creating interest for our great cause, for the unselfish, undivided devotion to the realization of the ideal task, that task which should be first in

the heart of every German-American, namely the creation of a great, united, German-Americanism that is conscious of its power in this our beloved new homeland, then has such a secretary in his limited sphere done more for the welfare of the whole Alliance than he could have accomplished had he wasted his strength and labor on a distant and to him in part at least unfamiliar field.

The creation of such an ideal alliance, however, can be accomplished by one means only, that is by centralizing all individual efforts for the accomplishment of our purpose and by their unconditional subordination to the decisions amanating from this point of centralization, namely our national executive. Only if all, even the smallest threads are concentrated on one point and there arranged and combined into one complete network, which adjusts itself to the conditions and circumstances then prevailing, can we hope to advance. United we are strong, divided, on the other hand, powerless.

It is therefore the chief duty of each secretary to see that in his alliance the instructions of the state executive are obeyed to the letter, just as the directorate of the state alliance receives its instructions from the national executive and puts them in practice.

It must again and again be impressed on each alliance that it is not an isolated society and as such existing solely for its own weal, but a link in a strong chain the firm holding together of which depends in the first place on whether the individual members are still entitled to membership or not, and the strengthening and preservation of which must ever take precedence of the welfare of one's own alliance. This is not to be interpreted as saying that the city and county alliance is not to devote every possible effort to its own completion and development. The stronger the links, the stronger also the whole chain, provided all the links insert themselves harmoniously and at the proper place.

It requires an able and willing man to do this work as it should be done and a field of immense possibilities awaits the secretary who really wants to work. One of the first requirements however in order to do efficient work on this field is the unconditional necessity that each secretary have an intimate and personal knowledge of the real essence and being of the national alliance, of its aims and purposes, and that he be absolutely familiar with the privileges it confers and the obligations it imposes, that he know what occupies the attention of the Alliance at present, what it has accomplished in the past and what hopes and plans it associates with a brighter future. Knowledge of these things is strictly speaking a self-evident assumption, yet much sinning occurs in this regard and it cannot be too emphatically urged that each secretary enlarge his knowledge to the highest possible point of perfection. This knowledge he should impress on the members whenever he has an opportunity to do so, he should at every meeting of the alliance present with relative explanations and comments the affairs of the State or National Alliance and insist on the thorough and prompt disposal of the same, he should furthermore, last but not least, see to it that the Bulletin has the largest possible circulation not only among the members of the alliance but also among the Germans of his territory generally—this monthly issued newspaper being the mouthpiece of the organized German-Americanism and the only pure source out of which every German-American can draw correct information in regard to the work and aims, the successes and the unfortunately often unavoidable failures of the alliance. Adherents of our alliance will receive new inspiration for the good work by reading the Bulletin, for those however who still stand aloof from us it will often bring the frequently much and earnestly desired information as to what our Central Alliance really is and the high ideal aims it seeks to realize.

Among many, many Germans, especially among the better classes, the opinion still prevails that the National Alliance is a creation of the brewery-owners and subservient to them with skin and hair, body and soul. Such a conception should be opposed by the utmost exertions and that (to repeat) through the agency of the secretaries. It is true our National Alliance has ever energetically fought the introduction of prohibition, but from the sole reason that the prohibition measures so far proposed and in part carried and tested have shown that they aggravate the evil of the drinking habit, banishing it into secret and filthy backrooms and haunts, in which it exerts an infinitely more baneful influence on the nation than when, as in the case at the present time, under government control where it can be closely watched over. A further factor, that induced the Alliance to take a repelling attitude against prohibition or against every other law which endangers the personal liberty of the citizen, is the unshakable faith in the constitution, which ever guarantees to us this liberty,

fully and unimpaired and the faithful vindication of true democracy and freedom for our great, beloved adoptive fatherland.

This only, united with the efforts to implant in the hearts and souls of our fellow citizens of American descent everything that in our old fatherland was good, beautiful and noble, this alone and nothing else is the high aim for which our alliance is earnestly striving.

Truly a charming task for every secretary this, the dissemination of such information among his racial brethren and to work by example and encouragement with his fellow-members in order that they too may consecrate themselves to this beautiful work with full devotion and enthusiasm. Work like this is only properly assumed and carried on by the secretaries would bring us thousands of well-to-do individual members. And, as already stated, the Bulletin constitutes one of the greatest helps in the performance of this task. Each secretary should also note carefully whether all the members of his alliance receive invitations to all the meetings and functions, and to ascertain who regularly responds to these invitations. In all notices in writing to the members the opportunity should be availed of to keep alive and stimulate interest in the Alliance by adding appropriate reminders and suggestions.

If I add that a good secretary should keep his books, lists of membership as well as correspondence always in perfect order I believe I shall have mentioned all his duties.

To discharge all these duties wholly and consciously means work, even much work. If, however, this work is crowned with success, which it will be if performed cheerfully and eagerly, then this success will be the best reward for such sincere efforts. But especially at this present time of unutterable sorrow and grief for Germanism is it a comfort and cause of satisfaction to remember that one has contributed his small part for the promotion of the harmony and closer union, so necessary among the German-Americans themselves. Never again will the seed fall on such fruitful ground and bear such abundant fruit as at present. Therefore it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that an efficient secretary can work wonders along the lines. He is the fundamental condition on which the outward development of every alliance hinges. His work in combination with that of other efficient officers and coadjutors builds the foundation on which a strong national alliance builds and develops itself to the pride and honor of German-Americanism and for the benefit and welfare of our beloved adoptive fatherland and all its citizens.

CHRISTIAN F. MAYER,
Reading, Pa.

"PERSISTENCY"—THE WATCHWORD.

Alliance of German Choir Directors Issues a Timely Call—Urges Incessant Use of the German Song and Regular Attendance on Rehearsals.

The Alliance of German Choir Directors of America which has its headquarters in New York has issued the following call, the contents of which speak for itself: In view of the present serious situation the Alliance of German choir directors of America takes the liberty to address the following cordial yet earnest appeal to all singers. Just at this juncture every Alliance should exert itself to hold out manfully and to continue its rehearsals. Wherever the director begins the vacation to which he is entitled the members can come together and cultivate fellowship and good-feeling by singing their songs. Every singer should consider it his duty in honor not to neglect a rehearsal but rather to continue his exertions with joy and love for the weal of his alliance. Our government places no hindrances in our way. Every singer, whether he be citizen or alien can attend to the affairs of his alliance unhindered, insofar as he obeys the laws. There is therefore no reason for omitting rehearsals or festivities. Wherever, owing to heavy financial burdens, the giving of larger concerts has become too arduous simpler functions might suffice to preserve everything that is beautiful and noble and finds expression in the practice of song. Singers! the priceless treasure of the German people is at stake: "The German Song." This has been and still is the constant companion of every one from the cradle to the grave. It enhances our joy, it soothes our pain, unites our wishing, feeling and thinking. In it we have a legacy that required centuries of development. It was entrusted to the [illegible] of the new world where it has grown to a mighty tree. We must apply [illegible]

particle of strength to preserve the life-energy of this green oak and to guarantee its continued existence. Therefore bravely to work! Let us all, leader, choir and press harmoniously and energetically work together. Then will our song continue to be a strong rock!

With singer-greetings.

THE ALLIANCE OF GERMAN-AMERICAN
CHOIR DIRECTORS OF AMERICA,
Dr. NIC. I. ETSENHEIMER, *President.*
CARL FIQUE, *Vice President.*
RICHARD VOSSLEY, *Secretary.*

They are having lively times in the Hamilton Alliance of the Ohio State Alliance. Various reports from the National Alliance were read from the "Bulletin." These dwelt on the instruction at school and the better use of the German literature in the libraries that should be exercised. It was further urged that more meetings for discussion should in some way be planned, that the alliance was really organized for the purpose of cultivating the good, the beautiful and noble and for the statement and discussion of the most important questions of the day.

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Joseph Keller, Responsible Editor.

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LEARN TO SUFFER WITHOUT COMPLAINT.

The American citizen of German descent is obliged to swallow a great deal these days. If he goes into the moving picture theater it is likely to happen that he sees moving pictures in which the Germans are presented as beasts in human form, whereas he knows positively that they are not such. In the newspapers it is difficult to disinguish fiction from truth. Public speakers love to indulge in slander. The Anglo-Saxon neighbors manifest a hostile appearance, a proof that the persecution which has been undertaken against everything which is German is bearing fruit. It has altogether the appearance as though hand in hand with warring against the enemy there must also go the slandering of the enemy. Well, we have been accustomed to this ever since the campaign years, only the same means are being used in a more vulgar manner than in campaigns. But certainly one can make war against a country or a people without slandering it. The President himself has stated that we are not making war against the German people and he has warned against persecution. This warning is being continually ignored. There are sad times before us at present and there is nothing left for us to do except what some one once said upon his dying bed, namely, learn to suffer without complaint. Conrad Nies writes concerning the same matter in the Colorado Herold:

"What can be done against this terrible mass of persecution which for the most part has been set agoing by British agents, whose activity must eventually have its effect even with the more reasonable portion of the American Citizenship in a harmful manner?

At present unfortunately nothing.

That is very sad but true.

To all the complaints, which are only too well justified, we can only repeat what the well-known American gentleman said of war, namely that war is hell.

From this hell, whose sufferings we are feeling every day in the greatest measure, there is at present no salvation. These sufferings are always present where war with its bloody murderous hand lets loose the spirits of darkness and spreads hatred, lies, slander, contempt and similar creatures of the night among the hysterical humanity. Even the history of the Civil War can tell us of similar things though the hatred between the opposing parties did not quite reach the astounding proportions which it is now reaching through the skilful British manipulation. But even at that time very often right and

wrong stood opposed to each other in striking contrast and in the most bitter hostility and the circumstance that enmity and slander even stepped in between members of the same family, and the entire war was so to speak a battle between the same blood, a contest of brother against brother, a tearing and dismemberment of the same race, must have given hostilities at that time an equally unnatural, yes, a more unnatural coloring than we German-Americans experience in the present war.

This may be a comfort though a weak and ignoble one.

At present we cannot take a hand in conditions which the war has disordered, nor call a halt to the wheel of slander which daily rolls over us. According to the law of great compensations, to which the individual as well as races are subject, when finally peace is restored, then also this confusion of the emotions will again be regulated. Then all those who purposely used slander and contempt as a weapon with which they sought to beat down our good right and our good reputation in the mire will receive the well earned measure of their punishment.

At the present it rests with us to preserve quiet and dignity toward this unheard of monster of poisoned tongue and hateful slander and to keep ourselves undisturbed on the side of truth. Only in this way can we as those who are continually hated, suspected and slandered preserve a sure poise and an upright course.

The words of the patient and silent man which we have used as a heading for this article shall serve us as our guide.

"DOWN WITH THE KAISER!"

(Printed in English.)

ERNST A. WEIER.

The Government of the United States has declared war on Germany, and it qualified the declaration with the statement that this war is directed particularly against the German Government, and not against the German people. In fact, it is indicated that the German people will in the end be benefited by the war, as it is waged and will be continued until "German Autocracy" and the "Prussian Militarism" is wiped out.

It seems doubtful that the German people will appreciate these benefits of the war. The people might prefer to work out its own salvation. But Uncle Sam is not going to ask the German people about the matter, but is going to liberate it nolens volens.

The bellicose part of the American press has with characteristic sagacity translated the American war arms into an audacious war cry: "Down with the Kaiser!"

The writer is constitutionally an opponent of monarchial institutions. I have used many reams of white paper in writing against monarchism in general and against the German Emperor in particular. But doing so, I never had the German Emperor *personally* in mind, but rather the institution which he personified as King of Prussia.

Judging, however, from the tenor of the press, the grievance of the United States is an entirely personal one against "the Kaiser." He is to be held responsible for the violation of the rights of the United States, he and his dynasty must go. With him, of course, the "autocratic" monarchy falls and the people of Germany are to be blessed with the democratization of the empire. As one newspaper put it editorially: "The German people could simplify the proceedings by inaugurating a revolution, but as the people seem to be not quite ready to act, the task is incumbent upon the United States."

Altogether this appears to be a discrimination against the peoples of the Allied Nations. For they, too, have their monarchies and their monarchs, of whom they would like to be rid of and will get rid of at some time or the other.

There is, for instance, His Majesty, King George of Great Britain. Of course, as a ruler he don't amount to much, and Great Britain must keep him because she doesn't exactly know what to do with him. As a mere ornament he is really too expensive. And there is the King of Italy, the King of Roumania, old Peter of Servia and the King of Montenegro. And what's the matter with His Majesty the Mikado? And our special protege, the people of

Belgium, is suffering with a monarchy which, with its three-class elective system is not a whit better than the Prussian Monarchy. If one listens to the American press, it makes a noise as if all the world, with the exception of Germany and Austria, is a delightful democracy, notwithstanding all these relics of feudalism.

The ding-dongy noise has befuddled the minds of many Americans regarding the political government of Germany. A nation at war with another nation makes a serious mistake if it underrates or misunderstands its adversary. The war cry: "Down with the Kaiser!" may sound good to the ears of the ardent believer in democracy, but it is nonsensical and misleading.

These thoughts induce me to try to give our readers a short sketch of the political government of Germany. I am prone to admit that I have studied the same for the purpose of finding its vulnerable points. If I were a German citizen I would be a staunch advocate and supporter of a German Social Democracy.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

Germany is not an Autocracy. It is not governed by an absolute ruler or sovereign of uncontrolled authority, which is the criterion of an "Autocracy" in its objectionable meaning. (Of course, one may speak of a state as an "Autocracy," if such a state in its independence of other states enjoys the possession of the right of self-government with the ability to vindicate it if it be called in question. That is the position of Germany, but it is also the proud position of our great Republic.)

Germany is even not a Monarchy. Germany is a Union (Bund) of 25 kingdoms, duchies, principalities and free cities. (The free cities are to all intents and purposes "Republice.")

This Union, as well as the office of the Kaiser, existed before the present empire was created. It was known as the "North German Confederation." In this Confederation the King of Prussia filled the presiding office. The Southern States of Germany were not members of the Confederation, but had defensive and offensive alliances with the same.

In the United States it took a bloody war to make a "Nation" out of what was considered by the South simply as a republic of republics.

Germany became a United Nation in a much simpler way. During the German-Franco War of 1870, the Southern states Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and a part of Hesse became, by special treaties, members of the Confederation. It took only a Federal statute, passed by the Reichstag December 10, 1870, to change the name of the Confederation to "German Empire," and the title of "The Presiding Officer" to German Emperor." Thus the unity of the German Nation became an accomplished fact. Automatically the laws, rights and obligations of the Confederation were assumed by the German Empire. The King of Prussia ,accepted the title "German Emperor" at Versailles, January 18, 1871, but his constitutional position underwent no organic change.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

The German Empire is a Federal State just like the United States—not a monarchy. Its Constitution is of the same type as that of the United States. The Constitution declares the purpose of this Federal State to be the protection of the territory and law of the Union and the promotion of the welfare of the German people.

The Constitution provides for the legislative powers of the Union or Empire. It creates the Presiding Office with the title of "German Emperor." It creates the two legislative branches: the Bundesrat (Federal Council and the Reichstag). It contains provisions relating to tariffs, commerce, post-office, telegraph, navy and navigation, army and war, finances, settlements of disputes, diplomatic service, etc. The Constitution is amendable by Federal statute which, as all other Federal statutes, requires the consent of the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. This makes the German Constitution much more flexible than the Constitution of the United States. Whether that is preferable, is a disputable question.

German citizenship is inherent in citizenship of one of the States, but can also be obtained by becoming a citizen in one of the protectorates or in the provinces. Alsace-Lorraine is not a State, but is governed as a province. Its citizens, however, are on the same basis as the citizens of the States. They are represented in the Reichstag.

Every German male citizen who has finished his 25th year, is entitle equal vote, and every such person can be elected. The ballot is secret. elections, of course, are held under the election laws of the respective S which differ very much.

THE BUNDESRAT (FEDERAL COUNCIL).

The German Constitution ordains: "The federal legislation is exercis the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The concurrence of Majority votes o bodies shall be necessary and sufficient for a federal statute."

The members of the Bundesrat are classed as diplomatic representa from the different States of the Empire. They act under instructions f their respective States. The States are entitled to different numbers of in the Bundesrat, and can send that many delegates, but the delegates only as a unit.

The votes on the Bundesrat are as follows:

Population 1910.		Votes
40,165,219	Kingdom of Prussia	17
6,887,291	Kingdom of Bavaria	6
4,806,661	Kingdom of Saxony	4
2,437,574	Kingdom of Wurtemberg	4
2,142,833	Grand Duchy Baden	3
1,282,051	Grand Duchy Hesse	3
639,958	Grand Duchy Mecklenburg-Schwerin	2
494,339	Grand Duchy Brunswick	2
417,149	Grand Duchy Saxe-Weimar	1
106,442	Grand Duchy Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1
483,042	Grand Duchy Oldenburg	1
278,762	Duchy Saxe-Meiningen	1
216,128	Duchy Saxe-Altenburg	1
257,177	Duchy Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1
331,128	Duchy Anhalt	1
100,702	Principality Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	1
89,917	Principality Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen	1
61,707	Principality Waldeck	1
72,769	Principality Reuss of the Elder Line	1
152,752	Principality Reuss of the Younger Line	2
46,652	Principality Schaumburg-Lippe	1
150,937	Principality Lippe	1
116,599	Free City Lübeck	3
299,526	Free City Bremen	3
1,014,644	Free City Hamburg	3
1,874,014	Alsace-Lorraine	15
64,925,993	Total	58

Total area of Empire, 208,826 square miles.

In a limited sense the Bundesrat may be compared with the United St Senate. But, in addition to its legislative powers, it enjoys also certain ministrative and judicial powers. The Constitution gives the Bundesrat p cedence in position over the Emperor, that is, the Bundesrat is more import than the Emperor. In executive capacity it acts with the Emperor in the declaration of war, and in making peace, alliances or treaties.

THE REICHSTAG.

The Reichstag is the House of Representatives of the German people. It 397 Members, apportioned among the States according to population and cording to districts. (Gerrymandering is a well-known political expediency Germany, which accounts for the small number of seats occupied by the S Democrats as compared with their number of votes.) The members are repre sentatives of the whole people (not of the States) and are not bound by i dates or instructions. It is not necessary that a member reside in the distr in which he is elected. Thus it happens that the great party leaders are of candidates in several districts at the same time, so as to assure their electi If a candidate is elected in several districts at the same time, he chooses

district which he want to represent. The other districts then proceed to another election. Under this system there are no noncompoops and no pork barrel politicians in the Reichstag. All parties are represented by their ablest leaders.

The legislative period of the Reichstag is five years. During this term it may be dissolved by the Bundesrat with the concurrence of the Emperor. Then a new election must be held within 60 days and the new Reichstag assembled within 90 days after the dissolution. Such dissolutions are very rare, because the Social-Democrats always come back in larger numbers, much to the discomforture of the conservatives and the clericals.

The Reichstag passes upon the credentials of its members, regulates its proceedings and discipline, elects its own officers. Proceedings are public. Statutes require three readings, resolutions only one. The Reichstag has the right of initiative in legislaton. Members are pad 3,000 marks (about $700) per year and are entitled to free transportation on the railroads during the session.

The Reichstag has the absolute right to grant and refuse money appropriations. The Government cannot act in anything requiring money for it. In this way the Reichstag has the greatest control possible over the Government.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR (THE "KAISER.")

The Constitution says that the presiding officer with the title of German Emperor, appertains to the crown of Prussia. This means that the King of Prussia is the hereditary president of the German Empire, just as our President is the elected President of the United States. The term, "German Emperor," is a mere title. He is not "the Emperor of Germany," which would signify a monarchial position. Among the kings and monarchs of Germany, the King of Prussia is just one among them. As Emperor he does not rule or reign, but "presides" over the destinies of Germany.

The Emperor has absolutely no legislative powers. He is not a member of the Bundesrat and he has no vote in the same. He cannot propose a law. He has no right of veto. He *must* promulgate every statute made by the legislative bodies.

The Emperor summons, opens, prorogues and closes the Bundesrat and the Reichstag.

He appoints the Imperial Chancellor (see below).

The Emperor is Supreme Commander of the army and navy, just like the President of the United States. The German term is "Kriegsherr." One of the sagacious cub reporters on a New York newspaper translated this literally with "War Lord," an expression somewhat offensive to the American mind. The translation is wrong, because even as commander of the army his authority is restricted. The peace footing of the army, for instance, is determined by the legislative bodies, in which he has no voice. The German army is a single one, made up of contingents from the different States. The Emperor appoints the highest commanding officer of each contingent, and all officers who command more than a contingent, but the other officers of a contingent are appointed by the sovereign of the State furnishing that contingent. Then there are certain conventions between the Empire and the States, which restrict his powers still further. For instance, the Bavarian army is a unit by itself, and comes under command of the Emperor only upon mobilization for war.

The navy of the Empire is a unit and the States have nothing to do with it. The Emperor controls this organization, but even here his will is not always law, because for funds he depends upon the Reichstag. You can't build warships unless you have money. The Reichstag holds the purse-strings. The Emperor cannot declare war except in conjunction with the Bundesrat.

In the appointment of Supreme Court judges, diplomatic and other high federal officers, the Emperor consults with committees of the Bundesrat. While these committees do not control his choice, the result is always an agreement.

THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

Is appointed by the Emperor and removable by the Emperor at his pleasure. He has been called the responsible proxy of the irresponsible Emperor. He is the head of the administration of the Empire. As has been stated, it is obligatory upon the Emperor to promulgate the laws of the nation. This is done by ordinance published in the Imperial Gazette. All ordinances must be countersigned by the Chancellor to be valid. Most Imperial departments, such

as Foreign Affairs, Interior, Naval, Railroads, etc., are subordinate to the Chancellor. The heads of these departments are known as Secretaries of State, for instance, Mr. Zimmermann is at present Secretary of State Foreign Affairs, but subordinate to the chancellor. There are, however, some Imperial Boards, which act independently of the Chancellor, as the Imperial Insurance Board, having charge of the celebrated German accident, sickness and old-age insurance system.

The Chancellor is also Chairman of the Bundesrat, but in his capacity he is not the representative of the Empire—not the Emperor, but a delegate of Prussia.

He is not controlled by party government or by majority in the legislative bodies. His acts are only bound by strict obedience to the law, but he must account yearly to the legislative bodies for the disbursements of all funds of the Empire.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE EMPIRE.

has its seat in Leipsic, and is the Court of last resort. Under regulations by Imperial statutes many courts have Imperial jurisdiction.

The courts of Germany have no right to pass upon the constitutionality of the subject matter of an Imperial statute because there are no constitutional restrictions upon such subject matter. Any statute, properly proposed, discussed and voted for by both legislative bodies and properly promulgated by the Emperor, is unassailable. Germany knows no judicial legislation. The will of the people, as expressed by the legislation, cannot be defeated by the judiciary. But the courts can pass upon administrative ordinances and decide whether they are in consonance with the statutes. This is another check upon the Emperor and the Chancellor.

THE INDIVIDUAL STATES.

The federal statutes are binding upon the States as well as upon the citizens. They supersede all State laws. But no State can be deprived of the special privileges guaranteed by the Constitution. It seems impossible for any State to withdraw voluntarily from the Empire.

All States are encouraged to make their own constitutions. But there are still a few without constitutions. The story of the failure of the two Mecklenburgs, for instance, in not having a constitution, is more melodramatic than dramatic. The Kingdom of Prussia has a rather undemocratic constitution. The King of Prussia (or the German Emperor) is not so much at fault. More than twenty years ago (not just now, under the stress of circumstances, as some American papers are trying to make believe) he has personally advocated a change in the obnoxious three-class elective system. While his powers as King of Prussia are great, they are not sufficient to force this. But that story cannot be a part of this sketch.

IN CONCLUSION.

we observe the fallacy of the cry, "Down with the Kaiser". The Kaiser's powers, his perogatives, his authority, are much less than those of the resident of the United States. The mass of the German People might prefer a Republic to an Empire, but such a Republic cannot be established by simply "Downing the Kaiser". With the Kaiser falls and fails the unity of the Empire, and nothing remains but a lot of 25 powerless, emasculated States. But that is exactly what Great Britain wants for its own economic reasons. And that is the intrinsic meaning of the improvised war cry: "Down with the Kaiser!" We American who firmly believe that the will of the people is the will of God, should let all people work out their own salvation. If Germany has wronged us or interfered with our international rights, it should be held strictly to account. But it is impossible to benefit the German people by punishing and abolishing the German Government.

RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

The war does not annul the constitutional rights of the citizens. They have also during the war the right to come together and to give expression to their opinion on questions of the day. Freedom of speech is guaranteed by the constitution. It also protects the right of petition. Every citizen has the right

to go to congress or to the president with grievances or wishes. The attorney Henry Weinberger, by request of the Union against militarism, has issued a legal dissertation for the public in which there are also contained valuable delineations for those who plan meetings and for public speakers.

The immediate question: "What are treasonable utterances?" Weinsberger answers by saying that per se there are no treasonable utterances. The expression of an opinion, even though it provokes anger and public displeasure and justifies the suspicion that the speaker is at heart a traitor does not under the constitution and laws of the United States suffice for a verdict of guilty. With citation of cases and decisions it is shown that an overt act must be perpetrated in order to commit the crime of treason. The law knows no treasonable utterances. The Alien and Seditions Act of 1798 disappeared after having been in force two years. In the original draft of the Espionage Bill pending in Congress the Postmaster General was to have authority to exclude from transmission articles of treasonable, anarchistic or inflammatory character, but the House struck out the word "inflammatory," and unless it is restored in conference there will be no sedition law in the United States. Speeches and publications in which the abrogation of this or that law is advocated and are to this intent addressed to Congress, may not even then be challenged when it concerns laws that have been enacted during the war and for the purpose of conducting warfare. The police has no authority to forcibly press into meetings held on private property without an order from court; neither is it authorized to disband assemblies no matter whether they are held on private or public property, nor has it authority to prohibit street meetings or prevent a man from speaking so long as he says nothing that constitutes cause for charges. In cities having an ordinance requiring permission in order to conduct street meetings, the attorney counsels compliance with such ordinance, adding however that the police has no right to refuse giving permission. The circulation of literature on the street or in assemblies cannot be legally prohibited by the police. In cities in which dropping paper on the street is forbidden by ordinance not the one who hands out circulars, but the one who throws it away makes himself liable to punishment. This opinion is supported by citation of court decisions from various parts of the country.

In closing the legal dissertation quotes many opinions and decisions opposed to the police in cases where they had exceeded their authority. For instance a decision of William J. Gaynor, Judge of the New York Supreme Court, is quoted in which it is shown that the police has no other task than that of making arrests for the violation of law. A citizen, it says, has the same authority to arrest a policeman who breaks the law as vice-versa. The policemen are engaged simply to do police duty for the citizen and their rights are not enlarged thereby. A decision by Judge Samuel Seabury of the New York court of appeals is quoted in which it is stated that policemen have no authority to institute search in houses or clubs unless in possession of an order from court, The suspicion that Violations of law are taking place there does not give them authority. It is understood, as a matter of course, that in the present critical times everyone imposes on himself that reserve which the situation commands, but he need not therefore forego his constitutionally guaranteed rights. Nor should he do so. It is not necessary to be a coward in order to be a loyal citizen.

German Holidays.

(From the Seattle, Washington, German Press.)

The Germanism of Chicago is not quite clear whether in this year the great German holidays should be celebrated or in consideration of the political situation should be omitted. Mr. G. F. Hummell, a well-known German of Chicago, writes:

"With great regret I read the news that the National German-American Alliance and the Low German Guilds are going to omit for this summer the customary national celebrations in consideration of present conditions. According to my view, this mistake can never be remedied.

"If this happens to the green wood what shall happen from the dead wood?

"We can hardly forgive the National German-American Alliance and the Low German Guilds for taking steps at this very time which may be very fateful for the future of the societies."

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that public celebrations of Germanism, although, of course they are held within the limits of loyalty, might

give rise to unpleasant occurrences. It is further pointed out that German-Americans can cherish the feeling of solidarity just as well through celebrations in small circles.

Mr. Hummell apparently means by public celebrations the organization of celebrations on a large scale in which the entire Germanism of the city take part. That kind of celebration it would be at least unwise to permit. Such celebrations would be regarded by anyone, and rightly so, as demonstrations of Germanism, and for this the time does not seem to be especially propitious. In such celebrations, there are usually speeches and it is very difficult, if not impossible under present conditions to give a speech which would not give rise to misunderstandings on one side or the other.

On the other hand, it is inconceivable why the societies should not celebrate their usual picnics and if the Low German Guilds of Chicago give this up this summer they are manifesting a greater tenderness than is really necessary. In New York and Milwaukee, the societies are permitting their excursions as in former times, and one takes as little offense at these excursions as at a Sunday School picnic.

With the celebration of German holidays and with the demonstrations of the National German-American Alliance it is certainly different. What has been said above in regard to the public celebrations on a large scale applies to these celebrations more than to others. As a matter of principle, there cannot even now be any objection to these celebrations; but practically there are many objections. The National Alliance and all the organizations allied with it are by all means patriotic American Societies. They always were that and they are that still. But officially, people do not want to know anything today about Germanism and its ideals. Whether that is justified or not is immaterial; the fact remains that we are at war with Germany and that Germany is characterized as the citadel of autocracy which is inimical to freedom. Perhaps this opinion is mistaken, but it is now the official opinion, and we have no ground to protest against it at this time. Let us be true to ourselves and let us not push ourselves in anywhere where we are not gladly seen.

JUDGE NIPPERT CONCERNING THE GERMAN PRESS.

Judge Alfred K. Nippert, of Cincinnati, has addressed a letter to Roscoe C. Mitchell, of Washington, the Secretary of the American League for National Unity. The letter concerns referendum which the league is conducting concerning the question whether foreign language newspapers which are published in the United States should be compelled by law to print their news items as well as their leading articles also in English translation. Mr. Nippert's answer is this:

My dear Mr. Mitchell: I am in receipt of your letter of June 21 in which you ask me to take part in a referendum which you are conducting among the members of the league concerning the question whether congress should pass a law requiring foreign language newspapers to publish along with the text all leading articles, expressions of opinion and news, which in any way have to do with the government of the United States, a complete translation in English.

I have given this matter considerable attention ever since our country went into war again the Central Powers. I have studied a number of German newspapers but up until the present time I have not found either in their news items or in their leading articles any expression which could be regarded as opposed to the spirit of our institutions or as containing even a breath of disloyalty against our nation. Naturally my investigations are limited, but if you know of such expressions in any number of our press, it would please me greatly if you would send me copies of these newspapers or would inform me of them, in order that I might inform myself fully on the matter.

As I have found in the German press absolutely nothing which could not withstand any test of loyalty toward our flag and nation, I am absolutely opposed to the American League for National Unity starting such a movement or taking part in such a movement as is described in your letter.

Major General Wood said in a letter to me not long ago:

This country has room only for true Americans, for an Americanism which is not measured by the length of time a person has been in this country but according to the spirit which is manifested.

I am in favor of any law which would empower congress to deny to a paper the right of the mails, whether such paper be published in English, German, Italian, Russian or any other language, if it reflects opinions which are contrary to our institutions or disseminates disloyalty towards our land and flag.

To require alongside of the foreign language a complete English translation is a burden which in the present situation cannot be met. The government has ample means to inform itself of the contents of all foreign newspapers, but to place this burden upon the newspapers would amount to their confiscation.

The latter half of your letter to me says: The loyalty of ninety-seven per cent of the foreign born American citizens is beyond question and is not doubted, but the League for National Unity in its desire to do justice to these loyal citizens cannot lose sight of the fact that there is a small and evil minority which should be put under restraint.

To deprive ninety-seven per cent of their rights because possibly three per cent are bad appears to me as though we were to deprive our citizens of the right of speech and of assembly merely because a small percentage of our citizens used this right to further anarchy, and to further the propaganda of the I. W. W.'s, and in that manner injure the public peace and the dignity of the community. I am therefore against the law proposed in your letter of June 21 and also against the use of the influence and name of the League in the interest of such a propaganda.

If the American League for National Unity wishes to carry out its watchword of one country, one people, one flag to its final consequences, then it appears to me that the method involved in your letter would pursue the wrong road. Instead of uniting the different elements among our countrymen the League would estrange them.

My opinion would be to remain in closer touch with the foreign language newspapers and to encourage them in every manner to continue their policy of public enlightenment, as they have done in the propaganda for the Red Cross and Liberty Loan. In these matters they have shown themselves worthy of praise on the part of Secretary Lansing.

In regard to the passage from the Cologne newspapers, I must say that I number it with the millions of foolish and irresponsible newspaper matters with which the world has for the last three years been flooded.

If your referendum should produce the result that the majority of the members of the American League for National Unity are in favor of such a law as described in your letter of June 21, then I must say that I cannot accept the position as a director to represent the State of Ohio in the League, as you suggest in your letter of June 25.

I prize the honor, but under the circumstances I could not be a member of a directorate with whose aims I am in full accord, but of whose methods for accomplishing those aims I cannot approve.

I have taken the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz, the President of the League, as I fear that the League will make a serious mistake if it allows itself to be used for this movement. I hope that better and more practical means will be found to accomplish the slogan of our organization.

In the hope that you will receive my letter in the same spirit in which it is written, since we are all at work upon a great and noble problem, I am,

Very respectfully,

ALFRED K. NIPPERT.

In Rock Island, Illinois, there is an unclean person, Max Stephany by name, who claims to have been born in Germany and to have lived in Berlin. In an article which he has contributed to the Chicago Tribune, he lets loose the lowest abuse that has yet appeared against all people who are unable to forget their German motherland, and their German mother language. He calls the German-American Press "damnable treason sheets." He calls his native land, Germany, the land of barbarians, and this rascal Stephny says he is ashamed to have to acknowledge to his children that he first saw the light of day in this land of barbarians. Rock Islanders who know this low sunken Stephany are of the opinion that he is not of German but of Slavic descent and possibly is not mentally responsible. It is to be noted further that the Chicago Tribune has printed over this contemptible article of Mr. Stephany "The Real American Spirit."

On Behalf of the Employment Bureau.

The Committee of the National Alliance on Ways and Means gives Directions—Co-Operation of Clergymen—They should be requested to Support the matter to the best of their ability.

The Committee on Ways and Means of the National Alliance composed of Messrs. George Seibel, Adolph Timm and Dr. E. Rosinger has sent a third circular to all branches and alliances. It concerns the question how employment bureaus can be created and contains directions for carrying out the matter. In German translation the directions are as follows:

The employment bureau committee should look up the German ministers, both Catholic and Protestant, in every city and county. The clergymen should be requested to give their co-operation in getting positions for those who need work, as well as to inform the Committee of any opportunities for employment of which they know. The Committee should look to it that in every society and in every congregation a similar committee is appointed, which would be known as the employment bureau committee and would co-operate with the general committee of the district.

One should get an office, if possible in the centrally located hall of one of the societies in the sacristy or in the pastor's study of one of the churches. Such an office should be given rent free on account of the good work.

The committee should assure itself of the services of all those who are ready to render them. It would be advisable to have the office of the committee open every evening and the volunteer assistants could take turns in doing the work so that no one would be overburdened.

One should get in touch with the labor bureau of the United States and with State and City employment bureaus which are engaged in placing laborers.

One should visit all the larger employers in the neighborhood, explain to them the objects of the committee and ask them to cooperate in obtaining employment for such as need it.

One should carry lists of all employers who need from time to time a number of laborers; further there should be kept a list of all those who seek employment together with their addresses and other details.

Printed or typewritten lists of positions and of men available should be sent at least every week to the State committee.

The committee should receive all daily papers in the district, should tabulate the want ads as well as the advertisements of those seeking positions.

The German pastors who take part in the movement should be requested in so far as it seems advisable to them, to obtain the assistance and advice of their English brothers of the same denomination, as this would prove a splendid countermeasure against the poisonous influence of the press.

Societies and churches should take collections in order to defray the initial cost of the undertaking, such as stationery, etc., and in order to make small advances to worthy applicants.

Those who through the activity of the committee receive employment should be requested to support it either by contributions or by assistance from time to time.

Lists of firms who discriminate against German employes should be made and revised from time to time. The lists should be read at stated intervals and in the congregations, so that people of German blood may learn to know those who hate and persecute them, and may give their business to those who are impartial.

One should inform himself whether there are local laws for the regulation and licensing of employment bureaus, and the work of the committee should be so directed as not to come in conflict with the same, or with the policies of Union Labor.

From the Societies.

ILLINOIS.

The executive committee of the State Alliance of Illinois held its quarterly meeting on July 20 in the Hotel Bismarck in Chicago. There were represented the cities of Chicago, Peoria, Ottawa, Elgin, Rock Island, Bloomington, Kankakee and Cicero. The reports of the officers were altogether favorable and

proved that the Germanism of the State remains true to the Alliance. It was decided to continue with the publication and circulation of the Bulletins of Jacob Willig. After the war these are to be compiled in a book and published in the German and English language. The convention for this will later be held in Chicago on September 29 and 30 in the hall of the Lincoln Turnverein. Invitations for this Convention were sent to the officers of all State Alliances of the Middle West. The official report showed a balance of $1,022.78.

CHARLES CHRISTMAN, *President.*
F. W. O. SCHUMANN, *Secretary.*

AN APPEAL.

By the Officers of the National Alliance for Relief for War Sufferers to the Alliances of the National Alliances.

The high cost of living, the approaching winter and the uncertainty how much want the war may bring, has caused the officers of the National Alliance to ask the State Alliances to make preparations for the care of war sufferers in the United States. This is to be done along with the work of establishing employment bureaus recommended by the Committee on Ways and Means. In cities where German societies are in existence who have permanent arrangements for getting employment and for caring for needy persons, this work should be taken up in connection. There are without doubt in every city ladies and gentlemen who are ready to give their time and energy in order to investigate the wants of the needy and to care for their proper support if only the Americanism of German blood will open its hand and hear.

The measures on behalf of war sufferers are to be conducted independently in every city by making known the places where funds are collected.

Up until the declaration of war, the National Alliance had received $886,624.66 for the various relief funds. This entire sum, without deductions or costs, has been forwarded for the purposes designed by the givers.

The Alliances of the National Alliance are counselled to make collections for the needy Germans in this land at the same time that they conduct the employment bureau for those who are out of employment.

In the cities where there are no German societies, the alliances of the National Alliance should organize committees for the above objects.

In Cities where there are German organizations the work should be undertaken jointly by the German organization and the local alliance.

The collections of money for needy Germans in this land will be undertaken by local and state committees. In cities where there are no committees of German organizations, or committees of alliances, benevolent givers and organizations are requested to send their contributions to the chairman of the German Relief Committee of the National Alliance, Mr. John Tjarks, Hotel Raleigh, Baltimore, Maryland.

For the Executive Committee of the National German-American Alliance see C. J. Hexamer, President, Adoph Timm, Secretary.

Philadelphia, August, 1916.

In the monthly meeting of the City Alliance of San Francisco it was decided to celebrate German Day on the first Sunday in October as usual. There were those who suggested that German day this year be called Harvest Celebration, but this proposal was voted down. There were very favorable reports of German teaching in the public schools. The classes are attended as well as before and in some schools an increase is noticeable. As chairman of the school committee, Pastor Gehrke has been named in place of Dr. Max Magnes.

President Hermann in a forceful talk urged all present not to be confused through overdrawn and mendacious reports in this critical time, to keep their blood cool, and not to forget that German-Americans have never forgotten to fulfill their obligations.

Theodore Sutro, Joseph Knolt and William Grandpree are still active in the Herkimer Homestead Association, in order that the spirit of the hero of Oriskany may live. At a recent meeting of the Association, President Sutro gave a speech which was impregnated with the true American spirit.

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF T
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Incorporated by Act of Congress.

The National German-American Alliance regards the entire German-Am
press as its organ and requests it to give the largest possible circulation
communications.

Ninth Year. Philadelphia, May, 1917. N

GERMANY'S FUTURE.

What Professor Kuno Francke thinks of the Future Development of Ge

Under the auspices of the "German Society of the University of Pe
vania," composed of students who are taking a course in German La
and Literature, i. e., who are taking an interest in these subjects, Pr
Kuno Francke of Harvard University, curator of the "Germanic Museum,"
there, gave a lecture in Houston Hall, Philadelphia, the assembly hall an
room of the university students, on "Germany's Future." In his op
remarks, the noted savant and authority especially on German history, a
to the astonishing spirit of harmony and sacrifice among the German peop
emphasized the fact that the Social Democrats had been as actively pa
as the other parties, that their mining organizations interdicted all s
during the continuation of the war and had given the government its
effectual support in solving difficult labor problems.

Prof. Francke then addressed himself to the question: "What outlook
this extraordinary exhibition of popular, general will open for Germa
Future?" In the first place he stated his conviction that the war would
result in the political and industrial destruction of Germany. "But, alth
he continued, "German arms should eventually have to succomb to sup
numbers and resources—which, fortunately, is improbable—the German sp
will abide and address itself undismayed to the construction of national
ditions worthy of a people that has in such a remarkable manner, beyon
comparison stood the testing of popular efficiency and virtue." Prof. Fra
believes that in Germany's future public life there will be distinctly notic
the desire and the effort to permit a better Germany to come forth out of
world conflagration of our days. Even now, amid all the war, all poss
efforts are put forth looking in that direction. The German Emperor him
is filled with the burning, ennobled and spiritualized Germany.

Of the German army, Prof. Francke hopes that (in case disarming sho
prove impracticable) it will be more than hitherto a national institution—
nation in arms—with the elimination of those defects that obtained before
war, as e. g. the too greatly enlarged scope of the military judiciary, the s
of cast among the officers and the exclusion of Jews and radicals from its ra
According to Prof. Francke's opinion, a broader democratization will help b
about a change, so that the whole army will no longer consider itself separa
from the civil population, or even consider itself superior to the civil popula
but identified with it as a branch of service on the same level with other o
ganized bodies for the public weal and production.

A second change which, according to Prof. Francke's view, will be bro
about by the war, and which will be of vital importance, will appear in
changed relation between the government and popular representation.

It seems to me to be beyond dispute that the German system, by virtue
which the Government maintains its place over the great mass of parties a
by means of constantly shifting compromises works together with all part
has on the whole proved eminently efficient. But the ultimate and thorou
consistent form had not yet been drawn in Germany; it consists in this, nam
that all the great parties including the social democrats must be represented
the ministry. According to Prof. Franckes view this irrepressible demand
a truly coalition ministry will be realized after the war. Then only would th
crowning symbol of German oneness be won. It would mean a silent recog
tion of the monarchy on the part of the social democrats and take out of th

life of the German parliament the violent, unfruitful party passion which has so often embittered it.

Together with this would come a revision of election laws, and of election regulations for Parliament and assemblies of the individual states. By virtue of the new re-districting of the Parliament—election—circuits, the enormously growing urban population, which has hitherto had no adequate representation, would be more fully considered. With regard to the assemblies of individual states, especially of Prussia and of Saxony, for which the franchise is limited, election reforms would be carried into effect in order to secure for it also as in the case of Parliament general election rights notwithstanding that the assemblies had always stood much more for the public weal and for public improvement and were moved far less by selfish interests than some of our state legislatures.

The third question of internal politics, which has occupied the public mind the last decades in Germany, and possibly still more the foreign interpreter of German popular sentiment, has to deal with the place of officialdom in German life. Prof. Francke shows that Germany beaurocracy is, in spite of all hostile opposition, in its essentials, nothing else than *government by experts*, who are schooled and ruled for public service in the sphere they have chosen and are provided with far-reaching authority and responsibility in the same. A government by experts, he claims, is far preferable to a government by "bosses," of "high finances," or even of "mobs." German officialdom can show illustrious examples of blamelessness, alertness and conscientious work, civil virtues, freedom from prejudice, energy and progressiveness such as for instance the Germayors of German cities. German state officials, he says, do not measure up to the city officials. The German bureaucrat may at times have been repulsive and distant, he may have developed a cast spirit, but on the great whole he has been an efficient servant of the people. The speaker expressed the opinion that after the war German officialdom would be more amenable to liberal views. The government would seek and select its experts for its official class among men of all parties. Of their veto-right in the nomination of mayors they would rarely make use. They would give the fullest right of way to the political affiliations of the presidents-in-chief and make concessions to traditions and provincials in the selection of circuit directors and councillars. It will inspire the diplomatic service with new life by appointing to it more frequently than heretofore prominent business men and scholars of note. Officialdom will, without losing the authority its experts and specialists give to it, be brought nearer and popularized and thus a new foundation-wall will be laid in the building up of the new Germany.

Like all German parties and social classes so also have the churches, especially the Catholic and Protestant, stood shoulder to shoulder in the great war. The year 1917 will bring unusual opportunities for demonstrating mutual recognition and mutual understanding for it will bring the jubilee of the reformation. The speaker expressed the hope that it might consummate in a national demonstration of joy, that the chasm had at last been bridged and that millions of brothers, Catholics and Protestants, had shed their blood in a common cause. During the war millions upon millions of so-called non-believers he said had gained the conviction that in their innermost heart they are religious. They were opposed to lip-worship and in favor of religious independence. To avail of state and to bring them into personal connection with one or the other church would be to attempt that which might have the most serious consequences for the future development of Germany. Nothing would be a greater blessing than the separation of church and state. After the speaker had briefly stated that the German educational system, notwithstanding its great merits, thoroughness and efficiency, might also be subjected to reforms, he addressed himself to the national mission of art and literature. Schiller, he said had in his: "Letters on Esthetic Education" directed attention on their national mission. The war would greatly stimulate the idealistic tendency of German art and literature. The terrors and sufferings of the war would live on in chastened and glorified form in the forms of poetry and art. There would be, he said, numerous other problems for Germany to solve after the war. The greatest of these, he said, would be the further construction and perfecting of the social legislation in which Germany had also done pathfinder service. Tariffs must be regulated; it must not happen again that a bachelor with no dependent pays the same income taxes as the father of twelve children. Efforts must be directed toward at least the partial restoration of the gigantic loss of

human lives caused by the war. This, however, calls for conditions that presuppose a numerous and healthy progeny. More attention must be given to improved housing, regulation of wage scales and hours of work, protection of the weak, state control of large industries, such as coal mining, work for the unemployed and the like. Prof. Francke also expressed the opinion that the status of woman in Germany would be entirely different after the war, she would be given the franchise though in a somewhat modified form. He closed as follows: In agricultural, social, military, government, parliamentary, religious, educational and art life a new Germany will come into being, not a Germany that will forever in melancholy summon the return of the lamented past, but a Germany that consistently draws to its ultimate conclusions the principles which directed its past and now sustain in its hour of greatest need and under the testing of its true worth.

"THE GERMAN EMIGRANT."

(Translated from the German "Der deutsche Auswanderer" as printed in the April Number of the "Mitteilungen", by Rev. S. G. von Bosse, Wilmington, Del.)

Out in the gray distance, where wilderness covers the hillside,
Note the man with his boy, far from home, from his fatherland home;
Gazing far with his eyes held spell-bound in dreamland, spying fields great and wide,
Thinking of days in the past, when he had set out to roam,
Seeking a fortune of gold, yet lacking it badly to start with,
Like a beggar at first; yet successful, when once he had mastered the soil.
But though he put off his raiment of earlier days,
His heart cherished sacredly the memory of his fatherland's ways,
And this love for his home he protected with love's own loving toil.

In spite of the wife and the child and prosperity blessing him sweetly,
His dreams do not cease, and of home he dreams on at his new hearth most discreetly,
And in silent devotion he ponders the homely sod of his birthland;
When the dying sunlight of even' lights up with its last rosy gleam.
The Eastern horizon, then pensive, his mood exults in its dream,
And there at the hillside he lingers in the sun's last glorious beam.

With unwonthed warmth he embraces the son, who shall champion his name,
His tongue here is unloosed and with tenderness prompting, from his heart leaps the flame,
He points to the distance and tells then to his boy in tones ere the same:
See, son, where the clouds go,
O'er the ocean and the hills and these valleys below,
Rocking like sailors in the bluish ether above, rocking to and fro';
There lies the land of my forbears,
Where of German fidelity and of the German race they sing,
There with their songs they lighten their dull worries and cares,
And with earnest endeavor or humorous notes fling
Out to the breezes their wonderful, soul-breathing airs,
Where the fruit of the vine delights in its golden-hued glow,
Where the fields in their bounty their borders o'erflow,
Where the cuckoo calls and the nightingale plays,
Where the rustling of forests supplies modern lays;
Where smoking towers in seemingly boundless display,
Tell of German industry active by night and by day,
Where molten streams of iron and of steel,
Combine to form component parts for woe or weal,
There lies the land I dream about, my fatherland,
Which daily I must speak about, my fatherland.

And as I now have praised its worth to Thee,
And as it means the world and all to me,
So swear anew each day and raise your hand,
To pledge for your own country's cause that stand
Which I uphold as to my birth—and fatherland."

But mark my son, what father further states,
" Some other name and faith may be your lot in time,
Yet ne'er forget your father's home and clime,
For proudly may you praise its high estates.
And when life's destiny goes smooth or roughly past,
Remain in spite of all in German ways,
The best we know on earth, the best always."

Unveiling of the Pastorius Monument Postponed.

The unveiling of the Pastorius monument—a monument to the glorification of German immigration and the founding of Germantown has in compliance with the wish of mayor Smith of Philadelphia been postponed till after the war.

A commission, of which Mr. J. B. Mayer, President of the German-American Central Union of Pennsylvania, was chairman, appointed by Dr. Hexamer in his capacity as President of the National Alliance, had been entrusted with the arrangements for the occasion and had planned an imposing unveiling ceremony, which was to have taken place on Whitmonday, May 28 in Vernon Park in Germantown. Speakers had been selected, the program had been decided and invitations to participate in the unveiling exercises had been sent to all the societies of the National German-American Alliance, and to all German-Americans of prominence.

The Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, whose department has charge of all monuments to which the government of the United States has contributed funds, had promised to attend the ceremony. So also the Governor of the State, Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh. The construction of the monument was originally entrusted to the New York sculptor Albert Jägers. $25,000.00 had been collected by the National Alliance and an equally large sum had been appropriated in 1911 by the United States Congress. The monument was to have been completed two years ago but unforeseen difficulties delayed completion of the magnificent work until now. With the groundwork required for the building of the foundation of the monument a beginning had been made some time since—even an impressive speechmaking function had taken place on the site when the first sod was broken. The reason why the Mayor of Philadelphia wants to have the unveiling ceremony postponed till after the war is clearly seen. He fears a hostile demonstration, which is so much more likely to occur inasmuch as Germantown is dominated by an anti-german sentiment such as may hardly be found in any part of Philadelphia—and this in the first German settlement in America which, however, has been the residence of well-to-do American families for more than a century.

There are also many quakers in Germantown whose ancestors came to America with William Penn or soon after him. They represent the "blue blood," so to speak, of Germantown. The wealthy later-comers who have settled in the vicinity of their unadorned houses they term scornfully: "Codfish Aristocracy." The committee of citizens among whose members are descendants of the original German settlers, was also of the opinion that in view of the prevailing war between the United States and Germany, it would be better to postpone the unveiling of the monument erected to the glorification of the memory of Franz Daniel Pastorius and of his faithful associates until after peace. Dr. Hexamer has communicated this resolution to the Governor and to the Secretary of War as well as to the sculptor Jägers.

* * * * * * *

The soul of a people is the needle in the scales on which the destiny of the nation is weighed in the most critical times.

Citizenship To Be Had.

During the War also Germans can become American Citizens.

The Court of Appeals of the New York Federal Court has ruled that persons belonging to nations with which the United States is at war can even during the war obtain citizenship in case they applied for it before the United States entered the war.

In other words: Germans and other persons belonging hitherto to central powers with which the United States is at war can in case they secured "first paper" previous to the war (April 6 of this year, i. e. 1917) even now in spite of existing war conditions obtain the "second paper" and become therewith lawful citizens of the United States if the validity of the "first paper" has been preserved.

The decision was given in a test case which the federal authorities had instituted in order to settle beyond all doubt the status of citizenship applicants of this class. Honas Meyer, a merchant, of No. 222 Riverside Drive, who was born in Germany and came to the United States with his parents as a lad of four years, had suddenly made the discovery two years ago this his father had never been naturalized and that he himself was consequently not an American citizen, although he had in good faith exercised the franchise and served on juries. He presented his application for citizenship and wished to procure the "second paper" after the declaration of war on the part of the United States. Federal Judge Julius M. Meyer granted him the paper but the government essayed to declare it invalid.

The court of appeals bases its decision confirming the citizenship granted to Meyer on the disposition made by Congress of an apposite case in the year 1813 during the war with England. In this it is stated that foreigners who previous to the war declared their purpose to become citizens should not be denied citizenship, although at the time of the action concerning their admission war conditions prevailed.

Books of instruction for citizenship candidates and the constitution of the United States which everyone who wants to become a citizen must have read are to be procured for twenty-one cents in stamps from the National German-American Alliance, 418 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

IMPORTANT FOR GERMANS!

Legal Definitions One must absolutely know—Treason and Complicity in the Same—No One may repudiate his Citizenship—No Prohibited Criticism.

For Germans and German-Americans it will be of importance to call to mind Legal and Constitutional Definitions provided for war conditions. On the whole and in general we may say that no word of warning can be given so emphatically as the one briefly expressed in the vulgar tongue: *Maulhalten. Hold your Tongue!* Thoughtless garrulousness may cause much inconvenience and it must be borne in mind that not infrequently words are falsely reported or twisted. Therefore, great care is required. It is best not to talk about the war at all with anyone who does not understand German, for there are expressions in the English language that bear varied interpretations and it may happen that the worst of them is taken as the one intended. Therefore: *Mum! Maulhalten!*

The citizen of the United States who after the declaration of war does anything *that might aid Germany in any way is guilty of treason.* Concerning this the Constitution of the United States, says: Article 3, Section 3. *"Only making war against the United States, or co-operating with the enemy of the same, in such a way as to give the latter aid and help. No one shall be considered as having been found guilty of treason unless two witnesses attest one and the same treasonable act, or unless he in open court makes confession."*

It may be observed that this section is very flexible for "affording aid and help" may mean anything, e. g. a newspaper article, starting a false report, agitating against recruiting, etc.

It is fortunate that two witnesses are required to convict, otherwise it would be simply unendurable here in times of war. *Punishment for treason may be death,* in cases of minor importance also penetentiary. Of great moment also is a paragraph in the criminal statute making it obligatory on the part of any one who has information relative to an act of treason to make announcement at once to the authorities. The paragraph is found in the first chapter (3 Section) of the penal code of the United States and reads: *He who owes faith as citizen to the United States and has knowledge of a treasonable act committed against the same, but conceals it, and does not immediately report the same to the President or to a Judge of the United States, or to the Governor or to a Judge or Justice of the Peace of an individual State is guilty of complicity in the act of treason and shall be condemned to not more than seven years imprisonment and to a money fine of not more than one thousand dollars.*

No one not a citizen can commit treason nor can he be guilty of misprision. Neither can be drafted into military service. Now in order that citizens may not pose as aliens,—perhaps in order to evade military service or from other motives, the legislators have devised the following paragraph which is found in the Fourth Chapter (Section 77) of the Federal Penal Code: "*He who has obtained citizenship and thereafter in order to evade some obligation prescribed by law, denies either under oath or by affidavit that he possesses citizenship shall be punished with a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisoned for a term not exceeding five years.*"

Important! American citizenship can be discarded only when a court declared the citizen-certificate null. Destroying it or simply declaring one does not longer wish to be a citizen does not affect the law at all, and one can thereby simply gain the suspicion of being an "unsafe cantonist". In war, no American citizen may acquire citizenship in any foreign country,—this is punishable.

A German who is not naturalized and who spies here during the war in the interest of Germany can be summoned before a court martial and shot. A citizen who does this is guilty of treason. (See above).

While naturalized Germans stand on a level with other citizens of the United States in all respects, alien Germans are subject to many restrictions. For example, all business partnerships between American citizens and German subjects may immediately on the outbreak of war be dissolved. German subjects can no longer begin civil process here for the objection that the plaintiff is an "alien enemy" nonsuits it at once. German subjects cannot during the war claim copyright or patent protection; neither do they receive further patents.

We firmly believe that not the least will happen to those Germans who keep quiet and obey the laws. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the espionage system is very extensive and that therefore: Keep Silent! is the best advice we can give our readers.

The Executive of the Pennsylvania State Alliance has unanimously adopted the resolutions submitted by the Committee on Means and Ways: "Calm Blood these trying Times!" It was further unanimously resolved to open in connection with the German society a labor-bureau for the benefit of those who because of race connection lose their employment. The State Alliance in a petition takes a stand for teachers' pensions.

In New Orleans, Dr. Raüsmeier, the chairman of the school committee of the Louisiana State Alliance, has submitted an interesting report on the teaching of German. Dr. Raüsmeier said that it could be seen from the regularly received reports from individual teachers, that out of 1,211 children who had originally reported for participation in German instruction, 598 had taken part last week and that more than 200 children who usually study German, from various reasons did not participate in the instruction. One could thus conclude that of the reported children from 800 to 850 are still in the 213 organized classes. Dr. Raüsmeier said it should be observed that no children had been absent from German instruction so far as could be ascertained in consequence of the strained relations between the United States and Germany. He expressed his conviction that if the German instructions were continued, which seemed to be a necessity, it could only result in a harmonious working together of the varied race-elements constituting the citizenry of the United States.

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Joseph Keller, responsible editor.

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QUIET AND PATIENCE.

Let us in these Trying Times more than ever stand Shoulder to Shoulder!

Slogan of the Moment for the Americanism of German Descent.

The fateful hour that has for some time threatened to strike for the Americanism of German descent has now broken with its full weight upon it. That

which we German-Americans as honest peace-loving citizens of this country and as true patriots sought to prevent, namely a conflict between the old and the new fatherland—has after all, unfortunately come to pass. Doubly serious and painfully trying, therefore, is the period of time in which we have to live this moment. Unendurable and positively crushing as are the pangs of soul which we have had to bear for some time and which at present yet more than ever weigh down upon us driving us to the verge of distraction,—gloomy and dark as it seems to be growing around us, the German-American nevertheless ever enjoys in the hour of adversity and sorrow the presence of a true and honest friend, who in the darkest hour of agony valiantly and vigorously sustains him, lifting up his head and inspiring new courage for the future. And this friend is one of the most glorious virtues mother Germania has placed in the lap of the bride Columbia—a sort of morning present, as it were. This virtue of virtues has ever to a remarkable degree characterized the American of German descent and differentiated him and the other races that have sought and found a second home in this country,—namely the homely, plain, never-failing allegiance to the fatherland of his adoption, to the land of his own free choice.

The annals of our national history teach us—and this will have to be recorded in the future history of this country in letters of gold: The American of German tongue remained faithful to his oath concerning his adopted fatherland, firm and immovable, even amid the severest trials imaginable, true and faithful in true Germanic style and manner. In the struggle against the mother country, he discharged his obligations bravely and honestly, though with bleeding heart, toward his adopted fatherland.

And it is even through such honest and conscientious action that we can break a lance for the people from which we sprang here in the land of our bride, and vindicate even in this dark hour in unequivocal manner the nobility, uprightness and love for all that is honorable and everything that is beautiful and humane of our old fatherland without derogating one iota from our obligation to our adopted fatherland.

On the contrary, we agree entirely with our present chief executive Woodrow Wilson and support his opinion that the character of the German people must and shall not perish, for he said in his message to congress clearly and emphatically that America absolutely did not contemplate acting against the German people and did not betray any hankering for conquest or subjugation, that, on the contrary, America had thrown down the gauntlet to Germany simply to relieve its people from the heavy burdens and to preserve it.

In this storm and stress period we must accept the words of our present chief executive as legal tender. We cannot do otherwise—and therefore I cannot interpret the paragraph in his message relating to the German people other than that the President of our Country, Woodrow Wilson is deeply concerned for the preservation of the German nation and the German national character. This is easily explained,—why should a man like the President of the United States help oppress and subjugate a people like the German people,—a nation to which our young nation in its beginning became so greatly indebted.

How President Wilson reconciles all this—making war on a people from purely humanitarian considerations, subjecting it to further horrible afflictions while at the same time cherishing friendly feelings concerning it and spreading over it the mantle of Christian charity and humane-ness—this is an arithmatical problem which I cannot at the moment solve,—nor do I wish to solve it just this moment,—leaving it rather to the acumen of the historian whenever he may with the stylus of truth fearlessly write the history of this war and of this country. "For us,"—as Joseph Matt correctly expresses it in his book "The Wanderer"—"all opposition to the policy of our government or rather to that of the President ceased with the entering of our country into the war." We have to submit to our fate and that without grumbling or complaint. Thank God, we learned to do this in our earliest youth, the iron obedience and strict discipline which we, so to speak, drank in with our mother's milk comes us in every way in good stead amid the serious and, for the German heart and soul, so painfully trying conditions.

However, just at this time, Americans of German ancestry and descent should unite more closely than ever, and see well to it, that the German spirit of real, undefiled love of fatherland point the way for the hurrah—patriotism here in the fatherland of their adoption, showing how the honest obligations of citizenship are to be met and how one can, should and must in deed and reality, and not merely with emotional ebulitions and empty words serve his

fatherland in the hour of danger. Let us, at this time, point with pride to the true patriotism of our ancestors in our fatherland, holding it up to ourselves as a shining example for the present generation, telling again how our ancestors stood for the independence of our adopted fatherland, how they like pastor Peter Mühlenberg when he cast off the surplice and stepping from the pulpit declared: "The time to talk is past, we must act," and then went to war.

To preserve this German spirit in future and that even after the war on behalf of our adopted fatherland and to mix it with the American progressive spirit is and continues to be the mission of organized German-Americanism. In our adopted fatherland also he must and will prevail, succeed. This spirit of honesty, of patriotism, in a word, the spirit and character of the German people, whose conservation, (not destruction) is contemplated even as President Wilson expressed it so remarkably in his message.

There is, therefore, still a mighty task awaiting us, a task which can be accomplished solely by united and harmonious action on our part as American citizens.—by us as citizens who not only preach, but translate into deeds, practical Americanism. There are two words that constitute the watchwords of the American of German tongue this moment, and these are: "Quiet and Patience."

And in this regard, Mr. Joseph Matt, one of the tried and most fearless leaders of Americans of German descent is entirely correct when he says the following in his: "The Wanderer": "And let us have patience! Whoever is in the right and has patience—his time will come too," once said a great German. His words have ever come true. Our time also, the time of German-Americanism will come again when we shall again be sought when we shall again be needed, when people shall be unable to comprehend that they ever tried to push us aside, to eliminate us, to morally strike us dead. Only let us not surrender ourselves, only let us not despair of the missions we are yet to accomplish, nor despair of ourselves in our future! We have lost much through the misfortune that has overwhelmed us. But with head erect we can meet all those who have placed us under suspicion, who have grieved, insulted, and abused us. Quietly, we bear the misfortune as an affliction, as a testing of our strength, quietly and calmly looking for and awaiting a brighter future. We do not intend to stand aside, glum and embittered, but as has been our wont so far and as usual to assert ourselves and to continue active on the spot we maintained hitherto, depending on the laws and upon the rights guaranteed to us by the constitution. *And be we united!* A solitary tree is easily felled, when the storm tears through its branches. Discord among ourselves we have to thank neither last nor least that things have taken the course they did—that we were unable to exert greater influence over the shaping of our country. *Let us stand shoulder to shoulder in these grievous times.* Let us cultivate the life of our societies better than in the past, let us help our German press more than we have been accustomed to do in the past. Germanism is bent but not broken. Upon us, on each and every one of us, it depends whether it shall revive and arise in its old strength. The storm outside will not destroy it, if it does not die of internal weakness and of innate wretchedness.

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

What is more humane, what is more Christian, what redounds more to the glory of a civilized world: forcibly conquering its independence with cannon thunder or with peace pipes.

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

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(The following two articles appeared in English:)

"A WARNING TO PRICE BOOSTERS.

(Printed in English.)

"(By Herbert Kaufman, Indianapolis Star.)

"The man on the street has the patience of an ass, but don't you believe that he is one. History knows that he will stand just so much exploitation—when the limit's reached, he strikes back and something always comes down.

"Revolt gives no warning—it's an outburst. France dethroned Louis overnight. Outraged peoples smoulder for years—then explode. Russia decrowned her Czar in a day.

"Nobody ever played the public for a fool and won.

"You'd better lower certain prices to a legitimate margin of profit before the community steps in and decides what your gains shall be.

"Remember, we put an Interstate Commerce Commission over the railroads and we're quite capable of organizing a similar body to restrain market manipulation and control selling prices.

"As a democracy, we are loathe to invoke Federal regulation for private undertakings. We came over here and made this country simply to be free agents. Kings and special classes had entirely too much to say in our affairs. We denied the theory of Divine Right, which permitted monarchs and privileged grafters to pick our pockets at sweet will, *and you've to stop it!*

"We have no desire to interfere with the honest business of fellow citizens, but since some of you gentlemen, who specialize in daily necessities, have grown so predacious, arrogant and contemptuous of general welfare as to think you can corner supplies and tax us as you please, we're very apt to take charge of your enterprises and impose terms which will keep the bulge out of your bank account.

"Children are going hungry and the nation is growing angry. Every man in every century that stole crusts from poverty lives to rue the day.

"We are fairly well posted on actual conditions, here and abroad. There are no such ridiculous shortages and scarcities as you insist.

"The increase in overhead costs and wages does not justify your contemptible extortions.

"We are sick and tired of the brazen effrontery which has seized war congested transportation and an inconsiderable under-production as excuses for overcharges on products and merchandise of all descriptions.

"Sporadic practice has changed to a persistent habit-oppression threatens to break into an epidemic. We've left you unpunished so long that all sorts of concerns are taking a leaf out of your book.

"Any pretext seems sufficient nowadays for a raid on the pay envelope.

"When a hotel dares ask thirty cents for one baked potato and sixty-five cents for a measly saucer of canned succotash—when one establishment demands a dollar and fifty cents per yard for dyeing a rug, which half a dozen equally responsible firms offer to dip at sixty cents, it's about time to act.

"America is not entirely in the hands of gougers. Reputable merchants do not abandon their codes and betray the confidences and credulity of their customers. Both conscience and common sense still prevail in responsible quarters, but there are none the less so many of you screw twisters and your example is every day inspiring so many more high handedness, that we'll be wrecked if you're not checked.

"Take your feet out of the trough!"

"THE FUTILITY OF PROHIBITION.

(From "The Medical Times.")

"Insufficient sleep is held accountable by many of our leading clinicians for much physical and mental deterioration and disease. It probably ranks a far below alcoholism as a pathogenic factor.

"Suppose now that a number of earnest souls were to start a movement against this dreadful evil, and suppose that in time this movement, under the leadership of such unselfish, not to say angelic, soul as Richmond P. Hobson and the late candidate for President on the Prohibition Ticket, were to become able to secure sufficient sleep legislation in about half the states of the country and then suppose that a national amendment to the Constitution were to be agitated, as a Federal amendment is being agitated by the prohibitionists now, how, reader, would you stand on the question?

"Remember that this sleep amendment would make it obligatory upon you to secure not less than a certain number of hours of sleep out of each twenty-four. There would be severe penalties for violation of the law.

"Do we not know from past experience that where prohibition is enforced the people will make their own spirits? Prohibition could never be enforced for it would be impossible for any government to police all homes. The mak-

of spirits is a simple matter, requiring no more intelligence than bread baking. And this sort of home-made liquor is about the most injurious of any. In those departments of France where such liquor is made the mental and physical demoralization of the peasantry is said to be extreme.

"A rational system of governmental control of the industry, as is now the case in England, seems to be the best solution of the question of alcoholism. Unless we are frantically enamored of Kultur applied to the human spirit we do not want prohibition.

"It is easy to see the futility of such an idea as legislation seeking to enforce sufficiency of sleep. Prohibition is not a whit more sane.

"We know how the experts differ as regards the effects of alcohol following the ingestion of certain quantities. Imagine how they would stand on the question of how much sleep is necessary and how little is harmful.

"With a sleep propaganda on foot one can imagine how experiments on alcohol comparable to those at Cornell would be undertaken. It will be remembered that in the Cornell work guinea pigs were exposed to the fumes of alcohol continuously for many months, when, of course, they exhibited symptoms of great injury. In our human life continuous saturation in this wise never takes place, and saturation with any substance, ordinarily innocuous, would work injury; sugar, or salt, would conceivably inflict harm if so used. A sleep experiment on a par with these Cornell experiments would consist in keeping guinea pigs continuously awake for weeks, when, of course, evidences of marked injury would be noted.

"So we want to be standardized in respect to such matters impatient simpletons and ambitious reformers?"

ATTITUDE OF THE GERMAN-AMERICANS.

(Fort Wayne "Free Press.")

To the weakest point of German diplomacy belongs also the treatment of the German-Americans by the German government. We were always looked upon and treated as lost sheep and the German emperor is said to have permitted himself on one occasion the utterance that he knew no German-Americans. Well we could have revenged ourselves by saying, that we know no German emperor. We naturally, of course, do not say the German government should have tried to hold us; by going to a foreign country we severed the ties that united us with the old fatherland, and politically we became Americans, could not become anything else. Swearing allegiance to the Stars and Stripes we severed the ties that allied us with the political conception of Germany and attempts on the part of the German government to keep us in a relation of dependence would have been rejected by us. Had we desired to continue in a state of dependence on Germany then we should have either emigrated to a German colony or have remained in Germany. And yet something the German government could have done for us. It could at least have strengthened the ties of culture that united us with the old fatherland. It could have promoted the exchange of intelligence and have kept us posted with regard to German efforts concerning Kultur. But whenever we would learnanything concerning the old fatherland, we had to subscribe for newspapers published in Germany, employ correspondents of our own on the other side, etc., the German government certainly did nothing, to hinder our absorption by Anglo-Americanism. That we emigrated was laid up against us as a great crime and not a devil troubled himself about us. So matters stood and how far from correct those are who look upon us as agents of the Kaiser may be seen from the above. And comes a certain Ploetsch in the Krenzzeitung with the assertion that Germany is disappointed in the attitude assumed by the German-Americans. Is the gentleman crazy? What does he expect of us? Should we perhaps out of gratitude for the manner in which the German government dealt with us begin a revolution here? What might be the situation in that brain! After letting us quietly journey hence as spoiled and undesirable children of the old fatherland, never caring a rap for us, on the contrary with every suitable and unsuitable opportunity giving us to understand that in leaving the old fatherland we had severed all ties, after having done nothing whatever in the particular field in which the

German government might have exerted itself without detriment to our allegiance relation to the United States, namely by preserving intact the ties of Kultur and by doing much more than was done to establish cultural ties with the Anglo-Americans, by sending over exchange professors—one now has the sad courage to expect of us that we'll violate our oath and render Germany attendance during the war. This the German government can not ask, nor it could not even if it had treated us differently and not as it has treated us. Our oath binds us to the United States and the moment war is declared we have but one obligation—our obligation to the United States. Only a sheephead can expect anything different. Those who have the sad courage to say publicly, that they did expect something different, as well as those who only think it but do not say it, may make note of this.

ANOTHER CASE OF SLANDER BY THE PRO-BRITISH PRESS.

Like Dr. C. J. Hexamer, the President of the German-American National Alliance recently, so State Senator Herman Fellinger of Ohio has had to make the experience of having his utterances distorted by the pro-British press and sent out in the world. Mr. Fellinger is also President of the Cleveland City Alliance. On April 17, one could read in all the papers in the land that in the bosom of the war council of Cleveland there was heated debate over the claim that Mr. Fellinger had declared that the German-Americans would not take part in the agitation for the use of the fields for intensive growing of vegetables, because England and her allies would obtain advantage therefrom.

In a writing on April 22, Mr. Fellinger described the incident as follows: "As the only member born in Germany of the war commission named by our Mayor, I arose at the end of the meeting last Saturday in order to thank the Mayor for the proclamation which he had issued a few days before in which he begged for considerate treatment of the foreign born population (Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, etc.). In the further course of my remarks, I pointed out that the citizens of this element were absolutely loyal and would hold to the United States.

"Many of them, I continued 'would not fall all over themselves to plant wheat for the allies in their backyards, and some, while wishing for the United States of America to carry her point in her controversy with Germany were still praying for a victory of Germany over the allies'; in other words, the patriotism of many German-Americans ceases at the Atlantic Coast. Above all things I do not speak of myself but speak of what I regarded not as the action but as the sentiment of others. In the hundreds of communications which I then received it was pointed out again and again in praiseworthy manner that on account of the high price the export of foodstuffs should be prohibited instead of being increased.

"My activity during three terms in the House and Senate of Ohio, my ten years' activity as President of our Alliance, my founding of the citizens' school, etc., is enough proof for my American patriotism.

"My only mistake in the eye of the Jingo Press, which of course has grossly slandered me through a complete perversion of the facts is this, that I am German born and before the war worked to preserve peace."

THE LAST GIFT.

Thanks for the National German-American Alliance.

Chairman John Tjarks of the Relief Fund of the National German-American Alliance on March 26 received the following letter of thanks from Mr. E. Hecker, the delegate of the German Red Cross in New York:

"Your friendly letter of the 24th of this month with the check for $10,674.98 I have received and have been overjoyed over this new and rich result of the relief collection of the National German-American Alliance for the mitigation of war suffering.

"The sum according to your wishes will without deductions be devoted to the following relief work:

For the prisoners of war:	
Remainder of the sum received from Dr. W. W. Zacharias from the sale of the work of prisoners of war	$96.10
For the prisoners of war in Siberia	1,555.50
German wounded	2,100.98
German widows and orphans	2,100.98
Austro-Hungarian widows and orphans	2,100.97
Austro-Hungarian wounded	2,100.97
East Prussia aid (including $500.00 from Pittsburg Relief Fund)	619.48

"After the receipt of my written report over these new and rich gifts of the National German-American Alliance, the chairman of the Central Committee of the German Red Cross, his Excellency Von Phuel, will not fail to send you a direct letter of thanks. Since on account of the present poor postal communication some months must nevertheless elapse before such a writing can reach here and I therefore allow myself as representative of the German Red Cross to express to-day to you and to all the loyal and self-sacrificing givers of the National German-American Alliance, the warmest and most heartfelt thanks of our society, and also the thanks of the numberless sufferers from the war in the home land and in hostile captivity.

"In the present severe months of spring until the bringing in of the new harvest, it is of especial value if the war relief organizations receive ample means for carrying on their difficult problem for the care of those who have been affected by the war and in the care of the wounded, and the warmest recognition is due to the National German-American Alliance that even in this unsettled time it is continuing to carry on its great work of relief so successfully and so undisturbed."

Even a war cannot rob mankind of its mother love. * * * Our land must eventually recuperate through its own life.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL WARNS.

To all Federal Attorneys and Marshals:

The following order has been sent by the Attorney General Gregory in Washington: "You are hereby instructed to give to the following declaration the utmost publicity.

"No German or enemy alien in this country, who has not become implicated in conspiracies against the United States, need fear any measures on the part of the department of Justice so long as he obeys the following warning.

"Obey the law!

"Hold your mouth!"

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PROCLAMATION.

What is demanded of German Subjects.

In the proclamation signed by President Wilson in which the existence of the state of war between the United States and Germany is declared the following regulations have been prescribed for German subjects for the period of the war:

No German in America may have weapons, munitions or explosive in his possession.

He may not have in his possession aeroplanes, radio, or other apparatus for signalling, keys to secret writing, papers, documents, or books in invisible or secret writing.

All Germans must keep themselves at a distance at least half a mile from all military establishments.

They must not make attacks or threats either in writing or in print against the government, congress or officials of the Federal government.

They must not either favor hostile enterprise against the United States nor give information to the enemies of the government or afford them help or support.

Without permission they must not leave any certain prescribed zones which the President has declared.

Suspicious foreigners can be brought to certain places and must not leave these places without permission.

No German may leave the country without special permission. Germans during the duration of the war can land in the United States only at stated places.

In the event that it is necessary all Germans must register.

The violation of any one of these regulations will result in the arrest by the Federal Marshal and confinement.

Aside from this the President assures to Germans in the United States complete freedom of motion insofar as they comply with the laws of the land and calls upon the citizens of the country to show as much friendship to Germans as is consistent with their loyalty to the United States. * * * The Americanism of German descent looks forward to severe trials which nevertheless it will overcome and which will not change its character and must not change its character.

A CAMPAIGNER FOR TEACHING IN GERMAN.

From a lady belonging to the highest society of Lincoln, Nebraska—the Omaha Tribune suggests that Mrs. William J. Bryan is the writer—the Lincoln Daily Star received the following communication, which might be of interest to our readers:

LINCOLN, *March 26.*

To the Editor of the Star:

In Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Germany the boys over nine years are instructed in the public schools in a foreign language, mostly in French or in English. Are these peoples less patriotic—the first named preserve now a common and worthy neutrality above all bribery or threat; the last named fights for its country with a heroism which we should have our youth admire. Have our soldiers of the Revolutionary and of the Civil War fought less bravely because they mastered two languages? In Louisiana and other southern states, French is taught in the schools, in southern California. Spanish, here in the middle West German, Swedish and Bohemian, but always as an auxiliary language to the principal language English. If we hope to get the commerce of the world it is absolutely necessary that our children master more than one language.

MRS. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

The President in his message to Congress has called special mention to the fact that we are not carrying on war against the German people. The German people is the bearer of Germanic Kultur and the means for the spread of this Kultur is the German language. Consequently whoever fights against the German language is carrying on an intellectual warfare against Germanic Kultur and against the German people. That does not correspond with the views of the President and is not consistent certainly with the intellectual interests of our country. We need in our schools teaching in the German language as an educational means, we need it for its cultural and practical advantages, and the earlier the instruction is begun the better. Our schools have persisted brilliantly with German instruction, and whoever attempts to shake it down, does not act in accordance with the interests of our schools, nor in the interests of our youth, nor in the interests of our city, and not in the interests of the country. Our differences with Germany is all of a purely political nature and not war upon culture. Whoever attempts to make it such, places himself in opposition to the views of the President and also in opposition to our best cultural traditions. (Cincinnati Freie Presse.)

FROM THE ALLIANCES.

The Beaver County Alliance of the Central Alliance of Pennsylvania mourns the loss of its aged President Arnold Schonegg.

In Dr. Max Magnes, San Francisco has lost one of the pioneers of Americanism of German blood.

It is very pleasant, the more so at the present time, to note that the Legislature of Nebraska has voted down an attack of the enemies of German teaching in the public schools with 29 as against 21 votes. That the law providing for instruction in German which was passed at the instance of the State Alliance of New Jersey remained in effect.

In the auditorium of the German Club of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, there was held a novel entertainment, the program for which was put on by the German Club of the Wilkinsburg High School, although only a small number of the members of the Wilkinsburg German Club are of German descent, the program, consisted of German songs and poems as well as the presentation of the operetta in two acts "Hansel and Grethel" and "The Shirt Button." The entertainment was begun with the well-known folk song "In the Woods and upon the Meadows", which was wonderfully sung by the members of the Club. Thereupon followed a business session in which the reports of the Committees were heard. The second part of the program consisted in a presentation of the Teutoberg Battle by the men's chorus. A ladies' chorus presented in splendid manner the well-known folk song "The Broken Ring". A song presented by the orchestra under the leadership of Thelma Mothersbough created a furore.

CONVENTION OF THE STATE ALLIANCE OF NEW JERSEY.

The annual convention of the German-American Alliance of New Jersey which convened on April 15 in Washington Gall in Perth Amboy had a harmonious course. President Justus Kaletsch presented next President John Frey and Vice President E. Wacker of the Central Alliance of Middlesex County, whereupon the quartette sang the Star Spangled Banner. Thereupon the mayor was presented who delighted the delegates with a hearty welcome. Gustav Klingenstein, President of the Central Alliance of Hudson County, the honored Convention Leader of former years, was thereupon again unanimously chosen by acclamation as the presiding officer of the Convention. He called upon President Kaletsch to read the annual report from which it appeared that in all Central Alliances pleasing progress was being made in acquisition of members.

Hudson County won the prize for in the campaign for new members during the year; it brought in thirty-eight new societies with 1876 members, so that the Central Alliance in that place now consists of ninety-two societies with 5692 members, certainly a noble piece of work. More than seventy societies in Hudson County were visited in this year, both those that belong to the Central Alliance as those which had gotten away from it and finally also societies which hitherto would not consider joining the Alliance.

Special mention was made also of the fact that the Central Alliances of Newark, Elizabeth, Passaic, Camden and Trenton advanced the German cause in the past year by instituting medals for specially brilliant accomplishments of students in German.

The auditing committee reported that it had found the books of financial secretary Oberst and treasurer Bickel in faultless order, that with an income of $524.32 and expenditures of $334.41, there was on April 1 of this year a balance of $189.91 in the Treasury.

George Grimme, President of the Central Alliance of Newark and surroundings, as chairman of the Alliance Committee on Alliance Affairs, broke a lance for Dr. Hexamer, who as was well known was slandered by the English Press.

The following resolutions reported by the Committee for Alliance Affairs were adopted unanimously:

1. The present annual convention of the New Jersey State Alliance regrets the resolutions and protests passed in the Executive Committee, a result of false newspaper reports, and assures to Dr. Hexamer, the President of the National Alliance their fullest confidence as well as their greatest thanks for his self-sacrifice in his service of our Alliance.

2. We recommend to all our county and city alliances as well as to their members subscriptions to the Bulletin of the Alliance, as reports of the Alliance are authentic therein and can be relied upon, we recommend further that the different Alliances take care that the Bulletin is received in the Public Libraries, even at the cost of the respective Alliances.

3. We approve the action of the President of the Alliance in naming a Committee for Ways and Means and recommend to our county and state

alliances to ask for the help of that Committee and to also help it in every way in getting new members.

Through the Committee on Resolutions, the following resolution was presented which was adopted unanimously. The resolution is:

The State Alliance of New Jersey on April 15, 1917, assembled in annual convention at Perth Amboy regrets most deeply that the peace of our land was not preserved, and recommends to its membership to fulfill their duty to their adopted fatherland as true, loyal citizens.

Further be it resolved that we recommend to all State and city alliances that they continue with the collection of moneys for the needy as heretofore only with the distinction that the money now collected shall be spent for the needy in our own land.

It was further recommended that labor bureaus be organized, in order to support and get work for Germans or others who had become American citizens and who had lost their positions from prejudice.

The next annual convention is to be held in Hackensack under the auspices of the German-American Central Alliance of Bergen County. President Justus Kaletsch was again re-elected, first Vice President is Joseph Warsdorfer of Hackensack; second Vice President Jacon Kiefer of Elizabeth, Secretary, Ernest German of Elizabeth, Financial Secretary Anton J. Oberst of Camden. Treasurer Frank Bickel of Trenton and delegate to the National Alliance George Grimme of Newark.

Chairman Klingenstein thereupon gave to the German press his warmest thanks for their loyal co-operation in the past year and requested that they might have the same support in the coming year. Finally he paid a tribute to the ladies of Perth Amboy for the brilliant reception and urged all Germans in these earnest and serious times to hold together faithfully. Songs concluded the harmonious end of the State Convention.

The Executive Committee of the State Alliance of Illinois held on April 26 in Chicago under the chairmanship of President Charles Christman, their regular meeting. There were represented outside of Chicago, the Cities of Pekin, Bloomington, Kankakee, Kewanee, Elgin, Streetor, Rockford, Dundee, Cicero and Decatur. The greatest part of the conference was devoted to the difficult conditions brought about by the war and the position of the Executive Committee found expression in the expediency in the resolution recommended by the Committee for Ways and Means, namely "Calm Blood in this serious Time." This was sent to all alliances and individual societies.

SUPPORT AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PRINTED IN GERMAN LANGUAGE.

In the newspaper published in the interest of the German type-setter, which is the official organ of the German American Typographical Union, we find the following article which is worthy of being thoroughly taken to heart.

SUPPORT OF THE GERMAN PRESS SMALL.

EVANSVILLE, *March, 1917.*

During our last meeting, it was pointed out that the Germans as a rule did not support the German press in the way they should. The societies have in recent times organized balls and other entertainments and endless reports were given about them, which of course was desired, but they never seemed to feel it worth while to give an advertisement to them. We consider it our duty to call the attention of the various societies to the fact that the German newspapers and societies must stand locked together. The following resolution was handed in and was adopted, unanimously:

Many members of societies think that they have done their duty when they are subscribers to the German newspaper, and many others "also Germans" borrow the German newspaper from a good neighbor or read it supeficially in a restaurant.

And the societies themselves expect from the German newspaper world reports about concerts, balls, as well as other entertainments, but to give an advertisement for them seldom occurs to them. It is possible that the members

of societies have never considered the matter from the standpoint of a newspaper editor and have never taken into consideration their duty in the matter. But these should consider that the societies would have a miserable existence were it not for the German newspaper.

The Germans could be of great assistance to the German press if when they make purchases they would notify the business men that they saw his advertisement in the German newspaper. With newspapers, the advertising patronage is the principal matter. No newspaper in American can exist from its subscription money.

This communication should not be regarded as an appeal for pity but we consider it our duty to point out the evil which many have been guilty of unconsciously.

QUIET BLOOD IN THIS SERIOUS TIME.

Considering the difficult conditions brought about by the condition of the war and for the protection of our fellow citizens of German descent, the Executive Committee of the ——— Alliance of ———, ———, has sent the following communication to the societies and members belonging to the Alliance:

To the Societies and their Members!

The present critical situation and the existence of a state of war between the land of our birth and the land of our choice lays upon every American citizen and upon those citizens of the German Empire and of Austro-Hungarian Empire, who are enjoying the hospitality of this land certain duties, for the fulfillment of which we make urgent request.

The personal rights of the individual are not restricted in any way by the existence of war. Nor are the rights of societies and church organizations to hold meetings restricted. These, however, should, in the future, as in the past, be conducted with consideration for the prevailing conditions and every conflict should be avoided which might bring the society or its members into conflict with the authorities or with the law. It requires certainly no further mention that during the critical time no German flags should be used for the decoration of the society halls. The flag of the country and the banner of the society fulfill the purpose admirably. Also the pictures of the rulers and leaders of the army and fleets of the Central Powers should be removed, as certain persons would take offenses therefrom and unpleasantness might be introduced thereby.

For the rest, we citizens of German descent and German subjects must also in the future hold together closely and intimately for common protection and for mutual solace. Wherever it is possible any one of our race who finds himself out of a position should be put upon the right way in order that he may get employment again; for cases will arise where citizens of German descent or subjects of Germany will lose their positions, because they cannot repudiate their racial connection.

We will not derogate from our dignity as American citizens but will keep sacred the oath which we swore; nevertheless we cannot and we will not degrade ourselves to rascals in our opinions and join in the howl against Germany and her allies. With heavy hearts we will fulfill our duties as American citizens and leave nothing undone in order to bring about an early peace and restoration of friendly relations between the United States and Germany. The German language, German customs, German belief and German song and literature can be cultivated in the future in spite of the present conditions. These are necessary and of far reaching importance, when the war is over and reason has won its victory over the war howling, in order to restore the good relations between the two lands and to firmly settle them.

In the meantime let this be the watchword; "Calm is the Citizen's first duty." We must be reminded of this and hope that after the darkest part of the night a new and better time will break.

———— ————

President.

————

Secretary.

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

First Circular of the Committee on Ways and Means.

To the Heads of the Alliances:

The above proclamation, which is excellent and strikes the right tone and comes from the executive of the Southern California Alliance, Max E. Socha, Chairman, Robert E. Kaestner, Secretary, is recommended to the Alliances for adoption and for communication to Societies and their members and for their compliance therewith.

THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS:
GEORGE SEIBEL, *Chairman.*
DR. E. ROSINGER, *Secretary.*

Only through a firm holding together and gregariousness can the American of German language evidence their true patriotism.

Cruelty to neutrality: Arm in Arm with you I summon my country into the lists.

The Anglo-American Press will some day taste of its own poison.

"The pen is mightier than the sword!"—this seems to be particularly the case in these days of excitement.

The hero for the preservation of peace is more to be prized than the hero upon the battle field.

A word in honor one cannot deny even now.

POLITICS.

Dr. C. J. Hexamer in August, 1915 gave a speech in San Diego California, before a meeting arranged by the local German-American Alliance. The Official Bulletin records that "one passage of the speech deserves special prominence". In this passage occurs this statement: "Teach your children German. Become citizens of this land and exercise your rights at the ballot box. Take office, and support your German candidates." (7 O. B. 9, p. 39)

APR., 1916.

8 Official Bulletin 4, page 18 contains the following:

ILLINOIS.

A Meeting of the State Executive Committee took place recently in Chicago—It Devoted Itself to Political Questions and passed out the Watch-Word "Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson."

There was a thorough discussion of the political situation and the following motion was unanimously adopted:

"That the executive committee of the State Alliance of Illinois gives all subsidiary Alliances the watchword 'Everybody against Roosevelt and Wilson' in

order to prevent the nomination of these men as candidates for the presidency; that all local alliances and societies are ordered to take all necessary steps in their localities to accomplish this result; that the alliances are to be notified by the executive committee of this their problem as quickly as possible and that copies of the report adopted by the Chicago Alliance, which was approved by the officials of the National Alliance as well as of the executive committee of the State Alliance be sent to all branch alliances."

MAY, 1916.

8 Official Bulletin, 5, page 21 contains the following:

OREGON.

Important Session of the State Alliance of German Speaking Societies—Interesting Incitement with reference to Relief Work and the Presidential Campaign was given.

The regular meeting of the State Alliance of German speaking societies of Oregon held on April 1 in the German House in Portland was marked not only by the large attendance but also by active participation in the debates. President F. H. Dammasch, (Note: This man was seventh Vice President of the National German-American Alliance) opened the meeting and Secretary Edgar Winter took the minutes. * * *

ADVICE IN REGARD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

Mr. Ernst Kroner, President of the American Neutrality League gave a speech in which he gave advice as to how the German speaking population could overthrow the present pro-British administration in the coming presidential election. Although he belonged himself to the democratic party, Mr. Kroner declared under no circumstances should a democratic president be elected, since among the democratic presidential candidates only Woodrow Wilson was being considered, and since Mr. Wilson was intent upon the annihilation of Germanism in the United States and in addition to that was an opponent hard to beat, there was left but one weapon, and that was, without reference to previous party affiliation to register as republicans and to vote for a republican presidential candidate. The German speaking population, and with that the speaker meant the Germans, Austrians and Swiss, must in this exceptional case take the view that it is necessary to stand together unanimously in order to prevent the election of Wilson or Roosevelt. In order to achieve this result, there is only one means at hand and that is to acknowledge themselves as republicans in the coming election. Afterwards everyone could be free to return to his previous party. That the speaker was not preaching to deaf ears was apparent from the enthusiastic applause which followed his assertions. President Dammasch supplemented Mr. Kroner's assertions with the statement that those persons who had already registered as democrats could still before April 18 change their party affiliation. He also warned them not to register themselves as independents, which a great many women were doing, since in that manner many votes were lost for the purpose in view. It was understood, of course, that every German and every German woman would make use of the ballot box and would register. Delegates Arnold Keller, Frenz Kraxberger and Gerhard Gotze also pointed out in a few words how necessary it was for everyone to whom the administration hostile to Germany was hateful, to ignore his personal interest and this time register as republican.

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7 Official Bulletin 7, page 18 contains the following; from the report of the secretary of the Wisconsin State Alliance:

It is well known that Germanism in the State of Wisconsin does not by a long ways play the roll which is owing to it from its numerical importance and its great participation in upbuilding the State. Since in this respect a change can be brought about only through the Legislature the executive committee obtained information as to all legislative candidates with reference to their position in regard to the principles of the National Alliance. The lists so prepared were sent to the Alliances throughout the State with the result that the present law-giving body is more favorable to the efforts of the Alliance than ever before.

APR. 19...

8 Official Bulletin 4, page 20 contains the following:

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Executive Committee of the State Alliance calls attention to the I... tance of the Election of Delegates for the National Convention.

The State Alliance of Massachusetts has sent the following circular ... therein has summoned the citizens of German descent to do their duty ... ballot box:

"All citizens of German descent are notified that on April 25 there w... place the election of delegates for the National Conventions which nom... presidential candidates. * * *

"All citizens of German descent should take part in the primaries a... their influence to this end that so far as possible such delegates are el... all parts who will vote only for such presidential candidates who re... true neutrality and the best interests of the American people.

APR., 19...

8 Official Bulletin 4, page 27 contains the following report from the S... Washington Alliance:

"The political committee of the Central Alliance which will have the ... of managing the approaching election consists so far of Messrs. M... Suksdorf," etc.

MAY, 19...

8 Official Bulletin 5, page 15 contains the following report from Califo...

On April 6, there was a meeting in the Turnhalle of Sacramento. Th... ing was called by the city alliance in order to bring German speaking Am... citizens into closer touch, especially to produce a closer feeling betwe... German churches of all confessions and the German societies and to u... Germanism into a solid Phalanx, in order that it might enter the lists ... approaching elections for the preservation of the rights of German-Amer... citizens.

This object was completely accomplished for the meeting could ju... described as a fraternizing of the German-speaking element. Among ... numerous gifted speakers there were clergymen both of the Protesta... Catholic church who gave expression to their patriotic feelings in ... words.

Dr. C. A. Nahl, the President of the city alliance acted as chairman

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MAY, 19...

8 Official Bulletin 5, page 16 contains the following:

GERMAN-AMERICANS TO THE FRONT.

The Chicago Branch Alliance of the National Alliance has sent out the f... ing summons through its standing committee:

German-Americans have stood too long in the background,—in the ... ground so far as concerns public political life. Only in commercial life ... when it was necessary to defend the country with life and limb have ... Germans been in the foreground. Others, however, reaped the profit a... reaped ingratitude. Shall we remain so? Never! But how is the co... to be altered?

Unity gives power. Only the strong man can assert his right against o... while the weak one is trodden under foot. Let us therefore be stro... locking ourselves together unitedly in one great alliance, the National Ger... American Alliance.

This war-time has shown us German-Americans how miserably weak we ... How we are hated and persecuted by the Anglo-Saxons, how we have ... to suffer supinely all their attacks. That must be changed if we are ... to be considered worthy of the German blood which is in our veins.

Our Alliance numbers according to the lists two and a half million members, but with the greatness of our Germanism in this land, the lists should show at least ten million names.

Every German-American can subscribe to the objects of the National German-American Alliance, Truth and freedom, righteousness and justice for all without distinction is our object. Preservation of the German language and of German customs is our watch-word. In this every German-American should be our trusted comrade in arms. Battle hypocrisy and immorality in public as in private life! Clean shone the shield of Columbia, whom we wooed in the Freedom of the woods, just like the shield of Germania who bore us, was brilliant in purity—can there be any German-American who would not help us in this noble work?

Therefore come you of the German race! Fulfill your double duty as son of Germania in true devotion to Columbia. Let us be a united race of brothers! Let us stand faithfully together! Then our new home will derive the richest blessings from this work.

With German Greeting,

THE PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.

MAY, 1916.

8 Official Bulletin 5, page 18 contains the following:

MISSOURI.

The Executive Committee of the State Alliance recommends vigorous action to secure competent men as candidates—Above all Things Men should be nominated Who would make protest against the shameful delivery of Weapons to the Allies.

In the St. Louis Turnhalle there was held on April 7 a meeting of the Executive Committee of the State Alliance of Missouri of the National German-American Alliance. Delegates of the following branch alliances were present: Kansas City, Joplin, Sedalia, Springfield, Herman, Washington, Jackson and St. Joseph.

The President of the State Alliance, Dr. Charles H. Weinsberg acted as President and Secretary Fred Lorenz, from St. Joseph, acted as Secretary.

Dr. Weinsberg gave all a hearty welcome. He called attention to the fact that the Alliance in this year, in which not only a national but also a state election was to be held, was confronted by grave problems. It was therefore absolutely necessary that all members of the alliance exert their entire energies and forget all party controversies, if the desired object was to be reached. In the coming legislature the question of prohibition would come up and the alliance must make determined effort against this threatening danger.

Before the meeting entered upon the business to be disposed of Mr. Gottfried Kirn, the delegate from Kansas City, declared that it was necessary for every city in which there was a branch alliance to form a committee of three men who would report concerning the delegates to the national convention. The chairman then requested the delegates to give the names of those members whom they wanted on the legislative committee; they should, however, in this selection proceed with great care as the work of this committee was exceptionally important.

In the progress of the discussion concerning the approaching election Secretary Lorenz proposed that the recommendation of candidates be left to the officers of the National Alliance. It was then decided that the President of the State Alliance be empowered to communicate to the delegates to the National Conventions of both parties the position of the State Alliance of Missouri with reference to presidential candidates. The selection of all National and State candidates was left to the legislative committee. They were to inform themselves as to the names and character of candidates presented and to give a report thereof before the primaries, in order that the members could learn from that report what action to take.

NEUTRALITY.

AUG., 1915.

Neutrality resolution of the State Alliance of New York contained in 7 Official Bulletin 8 page 15:

In view of the fact that President Wilson in his last note has expressed towards Germany the threat that in case of the death of any American brought

about by any future attack upon unarmed ships, such act would be regarded as a purposely unfriendly act; and in view of the fact that he has thereby taken towards Germany a position which is equivalent to an ultimatum, the German government having declared and having insisted that its submarine blockade against England could not be abandoned from considerations of self-preservation;

And in consideration further of the fact that this position of our Government makes impossible every further compromise or even a settlement of our differences by arbitration and is against the humane and peace-loving principles of our government, and brings about such a situation that in the event that congress is assembled, congress can take only one course and that is the declaration of war against our old fatherland;

In consideration further that Germany made concessions to our government in the present controversy which guaranteed safety to American passengers as long as we refrained from shipping munitions on passenger ships, thereby pointing out a way for the peaceful settlement of present as well as future difficulties between two friendly countries which was in the spirit of our arbitration policy;

Be it resolved by the German-American Alliance of the State of New York in convention at Utica on July 25, that we damn this arbitrary proceeding of the president without the previous consent of congress as a dangerous usurpation of power and a danger to our peace; further that we approve with all energy the position taken by the friends of peace of this land as it was manifested in the tremendous meeting of citizens held in Madison Square Garden New York; further that we call upon the peace-loving people of our country and especially on the Americans of German descent, who would be affected most seriously by a conflict with the mother country, that they organize mass demonstrations and protests and take part enmasse in the peace congress which has been called for September 5 and 6 in Chicago; and that we thereby offer to the president the proof that except for an attack and invasion of our own land the American people is resolved not to allow itself to be entangled in war with any nation.

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7 Official Bulletin 12, page 5 contains the following resolution adopted by 130 German and 61 Irish Societies at the American Neutrality and Peace Convention in San Francisco on November 18, 1915:

England has answered our notes with contempt and further attacks. Further notes and protests would be laughable and humiliating. Our people has provided an army and fleet in order that they might be used in the present situation to protect our commerce, our citizens and our rights as a neutral nation. The assertion of our rights will bring peace; if we submit to England we make ourselves an ally of England and prolong the war. The people demand action.

EXHIBIT No. 1036.

Copy of report of Percy Andreae, Prs't. Nat. Ass'n. C. & L.

OCTOBER 9, 1915

To the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Assn., New York City.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to report the activities of my organization during the past year as follows:

PRESS WORK.

The personal liberty articles appearing in the American Leader are being republished, in thirty languages, in whole or in part by about 800 newspapers with a total circulation of 6,000,000 copies. There are thus being reached through this channel 18,000,000 readers bi-weekly. The organization of this press and the elements surrounding it by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers has now reached the stage at which practical results can be obtained throughout the country by the application of proper organization methods in any locality where this press is represented. This has been proved beyond question in Ohio where in the last campaign through the instru-

mentality of the Foreign Language Press the registration of voters of foreign origin or foreign extraction exceeded in one county alone by over twenty thousand anything ever known in the political history of the county.

In March of this year I was elected a Vice-President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers and appointed the accredited spokesman for the organized foreign language newspapers of the country. In this capacity I delivered, at the invitation of the International Press Congress held in San Francisco, the address before that body on behalf of the Foreign Language Newspapers of America, and have since addressed various commercial bodies in the same capacity. Arrangements are now under way to have me deliver under the same auspices similar addresses before Chambers of Commerce or other commercial associations in the chief centres of the country, and I am informed by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers that dates for my appearance before such bodies are being arranged in about fifteen of our larger cities.

At my suggestion the Foreign Language Newspapers Association has decided to use its influence and efforts to bring about an organization of the general business interest of the country for the purpose of combatting by practical means the freak laws and coercive legislation, which are becoming an increasing menace to the property rights of the citizen and the business development of the country, and I have been placed in the position to interview and discuss plans for such an organization with some of the leading commercial men of the country.

The Association had recently in contemplation the summoning of a convention of the 1250 German and foreign language newspaper editors in Washington for the purpose of laying out a concerted policy to be pursued by this great press in its crusade against the destructive tendencies of those who are to-day controlling the legislation of the country, and to present resolutions embodying the views of this press to the President of the United States, and to the Governor of the individual States of the Union. The holding of this convention was made conditional upon my agreeing to deliver the address at the convention and take charge of the necessary work incident to the carrying out of the policy decided upon by all the newspapers concerned.

To my great regret, owing to the circumstances in which I have now been placed, with practically no funds under my control, and the funds actually promised me withheld, I saw myself unable to undertake this work, and this important move has in consequence, for the present at least, been abandoned.

For the same reasons, I shall be compelled to notify the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers that, unless present conditions are altered, when the arrangements now in effect between that Association and myself terminate, namely on January 1st and May 1st, 1916, I shall not be able to renew them, as they involve personal guarantees which I am no longer able to fulfill. I shall of course continue to maintain active relations with the Association in any direction in which I may be rendered able to do so, but the educational campaign in the press itself and the vast groundwork of the organization I have thereby been instrumental in creating during the past two years, will, I greatly regret to say, be destroyed at the very moment, when, with adequate means, it is capable of producing the most effective and far-reaching results.

The President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers has informed me that he has been repeatedly approached during the past eighteen months and urged to carry on this organization and general campaign work in cooperation with men other than myself in your Association, but that he has refused.

The same condition exists in reference to the organization bureau established by the German-American Alliance in conjunction with my own organization and in accordance with certain plans and policies suggested by me two years ago. The first Vice-President of the National Alliance and the Chairman of its Organization Bureau tells me that he has been approached through certain channels and informed that I shall not have the means after January 1st of continuing the arrangements under which his bureau and my organization are working, but that if he will continue to carry on the organization established through me along the lines hitherto pursued, the necessary financial means will be supplied through other parties in your Association, provided he will work under their direction instead of under mine. This, he has notified me, he will refuse to do, so that, unless other elements in the Alliance are willing to take over the work, so ably conducted by him, this important organization work will likewise be destroyed.

The German-American Alliance Organization Bureau has done active work in holding meetings, forming new branches and societies and instilling new life into old branches in Illinois and Ohio, and, through the German Press and the German Clubs and societies in Texas, created a strong agitation in that State against the franchise amendment recently defeated there, which would have disfranchised a very large number of foreign born voters. The Foreign Language Press Association performed the same work among the foreign language newspapers published in Texas.

Since the field force at the command of the bureau of the German-American Alliance consists of only three men, when it ought to be five or six times that number, it is not possible to cover more than a limited amount of ground in one year. The whole force has for the past months been engaged in organization in Ohio, where the most important campaign affecting the interests is now in progress.

Practically my entire available field staff (ten men) are today at work in Ohio, in charge of the campaign work in the various counties, or groups of counties, in which organization is in progress, and many of them have been at work there since the beginning of the year.

I should mention that the representatives of labor working with me have been so employed since the beginning of the year. Mr. Adolph Kummer, in particular, having, at the urgent request of Mr. Proebstle, been working at my instruction for the past ten months under that gentleman's direction in Ohio. This will prove of interest to your Board, in view of the fact that the statement was made at a recent meeting of your Executive Committee that Mr. Proebstle had expressed himself in a disparaging manner about Mr. Kummer.

I regret that in the case of my labor bureau also I am informed that intimation has been conveyed by a representative of the U. S. Brewers' Association to the Brewery Workers Union that it is intended to withhold from me the means to carry on my work in conjunction with labor, with the consequence that the elements co-operating with me have been thrown into a state of uncertainty and unrest and that the confidence between those elements and myself which is essential to effective joint work has been largely undermined.

Surveys have been made of Kentucky, at the request of the Kentucky interests, of Maine, at the request of Mr. Gardiner, and of Ohio, at the request of the Ohio interests.

GENERAL LITERARY AND PUBLICITY WORK.

Apart from my own speeches and writings, which through certain influential channels have been placed in the hands of the leading business men and other prominent men of the country, with the result that a considerable correspondence has ensued with many of them, the salient features of the past year have been the progress made with the news-bureau established last August, and the Hearthstone Magazine, which this August reached a circulation in paid individual subscriptions among the smaller communities of the country, of 301,000.

The news-bureau now supplies its weekly news-letter to over 5,300 of the 12,000 weekly papers of the country, all published in the smaller towns, and the list is steadily increasing. The total circulation of these papers is conservatively estimated at 1,000 copies each, so that the actual circulating medium of publicity here utilized represents 5,300,000 subscribers, and, since each copy of a newspaper is conceded on an average to be read by between three and four individuals, the total readers actually reached every week amount to between 15 and 16 million.

The actual pieces of literature reaching readers by means of this bureau and the foreign language press alone may be computed, according to another method of reckoning sometimes used in this connection, to be 431 million annually, namely:

Foreign Language Newspapers 6,000,000 reproductions of personal liberty articles 26 times a year	156,000,000
5,300,000 reproductions of our news-letter in 5,300 weekly papers having a total circulation of 5,300,000, 52 times a year	275,600,000
Total	431,600,000

It is to be noted, also, that these pieces of literature not only go to the individual readers direct, but are paid for by them, and it may therefore be presumed that they are actually read.

The circulation of the Hearthstone was increasing so rapidly in advance of the advertising rates that it was thought wise, for financial reasons, to stop further increase until September, when the advertising rate increased from 40¢ a line to 70¢ a line, and the actual linage contracted for at the increased rate in that and the following months promises to more than double, thus enabling me to largely increase the circulation, while reducing the average cost.

At this juncture, however, your financial committee passed a resolution directing the discontinuance of this publication as soon as conveniently possible. As I was unable to convince the committee that it was destroying one of the most valuable assets I had built up, and one which within a year or two would double and treble in value, not only at no additional cost, but at a steadily decreasing one, I appealed to the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association to save this asset, with the result that I have the assurance that, provided this Association can secure the means, which it will know before the middle of October, it will guarantee me sufficient funds to carry on and extend the publication.

The play "The Passing of Hans Dippel", presenting the story of a German saloon-keeper of the highest respectability being gradually ruined by the dry movement and his business destroyed without compensation by the operation of the option law, was produced by an excellent company in November and December last in eight cities in Ohio and Missouri, but owing to the complete collapse of the theatrical business at that period, which was practically universal, was withdrawn at the end of the year.

The contribution of weekly articles to the labor press through Brauer-Zeitung has continued throughout the year.

A complete collection of my articles and addresses on personal liberty and the prohibition question has been published in book form, with my permission, by a publishing firm, and I understand that the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association offered to pay a pro rata share of the cost of providing all the libraries of the country with a copy of this book, if the United States Brewers' Association would join in the undertaking. But the proposition was refused by the United States Brewers' Association, whereupon the N. W. L. D. A. undertook the entire cost, and the book is now available in every library in the country.

A compilation of the population of the United State of foreign origin or extraction by states and cities, with their actual voting strength, and the location of the foreign language newspapers, has been prepared and is ready to be placed in the hands of campaign managers, wherever elections may be called.

STAMP PLAN.

Every effort has been made to extend and perfect the discount stamp plan inaugurated by the National Association of Commerce and Labor, and some progress has been made in certain directions. But the official disapproval of the Board of Trustees of the method of putting the plan in operation as originally devised has deterred the interests in many localities from co-operating in the plan, whilst all our endeavors to carry it out in those localities in conformity with the wishes of the President and Board of Trustees have met with insurmountable obstacles.

FINANCIAL.

My organization has received from the Treasury of the United States Brewers' Association since September 1st, 1914, that is to say in fourteen months, including October 1st, 1915, $16.666.66 towards the funds for its support. I was summoned before your Executive Committee early in the year, and, after an exhaustive discussion of the estimates of expenditure for the ensuing twelve months and the fund I had accumulated, together with the probable income to be expected from the sale of stamps, I was informed that a sum of $100.000 had been voted by the Board towards my fund during that period. I have conducted the organization and laid out its work in accordance with that assurance, but as only $16.666 has been paid of that sum in the seven months including October 1, 1915, my reserve fund has now fallen below the amount necessary to enable me to discharge the personal liabilities I have undertaken. In fact, the Brewers' fund which I had accumulated was exhausted in April, so that the $16.666.66 actually remitted from your Treasury has not sufficed since then to pay my own personal reimbursement for more than six of those seven months.

I have been informed that your Executive Committee, when asked for remittances under the appropriation made by your Board, declined to make further remittances until an audit of my expenditures had been made, and a firm of public accountants was accordingly employed by the finance committee for that purpose. This firm, through six or seven of its employees, has since investigated down to the minutest and most delicate details all the dealings and operations of my organization from the date of its inception, and its voluminous report and figures, compiled from our books and vouchers, are, I believe now in the hands of the President.

Respectfully submitted.

Foreign Language Press	$70,000.00
G. A. Alliance	30,000.00
Survey and organization department, salaries	50,000.00
Travelling expenses of men on survey work	45,000.00
National Model License League	12,000.00
Newspaper and News Bureau	30,000.00
Salaries, and wages, office, stenographers, clerks, and general office expense	10,000.00
Printing, Stationey and general supplies	2,000.00
Telephone Telegraph and postage	3,500.00
Publicity (general)	20,000.00
Travelling expenses	12,000.00
Total	284,500.00

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS.

This expense consists entirely of items connected with the translation of the Personal Liberty Articles into twenty nine languages, on which work we have a special staff of twelve men, mostly college teachers, of high literary attainments. Over two thousand priests and over one thousand Jewish Rabbis receive the American Leader from us, and their comments on the articles and in many cases their enthusiastic approval of this campaign of education constitute one of the best and most effective assets we have.

We have one of the officials of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers travelling under our direction, and visiting every editor with credentials from the Association. The work done through the Association, the meetings inaugurated under its auspices, and the large number of volunteer workers which it placed at our disposal, turned the recent election in Ohio.

The President of the Association has placed a great portion of his time at our disposal, visiting the clergy and the leaders of the foreign language citizenship in various centers and enlisting their co-operation among the rank and file in their congregations.

We have the services of a special press representative of the German Press, who has induced over three hundred German newspapers to republish the Personal Liberty articles, and who, under the direction of the Association, is paving the way for the establishment of a German Press Association working in conjunction with the Association of Foreign Language Newspapers.

Meetings are to be called all over the country, to be addressed by me on the subject of definite organization, and the leading men of each community where such meetings are to be held, will be invited to attend. Mr. Charles Nagel, and other prominent men, such as the Hon. Cabot Ward, ex-Governor of Porto Rico, and President of the New York Park Commission, have agreed to speak with me at these meetings, and to endorse the program to be presented. The meetings are to take the form of luncheons, and it is the intention to invite the leading men in our industry in each city to be present.

It is impossible to estimate this cost, which will comprise the travelling expenses of the speakers, including Mr. Hammerling, and the cost of the luncheons. I have estimated this expense at $15,000. It may be more, and it may be less.

Arrangements have been prepared to open the columns of the English Press to the aims and the policy of the organized foreign press by supplying short editorials to be reprinted by the English Dailies, and if this plan can be perfected the cost is estimated at between $10,000 and $15,000.

Here again the cost comprises translators and the supplying of the Leader to the English Dailies.

GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

This feature should be extended. It goes hand in hand with the survey and general education work, and if increased will be of exceedingly great value. This department can do by far its best work when no campaigns are in progress. It is operating or about to operate at present in Illinois, where there are two hundred thousand Germans to organize, in Texas, where the work of organization done among the Germans during the recent campaign there can be doubled and trebled within the next year (thus greatly increasing our strength for the next campaign), and in Iowa, where the same statement applies. It will be required in the coming campaign in Kentucky, and in any other States where elections are in prospect.

SURVEY AND ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENTS.

The staff consists of 15 men.

The chief of the Department receives $7,500 a year. His work consists of the general direction of the department and the carrying out of the organization work, through the unions, the German-American Alliance and other channels.

He was in charge of the recent Campaign in Ohio in the southern part of that State, and also of the Iowa Campaign and of the work done by this Bureau in Texas, Kentucky and Illinois.

There are two Union men in the department, one receiving $5,000 a year, and the other $3,000 a year. The first was Labor Commissioner of the State of Ohio under Governor Harmon, to whom I recommended him, the second is one of the best men known to me among the leaders of the Brewery Workers Union. Their efficiency is beyond all question, for I have known and worked with them for six years.

The salaries of the remaining eleven men amount to an aggregate of $30,000.

They consist mostly of political workers, former senators or state representatives, all of whose ability has been tested by me in the past five or six years in campaigns and similar work in Ohio.

They were all active in the recent Ohio Campaign, some in charge of county work, and it was largely their efforts which enabled the huge initiative petition for the Home Rule Amendment of 304,000 names to be procured there in the short space of three weeks.

Their training in the special work of surveying and in the work of applying the knowledge obtained by the survey is invaluable, and if once this force is disbanded, it would take a year, if not more to bring together and train another set of men.

NEWSPAPER AND NEWS BUREAU WORK.

I explained this department in detail during my recent visit to Philadelphia. It is not of a nature to permit of an intelligent outlining in a written report.

OFFICE SALARIES & WAGES, STENOGRAPHERS, CLERKS & GENERAL OFFICE EXPENSE.

We have eight stenographers and bookkeepers.

Their work consists in tabulating, filing and recording our survey material by States, making copies for campign managers, keeping the files of the 850 newspapers that publish the Personal Liberty articles, type-writing, keeping our books and vouchers and performing the office work generally.

At times when special publicity matter is being prepared or issued, this staff is temporarily greatly increased. We have issued nearly a million pieces of specal literature during the year, and written many tons of thousands of letters and other communications to our list of correspondents. These lists contain between 60,000 and 100,000 names, and our total lists for mailing literature, comprising the clergy, the legal profession, congressmen, senators, legislators, newspapers and other professions contain many hundred thousand names. We keep these sets of envelopes ready addressed in the case of our regular mailing list, such as brewers, distillers, manufacturers and dealers and special lists.

PUBLICITY (GENERAL).

Consists of the preparation of such articles for the Foreign Language Press as I cannot write myself, for the German Press and for the Labor Press, and the printing and mailing of literature, such as speeches, articles and other matter. Nearly a million pieces of such literature were issued last year, the cost of which is included in this item.

TRAVELLING EXPENSES.

This is a mere estimate and must vary according to circumstances. All our men travel, and in frequent cases we have to pay the expenses of others who either come to us for consultation or whom we send in our interest to this or the other place.

CONGRESSIONAL WORK.

I would again refer to what I believe to be the urgent need of investigating and organizing the liberal elements in congressional districts, in the same way as this has been done in State legislative districts by means of the survey and organization methods we have applied there.

The recent experience in Congress seems to me to render this imperative.

The Anti-Saloon League is proceeding with the same organization tactics congressionally, that it has applied with so much success in State campaigns, and unless it is met, on national ground, with counter-organization on our part, it will in time secure an overwhelmingly dry representation in Congress as it has so often succeeded in securing in State Legislatures.

EXHIBIT No. 1037.

[General office Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n, brewers of fine beer exclusively, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A. Adolphus Busch, president; August A. Busch, vice prest.; Edw. A. Faust, 2nd vice prest.; E. S. Clauss, 3d vice prest.; Adolphus Busch III, 4th vice prest.; Edward Magnus, 5th vice prest.; Robert Holm, sec'y and treas.]

SEPT. 5, 1913.

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ANDREAE,—Since writing, Mr. Busch referred to me the enclosed letter from Mr. Richard Bartholdt with reference to Dr. Hexamer's request and I also enclose Mr. Busch's note to me on that subject.

I believe you will fully agree with everything Mr. Bartholdt says about the German-American Alliance, and it may be well to send copies of this letter to some of the gentlemen who you think would co-operate with Mr. Busch, as Mr. Bartholdt so ably sets forth the aims and purposes of the German American Alliance, of which some of the gentlemen may not have been informed. You can retain Bartholdt's letter, but I wish you would return Mr. Busch's note to me.

Mr. Bartholdt will, no doubt, be a conspicuous figure at the meeting of the German-American Alliance which will be held in our city the first week of next month, but the time is rather short and to accomplish anything no time can be lost. The announcement of this permanent fund being provided for would arouse great enthusiasm in the convention here and we could, more then ever depend upon the hearty co-operation of the Alliance.

I believe, if you will make an appeal to Mr. Ruppert, Mr. Ehret and some of the other large brewers, the fund can be raised, as the contribution will be comparatively small if fifteen gentlemen co-operate.

Yours very truly,

E. S. CLAUSS.

The following surveys are submitted to illustrate what is meant by a survey and what is comprehends. These are merely samples of hundreds of similar surveys in the files of the National Association of Commerce and Labor.

EXHIBIT No. 1038.

1. County, Deaf Smith, 4500 pop. County Seat, Hereford, 2000. Congressional District, 13; Senatorial District, 29; Legislative District, 123. Princi-

all Cities in County, Hereford, Incorporated a few years ago, but revoked by special election 1912.

No. 2. In the state wide Prohibition election Precinct No. 1 comprising Hereford, the returns were thrown out by the commissioner as they were not properly made. The unofficial count of the Hereford vote was for 89 against 16.

2. Prohibition vote State wide Campaign of 1911: 241.

3. Anti-Prohibition vote State wide Campaign of 1911: 49.

4. Are there saloons in the County? No.

5. If so, how many?

6. How many beer saloons?

7. How many saloons where general liquors are sold?

8. Have they ever had a vote upon the liquor question in the county as a whole, and if so what was the result? Yes. June, 1902, For 105, against 86. 1898 the county voted Dry. In 1900 Wet, and 1902 went Dry again and has been Dry ever since. No records could be found of the first two elections. Hereford vote was for 41, against 44.

9. If they have not had a vote on the liquor question in the county as a whole, have they had such a vote in any incorporated city of such county? No.

10. Name such incorporated cities:

11. Give the results in each if such elections have been held:

12. How many Commissioner Districts in the County? 4

13. Has there ever been a vote on the liquor question in any of the Commissioner Districts? No

14. If so, enumerate each District, and give the result:

15. How many Justice of the Peace Districts in the County? 1

16. Has there ever been a vote on the liquor question in any Justice of the Peace District? No

17. If so, how many?

18. Give the Justice of the Peace District numbers where these elections have been held, and the result in each:

19. How many School Districts are there in the County? 8

20. Have they ever had a vote upon the liquor question in School Districts? No

21. If so, enumerate District, and give result in each:

22. If no elections have been held in the County what is the sentiment in the County on the liquor question: The county is safely a prohibition county. There has been no liquor agitation for the past twelve years, and is none now. Nearly all the prominent men and politicians are prohibitionist. The whole county seems to lack interest in anything political, and it was difficult to find any one interested enough to discuss the prohibition agitation going on in the balance of the state. I was able to find only two men in the town of Hereford, of any prominence, who are Antis.—Cap Englisle, and Charles Burkett.

23. How do you get your conclusion? By interviewing J. S. Jones, County Clerk, Dem.; D. F. Ashbrook, Republican County Chairman; D. L. McDonald, Republican; Wm. M. Knight, Lawyer & Merch. Dem.; John Sherman, Cashier Western National Bank.

24. What religion dominates? Protestant. Methodist, Baptist, German Lutheran and a few Catholics.

25. % of inhabitants church members? 15

26. Membership of Elks? None

27. Lodge members and location?

28. Political Activity?

29. Officers of various lodges?

30. Membership of Eagles? None

31. Lodge numbers and location?

32. Political activity?

33. Officers of various lodges?

34. Membership of Owls? No lodge.

35. Lodge numbers and location?

36. Political activity?

37. Officers of various lodges?

38. Membership of Moose?

39. Lodge numbers and location?

40. Political activity?

41. Officers of various lodges?

42. Membership of Turners? None

43. Lodge numbers and location?
44. Political Activity?
45. Officers of various societies?
46. Membership of Sangerverein?
47. Society numbers and location?
48. Politicial activity?
48. Officers of various societies?
50. Membership of Herman Sons? None.
51. Lodge numbers and location?
52. Political activity?
53. Officers of various societies?
54. German Population? About 25 families.
55. Membership of German-American-Alliance?
56. Officers of German-American-Alliance?
57. Names and addresses of most prominent Germans in county? J. J ser, Rancher, Hereford Postoffice.
58. Foreign population outside of Germans? None. Not one Negro.
59. Names and addresses of leaders of these settlements?
60. What is situation as to organized labor? No organization.
61. What industries employ most men? Stock Raising (Cattle & She
62. Name Unions in town? None.
63. Officers of local Trades Council?
64. Officers of each local union and membership?
65. What farmer organizations are there in the county? None.
66. What is their numerical strength?
67. Do women belong to any of these organizations?
68. Name officers and give their addresses?
69. Along what lines have these organizations been active politically?
70. What part has liquor question played in County or City elections f years last past, and what was the result? None.
71. Give all the active leaders in Democratic party in County and their tude on liquor question? Wm. M. Knight, Lawyer, Merch. Dem. & P tionist, Mayor of Hereford; Chris Garrison, Dem. Prohibitionist, Her A. P. Murcheson, Cash. First State Bank, Pro.; W. E. Dameron, Lawyer, P W. S. Higgins, Pres. First National Bank, Pro.; J. M. Boone, Dem. Co. C man, Pro.; J. S. Jones, County Clerk, Pro.
72. Who is the chairman and secretary of the Democratic committee in county, and give their addresses? J. M. Boone, County Chairman, Her He also acts as Secretary.
73. How long have they served in that capacity? 4 years.
74. Did the liquor question play any part in their selection? No.
75. If so are they Prohibitionists or anti-Prohibitionists? Prohibitionist
76. Are there any Democratic factional differences in the county? No.
77. If so, what caused them?
78. Have the Republicans any strength in the county? About 40 votes.
79. Give the vote of the parties for President in the 1912 campaign? D cratic, 221; Progress, 22; Republican, 21; Prohibition, 5; Socialist, 5.
80. Who is the chairman and secretary of the Republican committee, an their addresses? D. F. Ashbrook, Chairman; L. Baskin, Secy. Pro Republicans in the county are: S. P. Edwards, Real Estate; D. F. Ash Real Estate; D. S. McDonald, Real Estate.
81. How long have they served in that capacity? 2 years.
82. Did the liquor question play any part in their selection? No.
83. Are they Prohibitionists or Anti-Prohibitionists? Pro.
84. What was the total vote cast for Governor in the county at the las preceding Democratic primary elections? (Enumerate carefully.) 1910: I dexter, 306; Davidson, 49; Colquitt, 95; Johnson, 58; Jones, 0. 1912: Co 92; Ramsey, 236.
85. Is there any sentiment among the Democratic leaders or Newspap the county that the Prohibition agitation should stop and that the progres the state should be given first consideration. (Very careful attention.) The Pros. in this county would like to have the agitation stopped.
86. Enumerate such Democratic leaders and Newspapers and tell w they are Prohibitionists or Anti-Prohibitionists? A. C. Elliott, Editor He Brand, Pro.; Wm. Knight, Mayor, Pro.; John Sherman, Secy Com. Club
87. Is there any sentiment in the county among the Democratic lead endorse Prohibition in the party plaform? Yes. And they believe it wou the liquor agitation.

88. Give the names of the newspapers in the county, their politics and attitude upon the liquor question? Hereford Brand, Democratic. The paper is neutral, but Mr. Elliott is a Pro.

89. Names of foreign newspapers in county; nationality of each; circulation of each; name and address of publisher of each? None.

90. Who are being considered by the Democratic leaders of the county as the most logical candidates for Governor to be named at the Democratic primaries? (Enumerate carefully.) Mayes, Thomas, Lane, Terrell, Hanger.

91. Who is the present Representative? L. C. Penry, Hall County.

92. Will he seek re-election? Yes.

93. Will he have opposition? Yes.

94. Who are being mentioned to oppose him at the Democratic primaries? No one from this county, but he will have opposition from his own county.

95. How do the leaders regard the outcome? That he will put up a good fight.

96. Who is the present State Senator in the district of which this county is a part? W. H. Johnson, Memphis, Texas.

97. Will he seek re-election? Yes.

98. Will he have opposition? See special report.

99. Who are being mentioned to oppose him at the Democratic primaries? No one from this county.

100. How do the leaders regard the outcome? That he will be re-elected.

101. Give the attitude of the liquor question (whether for or against Prohibition) of the prospective candidates for Representative and State Senator?

102. Is there a Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade or commercial body in the County? Give its location (if there is any such body) its officers and their addresses and the numerical strength of the organization? Hereford Commercial Club, 75 members, J. I. Walker, Pres. John Sherman, Secy. Hereford Business Mens League, D. F. Ashbrook, Pres. & Secy., 68 members.

103. Has it ever taken any part as a body or through its officers in any Prohibition or Anti-Prohibition contest and if so what was its attitude? No. These organizations have not been live wires until the past few months. They are now beginning to take an interest in this county. However, Mr. Sherman, the Secy., informed me that if there was to be any agitation on the liquor question, the Commercial Club would fight for Prohibition, because of the fact that at one time, the town was at the mercy of cowmen who came in and loaded up on liquor.

104. Are railroad improvements or extensions being urged in this county or are such extensions or improvements under process of construction? The Colorado Hereford & Gulf Ry. has graded through the county, but the proposition fell through last year, although the town of Hereford subscribed $125,000 to help build the road, and they are now trying to revive the project.

NOTE.—Congressional Dist. #13,—there is a movement on foot by some of the politicians in Dist. #13 to defeat the present Congressman John Stephens, for re-election, for the reason that he has been in Congress for fourteen years and has not done anything there to benefit the Panhandle district. The politicians expect to have difficulty in finding a man to make the run.

105. How many people qualified as electors for the 1913 elections by paying their poll tax in the county? 356.

106. How many have qualified to date for the 1914 elections by paying their poll tax? (Give date this report was made.) 385 to Jan. 29th. They expect to have 500 paid, counting overs and unders, by Feb. 1st.

1. County, Gonzales, 28,055. Congressional District, 9. County Seat, Gonzales, 3139, inc. Senatorial District, 21. Principal Cities in County, Nixon, Waelder, Smiley, Harwood. Legislative District, 82.

2. Prohibition vote State wide Campaign of 1911: 1558.

3. Anti-Prohibition vote State wide Campaign of 1911: 1720.

4. Are there saloons in the County? Yes.

5. If so, how many? 13.

6. How many beer saloons? 4. (Two wholesale beer houses, one San Antonio, one Schlitz.)

7. How many saloons where general liquors are sold? 9.

8. Have they ever had a vote upon the liquor question in the county as a whole, and if so what was the result? County election held June 3, 1905, 1861 against, 754 for. Constitutional Submission July 22, 1911, 1720 against, 1558 for. (City of Gonzales Constitutional Submission July 22, 1911, 311 against, 375 for.)

9. If they have not had a vote on the liquor question in the county as a whole have they had such a vote in any incorporated city of such county? They have had vote on county as whole, also in every incorporated city in the county.
10. Name such incorporated cities: Nixon, Harwood, Waelder.
11. Give the results in each if such elections have been held: Harwood voted June 11, 13; 19 for, 7 against. Town very small and was incorporated to drive out saloons.
12. How many Commissioner Districts in the County? 4.
13. Has there ever been a vote on the liquor question in any of the Commissioner Districts? Yes.
14. If so, enumerate each District, and give the result: Com. Dist. #4, Oct. 23 1909; 348 for, 279 against. This district includes incorporated city of Nixon and town of Smiley.
15. How many Justice of the Peace Districts in the County? 8.
16. Has there ever been a vote on the liquor question in any Justice of the Peace District? Yes.
17. If so, how many? 4.
18. Give the Justice of the Peace District numbers where these elections have been held, and the result in each: No. 2, Sep. 6, 1902, 315 for, 147 against; No. 3 Sep. 5, 1903, 184 for, 94 against; No. 4, Aug. 3, 1909, 27 for, 11 against; No. 8. June 5, 1907, 134 for, 155 against; No. 8, Dec. 14, 1901, 71 for, 4 against (Smiley voting box No. 15); No. 2, Sep. 14, 1907, 166 for, 72 against; No. 3, Dec. 14, 1907. 156 for, 106 against (including Waelder); No. 8, Aug. 3, 1909, 122 for, 129 against.
19. How many School Districts are there in the County? 47.
20. Have they ever had a vote upon the liquor question in School Districts? Yes.
21. If so, enumerate District, and give result in each: No. 28, June 29, 1901. 188 for, 36 against; No. 26, Nov. 29, 1902, 65 for, 22 against.
22. If no elections have been held in the county what is the sentiment in the County on the liquor question: ———.
23. How do you get your conclusion? Elections?
24. What religion dominates? Methodist 1st, Baptist 2nd.
25. Percentage of inhabitants church members? 30 per cent.
26. Membership of Elks? None.
27. Lodge members and location?
28. Political activity?
29. Officers of various lodges?
30. Membership of Eagles? None.
31. Lodge numbers and location?
32. Political activity?
33. Officers of various lodges?
34. Membership of Owls? None.
35. Lodge numbers and location?
36. Political activity?
37. Officers of various lodges?
38. Membership of Moose? 75.
39. Lodge numbers and location? No. 781, Gonzales.
40. Political activity? Have been organized but a short time, they are strong Antis.
41. Officers of various lodges? C. Hagen; Dictators; W. C. Minking, Secy.
42. Membership of Turners? None.
43. Lodge numbers and location?
44. Political activity?
45. Officers of various societies?
46. Membership of Sangerverein? None.
47. Society numbers and location?
48. Political activity?
49. Officers of various societies?
50. Membership of Herman Sons? About 600.
51. Lodge numbers and locations? No. 175 Gonzales, No. 25 Westhoff, No. 381 Ottine, No. 275 Nixon, No. 182 Cost, No. 199 Harwood, No. 90 Sheepside.
52. Political activity? They are active politically as they have no Alliance in the county. Several of the leaders are saloon men and they line up with the Democratic Antis.
53. Officers of various societies? No. 175 Gonzales is the main lodge and the most active politically; C. F. Riske, Pres.; E. Zimmin, Ex-Vice Pres.; Fritz

Windwehen, Secy.; Edwin Harborth, Treas. (Saloon keeper); J. C. Romberg, Atty. No. 25 Alpen Lodge, Westhoff; I. Blohm, Secy. No. 203 Ottine Lodge; R. Wohlfahrt, Secy. No. 275 Nixon Lodge, Nixon; Geo. Hassmann, Secy. No. 182 Arcadia Lodge, Cost; S. G. Behlen, Secy. No. 199 Stieren Lodge, Harwood; Ed Stridde, Secy. No. 90 Sheepside Lodge, Sheepside; O. Zimmermann, Secy.

54. German Population? 25%.

55. Membership of German-American Alliance? None.

56. Officers of German-American Alliance?

57. Names and addresses of most prominent Germans in county? F. A. Schlick, Gonzales; C. F. Riske, Gonzales; Edwin Harborth, Gonzales; J. C. Romberg, Gonzales; E. Zemmin, Gonzales; Fritz Wind, Gonzales.

58. Foreign population outside of Germans? 10% of the population are Negroes and Mexicans.

59. Names and address of leaders of these settlements? The Republicans, having no strength in this county, the Negroes and Mexicans have no chance to vote, as the Democrats do not allow them in their organization, nor do they permit them to vote.

60. What is situation as to organized labor? No organized labor in county.

61. What industries employ most men? The farming industry. There are no factories in the county. There is a $300,000 cotton mill here, but through lack of management, it has not been in operation for three years.

62. Name Unions in town? None.

63. Officers of local Trades Council? None.

64. Officers of each local union and membership?

65. What farmer organizations are there in the county? Farmers Union.

66. What is their numerical strength? 500.

67. Do women belong to any of these organizations? Yes.

68. Name officers and give their addresses? N. C. Bennett, Secy.; Sam Lester, Pres. Directors: Geo. Minear, C. E. Askey, M. H. Bundick, W. G. May, E. A. Minear, Sam Lester. W. H. Ainsworth, Manager.

69. Along what lines have these organizations been active politically? They are active politically and maintain legislative agents whose duty it is to look after the interest of the farmers but they take no side on the Pro question, they are about equal. Pro and Anti, in this county organization, and the question is not argued in the organization.

70. What part has liquor question played in County or City elections for five years last past, and what was the result? The question has played a very prominent part in the elections and about half of county and city officers are anti and Pro. Since saloons are better regulated, the agitation is becoming less.

71. Give all the active leaders in Democratic party in County and their attitude on liquor question? O. B. Robertson (see explanation on his special report); W. P. Midkiff, Anti; D. U. Ramsey, Anti; R. S. Dilworth, Anti; T. W. Rainbolt, Anti; R. A. Remshel, Anti; F. A. Schlick, Anti; W. M. Fly, Pro; T. F. Harwood, Pro; L. C. Brenner, Anti; R. H. Walker, Anti; J. C. Romberg, Anti; J. P. Randle, Pro.

72. Who is the chairman and secretary of the Democratic committee in the county, and give their addresses? W. P. Midkiff, Chairman, Gonzales; D. U. Ramsey, Secy., Gonzales.

73. How long have they served in that capacity? Chairman 4 yrs. Secy. 2 years.

74. Did the liquor question play any part in their selection? No.

75. If so are they Prohibitionists or anti-Prohibitionists? Anti Pro.

76. Are there any Democratic factional differences in the county? Only on the liquor question.

77. If so, what caused them? The liquor question.

78. Have the Republicans any strength in the county? None whatever.

79. Give the vote of the parties for President in the 1912 campaign? Democrat, 1330; Progressive, 98; Republican, 318; Prohibition, 4; Socialist, 79; Soc. Labor, 1.

80. Who is the chairman and secretary of the Republican committee, and give their addresses? W. K. Davis, Chairman and Secy.

81. How long have they served in that capacity? About 10 years.

82. Did the liquor question play any part in their selection? No.

83. Are they Prohibitionists or Anti-Prohibitionists? Anti Pro.

84. What was the total vote cast for Governor in the county at the last two preceding Democratic primary elections? (Enumerate carefully.) 1910: Poin-

dexter, 525; Davidson, 426; Colquitt, 1051; Johnson, 392; Jones, 13. Colquitt, 1374; Ramsey, 1219.

85. Is there any sentiment among the Democratic leaders or Newspa the county that the Prohibition agitation should stop and that the pro the state should be given first consideration? (Very careful attention Although this county has considerable Dry territory the Anti leaders are majority and would like to stop the agitation.

86. Enumerate such Democratic leaders and Newspapers and tell w they are Prohibitionists or Anti-Prohibitionists? W. P. Midkiff, Dem. man; T. W. Rainbolt; Gonzales Enquirer.

87. Is there any sentiment in the county among the Democratic lea endorse Prohibition in the party platform? Yes, some of the less pr leaders of the Pros, are in favor of indorsing it in the platform. B Anti leaders are the strongest and since strict regulation is in effe there is not a great deal of this sentiment.

88. Give the names of the newspapers in the county, their politics a tude upon the liquor question? Gonzales Enquirer, Daily, (Dem) T side, but leans Pro. Waelder New Era (Dem) Weekly, Pro. Nixo (Dem) Weekly Pro. Smiley Reflector, (Dem) Weekly, Pro. Gonz form, (Dem) Anti Weekly, was German until 2 years ago. Carl A German Anti, 1000 circulation.

89. Names of foreign newspapers in county; nationality of each; tion of each; name and address of publisher of each?

90. Who are being considered by the Democratic leaders of the county most logical candidates for Governor to be named at the Democratic pr (Enumerate carefully.) Sam Sparks is the only one mentioned in this

91. Who is the present Representative? O. B. Robertson.

92. Will he seek re-election? Yes.

93. Will he have opposition? No.

94. Who are being mentioned to oppose him at the Democratic primarie

95. How do the leaders regard the outcome? That Robertson will be e without opposition.

96. Who is the present State Senator in the district of which this Co a part? James A. Harley.

97. Will he seek re-election? Yes.

98. Will he have opposition? He thinks not, so do leaders here.

99. Who are being mentioned to oppose him at the Democratic primaries?

100. How do the leaders regard the outcome? Harley elected w opposition.

101. Give the attitude of the liquor question (whether for or against P bition) of the prospective candidates for Representative and State Sena None in county.

102. Is there a Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade or commercial b the County? Give its location (if there is any such body) its officers and addresses and the numerical strength of the organization? Gonzales Bus Mens Club, Gonzales, Texas, 45 members; S. A. Smith, Pres.; T. H. D Secy.

103. Has it ever taken any part as a body or through its officers in Prohibition or Anti-Prohibition contest and if so what was its attitude? The organization is very weak and have held very few meetings during 1913

104. Are railroad improvements or extensions being urged in this county are such extensions or improvements under process of construction? No.

105. How many people qualified as electors for the 1913 elections by pa their poll tax in the county? 3485.

106. How many have qualified to date for the 1914 elections by paying t poll tax? (Give date this report was made.) 1762, Dec. 31, 1913.

Representative 82nd. Dist., Gonzales County.

1. Full name and address? Osborn Bragg Robertson, Waelder, Texas.
2. Age? 51.
3. Married or single? Married.
4. If married, does wife exercise any undue influence in regard to his ness or political affairs? No.
5. Politics? Democrat.
6. Is he popular or unpopular in his community? Popular.
7. Schooling? Common School and Business College.

8. Business? Real Estate, Farming and Stock raising.
9. Financial standing? Good. Owns 4000 Acre farm. Sold 2500 Acres last ar.
10. Where is his banking business, commercial and private, transacted? rmers State Bank, Waelder, Texas; Waelder State Bank.
11. What position does the bank (or banks) assume on the wet and dry issue? th Banks are Pro.
12. Is candidates known as a liberal or dry man? Con. Pro. (Endorsed by tis)
13. Was he ever a candidate for any political office? Yes; President of hool Board 14 years, School Trustee, Alderman, Representative one term.
14. Elected or defeated? Elected.
15. Elected by how many? Without opposition in every case but one. He d opposition once for Pres. of School Board (Small Maj.).
16. Defeated by how many? Never defeated.
17. Number of votes in the city? 150.
18. Number of votes in the county? 3278
19. Religion: Methodist. Active or inactive? Active.
20. To what fraternal organizations does he belong? K. P., Masonic, Knight mplar.
21. Recreation: Hunting and Fishing.
22. Name some of his closest associates? R. D. and J. C. Miller, W. B. Brooks, C. Henderson, all Pro, live in Waelder. R. S. Dilworth.

Robertson told me he would be a candidate, but that he positively would not ake a campaign, nor spend a cent for the office, but if the Democrats ran im without opposition, he would be a candidate. He told me he was a Pro nd is in his own town of Waelder, but he was elected and selected to run by ne Antis of Gonzales City. The Antis wanted to run R. S. Dilworth who is ne of the biggest bankers Anti Pro. in the county, but he could not run on ccount of his business. T. W. Rainbolt, a strong Dem. Anti, went over and nduced Robertson to run, and guaranteed him election without opposition, and ll they wanted was fair treatment. Robertson accepted, and was elected. He oted with the Antis on all important measures, and became very much dis usted with the Pro tactics in Austin. He is a Pro at home, as Waelder is in he cattle district and the cow boys used to come in and shoot up the town, nd as there was no regulation and no police protection, he helped vote the own dray. He has since been classed a Pro. He is building a home in Gon ales at Mesent, and will move there in a few weeks. All his friends and usiness associates in Gonzales are Anti, and they tell me he can be depended upon to vote Anti all the way through.

Congressman 9th Dist.

1. Full name and addre s? George F. Burgess, Gonzales County.
2. Age? 55.
3. Married or single? Married.
4. If married, does wife exercise any undue influence in regard to his business or political affairs? No.
5. Politics? Democrat.
6. Is he popular or unpopular in his community? Very popular.
7. Schooling? High school.
8. Business? No other busine s outside politics.
9. Financial standing? Good, worth about $30,000.
10. Where is his banking business, commercial and private, transacted? Dilworth Bank of Gonzales.
11. What po ition does the bank (or banks) assume on the wet and dry issue? Wet.
12. Is candidate known as a liberal or dry man? Liberal.
13. Was he ever a candidate for any political office? Yes; county attorney and congressman. Was elected to both offices without opposition. He can probably be congres man as long as he wishes to hold the office.
14. Elected or defeated? Elected.
15. Elected by how many? Without opposition.
16. Defeated by how many?
17. Number of votes in the city? 850.
18. Number of votes in the county? 3000.

19. Religion? He is member of no church. Was put out of Baptist church.
20. To what fraternal organizations does he belong? Masonic; Knight Templar.
21. Recreation? Nothing in particular. Congress occupies his time.
22. Name some of his closest associates? C. S. Dilworth, Dilworth Bank. Gonzales. John H. Garner, Congressman. W. T. Bagby, Hallettsville. W. J. Rainboldt, Gonzales.

Geo. A. Burgess was elected from the old 10th Dist. At that time it included Galveston. It was represented by a Republican previous to his election. He took his seat in 1900, serving his 7th term now, and will run again. He will have no opposition. He used to be "one of the boys", played cards and drank a little. His health failed, but he is still popular with "the boys." This report was taken from his most intimate friend. W. J. Rainholt.

Candidate for Representative—Keokuk, Iowa.

1. Full name and address? W. G. Gambell, Sigourney, Iowa, Keokuk Co.
2. Age?
3. Married or Single?
4. If married, does wife exercise any undue influence in regard to his business or political affairs? Mr. Gambill was appointed Postmaster about a week ago, so withdrew from the race for Representative. Your operator talked with Mr. Gambill, Mr. Etter, editor of the Democratic paper and others, but all told me they had not settled on or talked of any one to run for the Legislature on the Democratic ticket. Democratic politics in Keokuk County are run by W. L. Etter, editor and owner of the Review at Sigourney. Mr. Etter and his gang opposed Mr. Gambell in his race for the nomination for Representative, but with all there opposition Gambell won by 11 votes, this made Etter very sore, but Etter still had some hope left of getting one of his gang appointed Postmaster, so Gambill decided also to file his application for Postmaster, but really had no hope of being appointed, until Etter got into a squabble with Congressman Kirkpatrict, who immediately turned Etters man down and appointed Mr. Gambill.
5. Politics?
6. Is he popular or unpopular in his community?
7. Schooling?
8. Business?
9. Financial Standing?
10. Where is his banking business, commercial and private, transacted?
11. What position does the bank (or banks) assume on the wet and dry issue?
12. Is candidate known as a liberal or dry man?
13. Was he ever a candidate for any political office?
14. Elected or defeated?
15. Elected by how many?
16. Defeated by how many?
17. Number of votes in the city?
18. Number of votes in the county?
19. Number of votes in his District?
20. Religion. Active or inactive?
21. To what fraternal organizations does he belong?
22. Recreation.
23. Name some of his closest associates?

Candidate for Representative, Keokuk County.

1. Full name and address? Ray D. Nordyke, Richland, Iowa.
2. Age? 35.
3. Married or Single? Married.
4. If married, does wife exercise any undue influence in regard to his business or political affairs? No.
5. Politics? Republican.
6. Is he popular or unpopular in his community? Popular.
7. Schooling? Common School
8. Business? Farmer
9. Financial Standing? About $25,000
10. Where is his banking business, commercial and private, transacted? 1st nat'l Bank

11. What position does the bank (or banks) assume on the wet and dry issue? Dry

12. Is candidate known as a liberal or dry man? Mr. Nordyke says he knows very little about the I & R. after your operator explained same to him, he said well I believe I would favor it. Nordyke says he did not believe in Woman Suffrage, but if he was elected he would vote to have it submitted to the voters. Nordyke says he was opposed to State Wide Prohibition, because it does not prohibit, but is in favor of submitting the question to the voters, he favors nation wide prohibition, but does not believe this the proper time to submit the question. Against Secret Ballot. Nordyke says Cummins will be elected by a large majority, and will pull a heavy vote out of Keokuk County.

13. Was he ever a candidate for any political office? Yes; township trustee 1912.

14. Elected or defeated? Elected

15. Elected by how many? No opposition.

16. Defeated by how many?

17. Number of votes in the city? 123 not official

18. Number of votes in the county? 4999

19. Number of votes in his District? 4999

20. Religion Raised a Quaker—Wife a Methodist and he attends occasionally. Active or inactive?

21. To what fraternal organizations does he belong? Odd Fellow

22. Recreation Baseball & Politics.

23. Name some of his closest associates? Thos. Mann, A. Johnson.

SENATORIAL.

DIST. NO. 12, KEOKUK COUNTY.

Present Senator H. W. Spaulding, of Grinnell, Rep.

Saw J. A. Devitt, of Oskaloosa, formerly member of State Central Committee from the 6th Congressional District. He suggested that the man to run for Senator, on the Republican ticket, was F. C. LEGOE, an attorney, of What Cheer, this Co. Devitt says he is a popular man, would make a good campaign, is liberal, and has been employed by Mr. Schumacher as the attorney for the Rock Island Brg. Co. Mr. Devitt has had several talks with him and will do all he can to encourage him to run, and suggests that we get Mr. Schumacher to see him and assure him of assistance and help. Devitt is of the opinion that if Legoe receives the proper assurance of help he can be induced to run and be elected.

S. A. F. Oct 3 1913.

DELTA.

(Nov. 19, 1913.)

Went to Delta from Oskaloosa, to see Sam Wilson, but found him to be out of town. Talked with various persons. No local candidates for State Offices, and not much interest.

WHAT CHEER.

Went to What Cheer and saw Jas. Mitchell, a Banker. Mitchell is one of the men whom Devitt asked me to see in the interests of Legoe. Mitchell said he had not heard of Legoe as a candidate, and was not particularly impressed with the idea of him running for the office and considers him a weak sister.

Mitchell seemed to favor Spaulding (present Senator) of Poweshiek County for a second term, although it is Keokuk County's term to nominate. He seemed to be unaware of Spaulding's "dry" record. He says Mr. Needham, of S gourney, had been mentioned for the Senate.

George Poff, Editor, of this City, says in an interview, about a week prior to my visit, with Spaulding, that the latter said he expected to be a candidate for the Senate, if no particular opposition developes. Poff says Legoe can not be elected, and that he is not popular locally. He says he will support him if necessary. That means that if Jim Devitt says for Poff to support Legoe he will do it.

Talked with Reed, a druggist, of this city, who is a Bull Mooser politically but personally is liberal. He had heard of no candidate for any office, but said he would do what he could for us if the opportunity arises.

KEOTA.

Next went to Keota, this County, and saw John Hamilton, a druggist and stockman, who is a republican and is personally interested in the campaign of Trumbauer for re-election. He is a little afraid that Trumbauer's vote on the Road and Capitol Extension Laws is going to make more or less trouble, and particularly at the primaries. He will write me later.

A. W. Hammill, also of Keota, a republican and retired; he thinks Legoe can be elected if no Bull Moose ticket is put in the field. There is some talk of Hammill being a candidate for the Senate, but he says he is not a candidate for any office. No local candidates for the state in Keota.

SIGOURNEY.

Next went to Sigourney. Talked with W. L. Etter Editor of the Review, and democratic. He says he thinks Trumbauer will need help, on account of his vote on the Capitol Extension bill. Says there is no question that Legoe will be beaten if he receives the nomination.

H. W. Wagner republican and attorney at this town, says he is not a candidate for any office. There has been some talk of his being a candidate for the Senate. Thinks Legoe all right, but that the Bull Moose movement makes his election uncertain. Wagner is liberal and will do whatever he can for us at any time.

Hugo Goeldner, republican County Chairman, says there are no local candidates; and that he is personally acquainted with Legoe. Believes he would make a good run and would probably be elected, if there is no third ticket.

Saw Tully and Hamilton, Attorneys at Sigourney. Hamilton is Democratic Chairman; and he is quietly investigating the situation in the 6th. congressional Dist. to see whether he could in any possibility get the nomination for Democratic congressman over Kirkpatrick. If he thinks there is a chance he will be a candidate. If Hamilton is not a candidate for that office, then Tully expects to be a candidate for the State Senate. Hamilton, as County Chairman, says they expect to hold off nominating any candidates until after the republican candidates are named, and the Bull Moose ticket, if there should be any, is made up. They both think the Democratic Senator can be elected but that Trumbauer is in danger.

J. H. Wylie, State Chairman of the Bull Moose, says in all probability candidates will be named for a majority of the offices in the state, and particularly for the legislature; but he qualified his statement to the extent that a fusion candidate might be selected in some counties where there was a possibility of electing him.

Wylie knows Legoe and thinks well of him, and said he might possibly be endorsed by the Progressives as Legoe has strong progressive tendencies.

G. W. B.

DISTRICT NO. 12—KEOKUK AND POWESHEIK COUNTIES.

While the sentiment in Keokuk County is about even upon the Wet and Dry question, the sentiment in Powesheik County is strongly Dry. Spaulding, the present Senator, is a Dry Republican. Reports indicate that he will not be a candidate to succeed himself. If he continues to maintain this position, the Republicans of Keokuk should be busy in claiming Keokuk's turn for the nomination.

The Republican leaders in Keokuk County should be urged to select a Liberal Republican as their candidate. The district is about 750 to 1000 Republican, and if a Liberal Republican is nominated his election is almost certain. To safeguard against any slipup a Liberal Democrat should be urged to seek the Democratic nomination.

In Keokuk County Trumbaur, the present Representative, is a Wet Democrat. He was elected by 614 votes and is serving his first term. He should be urged to seek reelection. Keokuk County being close no effort should be overlooked to have the Republicans nominate a Liberal man for Representative. In Powesheik, the present Representative, Sherman, is serving his second term. He

is a Dry Republican. From both standpoints he reflects the sentiment of the county. For his first term he was elected by 1150 plurality; for his second term by only 183 plurality. In this county it would of course be the part of good judgment to stir up sentiment against a third term for Sherman and see if a Liberal Republican can be brought forward to defeat him for renomination. In view of the close shave he had in the last election such a plan of campaign against Sherman should be successful. The Democratic end should not be overlooked. A Liberal Democrat should if possible be urged to seek his party nomination for Representative in this county, as the closeness of the plurality given Sherman in the last election shows that there are political influences at work that might result in the election of a Democrat.

By reference to reports of these counties it will be seen that the elements for organization outside the political parties are small.

2000 Germans in Keokuk County but no Alliance. Have organizer visit this county and perfect Alliance.

Elks Lodge and 1700 Germans in Powesheik County. Stir Elks to activity. Have Alliance organized.

County, Keokuk; County Seat, Sigourney; Dist. No. 12 (Keokuk, Poweshiek).

Vote on Prohibition in County, Yes_____ No_____.

1. How many saloons in county? None

2. What is sentiment in county on liquor question? The sentiment of the county is against the open saloon. How do you get your conclusion? By talking with leading citizens as follows: Mayor J. H. Wyllie, Dem. Chairman W. H. Hamilton, Treasurer Harlan; editors of papers and people generally.

3. What religion dominates? Methodist.

4. % of inhabitants church members? 55%.

5. Membership of Elks? No Elks Lodge.

6. Lodge numbers and location?

7. Political Activity?

8. Officers of various lodges?

9. Membership of Eagles? No Eagles Lodge.

10. Lodge numbers and location?

11. Political activity?

12. Officers of various lodges?

13. Membership of Owls? 175.

14. Lodge numbers and location? What Cheer Lodge, What Cheer, Ia. Lodge recently organized.

15. Political activity? No political activity as a lodge.

16. Officers of various lodges? Jack Cockrill, Prest., John Schoonever, Secy. & Treas.

17. Membership of Moose? No Moose Lodge.

18. Lodge numbers and location?

19. Political activity?

20. Officers of various lodges?

21. Membership of Turners? No Turners.

22. Society numbers and location?

23. Political activity?

24. Officers of various societies?

25. German population? 2000.

26. Membership of German-American Alliance? None.

27. Officers of German-American Alliance?

28. Names and addresses of most prominent Germans in county? H. F. Goldner, Fred. Meyer, H. F. Duensing, Ed. Franklin, Robt. Gugenheimer, H. L. Schnakenberg, G. E. Kleinschmidt, Fred. White and D. T. Seger, Sigourney; Sam Kitzman, Adolph Nauke, What Cheer; Mike Striegel, Harper, Ia.; Wm. Ritter and Allen Hawk, Hedrick, Ia.; Gus. Steigleder, Ollie, Ia.; H. L. Schmidt, Keota, Ia.

29. Foreign population outside of Germans? Approximately 1000 foreigners scattered throughout county.

30. Names and addresses of leaders of these settlements? No leaders.

31. What is situation as to organized labor? No organized labor.

What industries employ most men? Agricultural. What Cheer Clay Products Co., Sigourney Electric Light Co., Keota Brick & Tile Plant, Hedrick Brick & Tile Plant.

32. Name unions in town? No unions.

33. Officers of local Trades Council? No Trades Council.
34. Officers of each local union and membership?
35. Name and address of Chairman of County Republican Committee? H. F. Goeldner, Sigourney. How long has he served in that capacity and who preceded him in that position? 4 years; L. H. Hinkley, Sigourney. Did Wet or Dry question lead to his selection? No. What is his attitude and what was that of his predecessor? Wet.
36. Name and address of Chairman of County Democratic Committee? W. H. Hamilton, Sigourney. How long has he served in that capacity and who preceded him in that position? 1 yr.; W. L. Etter. Did Wet or Dry question lead to his selection? No. What is his attitude and what was that of his predecessor? W. H. Hamilton, dry; W. L. Etter, wet.
37. What part has liquor question played in county or city elections for five years last past and what was result Liquor question has been omitted.
38. Give most active leaders of Democrat and Republican parties in county and their attitude on liquor question: Democrats—Dan. Hamilton, W. H. Hamilton, J. C. Kennell, all of Sigourney, dry; C. C. Utterbach, H. F. Richardson, E. J. Grimes, Sigourney, neutral; W. L. Etter, wet, W. C. McWilliams and A. M. Utterbach of Hedrick, wet. H. P. Thompson, What Cheer, wet; Chas. Trumbauer, Keota, favors local option. Republicans—L. H. Hinkley, H. F. Wagner, F. L. Goeldner, Sigourney, wet, J. H. Wyllie, C. C. Heninger, Judge K. E. Willcocksin, Sigourney, dry; Warren Hammill and E. J. Ramsey, Keota, wet; S. S. Wright and L. E. Hulse, Keota, dry. S. G. Wilson and C. D. Bennett, Delta, wet; Geo. Pfoff and T. C. Legoe, What Cheer, wet; F. E. Kerr, neutral, Kinross.
39. Newspapers in county, their politics and attitude on liquor question: Ollie News, Ind., neutral. Keokuk County News, Rep. Takes no stand on liquor. Sigourney Review, Dem., W. L. Etter, Ed is wet, but on account of sentiment in county he maintains a neutral position with paper. What Cheer Patriot, Prog., Dry. What Cheer Chronicle, neutral. Delta Press, Ind., neutral. Keota Eagle, Ind., neutral. Keskick Leader, Ind., neutral. Hedrick Journal, Ind., neutral. Richland Clarion, Rep., Dry. Names of foreign newspapers in county; nationality of each? circulation of each? name and address of publisher of each? No foreign newspapers.
40. Attitude of present Senators and attitude of prospective candidates for Senate on the Initiative and Referendum? See Poweshiek County Report. Senator Spaulding lives at Grinnell, Poweshiek County, and represented the 12th Senatorial Dist., Keokuk and Poweshiek Counties.
41. Attitude of present Senators and attitude of prospective candidates for Senate on Woman's Suffrage? See Poweshiek County Report. No County Grange. No Dairymen's Organization. A petition was circulated in this county about six years ago and failed for lack of names.

Representative.

1. Full name and address? Chas. A. Trumbauer, Keota, Keokuk Co.
2. Age. 43.
3. Married or single? Married.
4. If married, does wife exercise any undue influence in regard to his business or political affairs? No.
5. Politics? Democrat.
6. Is he popular or unpopular in his community? Popular.
7. Schooling? Central University, Pella and Keokuk Medical College.
8. Business? Retired Physician, now engaged in Real Estate business.
9. Financial standing? Good; man of considerable means.
10. Where is his banking business, commercial and private, transacted? Farmers' Savings Bank, Keota.
11. What position does the bank (or banks) assume on the wet and dry issue? Neutral.
12. Is candidate known as a liberal or dry man? Wet.
13. Was he ever a candidate for any political office? Yes; candidate for Representative from Keokuk Co. 1912. Now serving his first term. Will be a candidate for re-election.
14. Elected or defeated? Elected.
15. Elected by how many? 614.
16. Defeated by how many?
17. Number of votes in the city? 620.

18. Number of votes in the county? 5,220.
19. Religion: Baptist. Active or inactive? Fairly active.
20. To what fraternal organizations does he belong? Elks, Masonic, K. of P.
21. Recreation: Enjoys spending time on his farms.
22. Name some of his closest associates? J. C. Richardson, C. C. Hamilton and Dudley Crono, Keota.

Trumbauer is serving his first term. He will be a candidate for re-election. He is in favor of extending local option to communities. He would not commit himself on the I. & R. He is opposed to woman's suffrage, as is also his wife.

EXHIBIT No. 1129.

[St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

MARCH 17, 1915.

Mr. HERBERT S. STONE, *New York.*

MY DEAR MR. STONE: I have spent the day in running down those statistics of clergy by denominations, and at last I have got at the facts. The figures for the clergy of the United States used by the various Almanacs all emanate from the Federal Council of Churches, with headquarters at 4th Ave. and 22nd St. The Council gets them from Dr. Carroll, its statistical secretary. His office and residence are now in Washington, D. C. He is the final authority on these matters.

The estimate of 178,000 clergy in the U. S. given in the World Almanac is from Dr. Carroll, and the various year books giving the names and addresses are in the office in 22nd Street. They have the names and addresses with the exception of six or seven thousand of the more obscure bodies, and for these they had to estimate the number of clergy. These clerical lists, by denominations, are available to any person properly introduced, with the proviso that they are not to be used for "commercial" purposes. I think I could have gotten permission to copy them even without this proviso, as the secretary seemed very well disposed, but I judged it best not to use them. It might cause criticism afterwards, and it is just the kind of circumstance that narrow-minded people would love to get hold of and exploit. It is far better to get the lists independently, and then nobody can complain. I can get all these lists, though it will take some time. I have obtained from the Secretary an official list of all the denominations, though he did not have the addresses of their head-quarters, as Dr. Carroll has that in Washington. Now if you will send me a list of the denominations whose lists you already have, I will get to work at once to secure the others. Send me, please, not only the lists, but the number of clergy in each of your lists. The names often are almost identical, and a layman might easily conclude that he had all the Baptists, etc., whereas he would have only one of several divisions. The figures will enable me to check this up. I think it is better for me to send for these lists, as they involve correspondence with clerical secretaries.

I found this morning that the printer had ordered the paper, and that the order is ready for delivery, on the basis of my original order; so that we are responsible for it. However it will all be needed, as the lists come in.

Very truly,

E. A. WASSON.

Of course in the above I do not mean that you should send me the lists of the clergy, but only of the denominations, so that I may not be put to the trouble of sending for those you already have.

EXHIBIT No. 1130.

[St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

JAN. 6, 1915.

Mr. C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *City.*

MY DEAR MR. FEIGENSPAN: When I sent you the various documents by Mr. Laile on Monday afternoon, I did not include the sample chapter, for the reason it will probably be as convenient to refer to it in the book.

It has occurred to me to add a suggestion to my letter accompanying the documents. How far is it advisable to let the publisher of the propaganda advertising matter know that your Committee is pushing it? Mr. Fox considered it so important that the publisher of the book should not know anything that he had the 2500 review books sent out through me, sending me the lists, etc. I turned the bills over to him, and the matter was settled through me. I suggest that your Committee draw up complete specifications for the work, and submit them to several publishers of standing;—in fact, submit them to the printers who usually do the work for the Committee. Also let me have a copy of them and get figures from the publisher of the book. In this way you would have a check on the latter. If his figures are higher than the others, I might crowd him down on pain of losing the job. But I am pretty sure that he will not differ from the others very much. If the specifications are complete and plain, I think you will find that the printers will not differ much in their estimates.

The point is that if the estimator of the Burr Printing House,—or any other concern,—know that it is your Committee that is acting, the members of the firm will know, and then the book-keepers, and the stenographers, and before long the thirty or forty or fifty pressmen and other workers. Nothing is gained by admitting unnecessary people to your counsels. However, this is just my idea, submitted for what it is worth.

E. A. W.

EXHIBIT No. 1131.

[Christian Feigenspan, a corporation, brewers and bottlers of lager beer, ales, and porter. P. O. N., trade mark. Office of the president, C. W. Feigenspan.]

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, U. S. A., *Jan. 6, 1915*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secty., 50 Union Square, New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Enclosed please find letter from Dr. Wasson which explains itself.

Yours very truly,

C. W. FEIGENSPAN.

Enc.

[St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

JAN. 4, 1915

Mr. C. W. FEIGENSPAN, *Chairman*
Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. FEIGENSPAN: The purpose is to get the substance of my book, "Religion and Drink," in the hands and minds of the clergy of the country. This is to be effected in the way of a Prospectus from the Publisher, to be mailed to them. This Prospectus will consist of four documents, as follows:

1. A brief introductory letter from the Publisher.
2. A sample chapter, namely "Religion and Law"; which chapter many competent judges pronounce to be, not only the heart of the book, but also the most effective discussion of the subject to be fund anywhere, and peculiarly timely in the present stage of the prohibition propaganda.
3. An extended synopsis of the book.
4. A synopsis of the book reviews.

These four documents together will make between fifty and sixty pages of print, well got up, attractive to the eye, convenient to handle.

In reference to the get-up, it is suggested that the Synopsis of the Book and the Synopsis of the Reviews be stapled together, thus reducing the expense somewhat.

Mr. Andreae's dummy for the sample chapter is not satisfactory to me, in that, while the same stock as the book, the dimensions of the page are different. It seems to me that a sample chapter should be a true sample in every respect; and, so far as I can see, nothing is gained in this instance by departing from this rule. The cost would be the same both ways.

The nature of the enterprise necessitates that the work be done by the publishers of the book, inasmuch as it would be absurd for another publisher to take up and advertise a book not his, and out of which therefore he could

not realise anything. Besides, there is no reason for seeking another publisher, since I am positive none will do any better by you. To satisfy yourselves on his head, I suggest that you submit the complete specifications for the work to one or two other reputable publishers, and get their figures. The estimates of the Burr Printing House, Jacob and Frankfort Sts., New York, the printers of my book, on this job are considerably lower than those given by Mr. Andreae in his letter, enclosed herewith. In my judgment also the stock, as they showed it to me, is superior. For Mr. Andreae's stock the figures ought to be lower. Moreover the figures of the Burr Printing House include a cover, of somewhat stiffer paper, for the combined synopses. I do not know whether this is covered in Mr. Andreae's estimate or not; nor do I know whether such a cover would be any advantage or not.

Mr. Andreae mentions two cents for the postage, or four cents if sealed. I impressed on the Burr House that the whole document, envelope included, must not weigh more than two ounces, and their arrangement of the matter brings it within this limit. Now two ounces can be posted for one cent, a very material saving.

If a wrapper were to be substituted for an envelope, there would be a saving also, but I do not know whether to recommend this or not, as I should have to see the two, to judge.

I naturally have a good deal of interest in the details of the get-up of this publication, and I wish very much that I could be shown what is proposed, before it is finally decided on. My only wish is to have a sightly and effective document.

Evidently, in this document of between fifty and sixty printed pages, I am virtually sending my book, or the substance of it. Moreover in making up a mailing list designed to elicit orders, a different principle would be followed; that is, a discrimination would be exercised so as to exclude those unlikely to buy. Mr. Andreae called my attention to the fact that I could not expect to sell the number of books proportioned to the magnitude of this advertising, as it was not undertaken with this as the first object. No doubt this advertising will result in a certain number of sales. But will it be enough to afford me a fair recompense for my contribution to the enterprise? Possibly it will. Possibly it will not. It seems to me, therefore, no more than fair that the Committee should guarantee me the sale of a given number of volumes. That is, if the sales do not reach that number, the Committee should take enough books to make up the difference. These books, if any, could be profitably placed in Public Libraries. The number of guaranteed sales I suggest as 1500.

I remain, very truly,

E. A. WASSON.

EXHIBIT No. 1132.

[St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

FEB. 23, 1915.

Mr. HERBERT S. STONE,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. STONE: Enclosed please find estimate for the printing. I forget just what the figures were that you quoted to me, but my impression is that the ones I am sending are a bit higher. I think you said 2100 or 2200 dollars. If this is correct, the difference is small, and I think may be accounted for by slight expansions in the specifications. First, there is the order blank, which the printer told me was absolutely necessary in a prospectus of this sort, and which I had not thought of. He says an advertisement of this character is never sent out without an order blank. He proposes to use the lower part of the Publisher's Note for the order blank, being scored or perforated for easy separation from the body of the Note. Accordingly I told him to figure this order blank in his estimate, without making a separate item of it. Secondly, he strongly advises against binding the Publisher's Note (the one page letter) with the rest of the document. He claims it will not attract the attention that it should, and that a man may not be willing to start on a 64 page document, unless he first becomes interested in it by this separate Note. It costs a little more to make it separate, but he says it will secure attention to the enclosure as could be done in no other way. Again, he strongly advises against using the smaller types for the sample chapter and the Synopsis,

though it is proper for the Reviews. I forget the designation of these types, and I see he does not name them in his letter, but they are the ones we suggested. I feel like deferring to him in this, as he has had a large experience in this line. I suppose this larger type means more paper for the job, but I can not think this is a big item. Besides, he brings the whole document within 64 pages and two ounces in weight, which is what we wished. Again, there were more words, he figures, in the manuscript than I thought,—some five or six hundred more, and I suppose this makes some difference. Of course I could reduce it to the 15,000 we calculated on, but I have already cut it down to the quick, and I don't like to sacrifice any more.

I had him figure on the envelope too, of which you gave me a sample. He strongly advises printing a few words on the envelope calling attention to the character of the enclosure. He says an absolutely plain envelope is a mistake. Even if we used merely the words, "RELIGION AND DRINK," in large bold type, it would serve to interest clergymen, particularly, in what was inside. If this printing were done on the envelopes, as a separate job, the cost would be an item. But he says the envelopes can be printed in the process of making, and then the additional cost is negligible. This point, of putting something on the envelope, appeals to me. I also wish it might seem well to you to have this work of enveloping and posting done from the Publisher's, as I should like to be in a position to say that the whole job was attended to by them. I think it would look better. I would not advocate this, if their price were materially higher than others, but it seems to me the figures for this item are moderate.

If you wish, I will get to work to crowd down their figures on the whole job, and if you think they are excessive I will do so. But I hope it will not be necessary, as this is not quite in my line. My dealings with them for the publication and distribution of my book convinced me that they were honest, reliable men. Kindly let me know what you think of it.

Very truly,

E. A. WASSON.

I see, on re-reading the publisher's letter, that he makes the order blank separate, instead of attaching it to the Publisher's Note. However, this is a mere detail.

EXHIBIT No. 1133.

[St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

APRIL 6, 1915.

MR. HERBERT S. STONE
New York.

MY DEAR SIR: The printer is ready to begin shipment of the booklet, and I think he might as well do so, without waiting till the whole job is completed. Please send me directions as to where shipment is to be made. The consignees ought to be instructed to receive this job, as they have no relations with either myself or the Burr Printing House.

I am receiving many clerical lists every day, and am ready to send them where you direct. These lists are in year books, and of course intelligence must be exercised not to copy other lists that may be in the same volume. I can send either the whole year-books or I could remove and forward the sheets containing the clerical lists. Please let me know which you prefer.

The Baptist list for the whole country is available, but I have not procured it, for the reason that it is always more or less obsolete, being made up from the Baptist Annuals, of which one is published in every State. I have sent for these State Annuals, and have most of them already.

The new Catholic list is out. I did not buy it, as I understood that you had ordered it.

I assume that the "Presbyterian" list which you have is that of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The Presbyterian Church in the United States is a different organization, and I am sending for this list. Also there are half a dozen other Presbyterian Churches; whose lists I am sending for.

Likewise I assume that the Methodist-Episcopal Church whose list you have is not the Methodist Church of the South. I have sent for this list.

The seperate documents to be enclosed are four: introductory letter, order blank, sample chapter, synopsis & reviews in one.

It is important that the order blank and the introductory letter be inserted in the sample chapter, and that they project sufficiently to attract attention.

Every minister in the city of Paterson, New Jersey, was provided with a copy of my book last fall; therefore I should direct the copyists to send no circulars to Paterson, N. J.

I remain, very truly,

E. A. WASSON.

It is very important that the envelope be no heavier than the sample you gave me, as the weight of the document is adjusted to this. A somewhat smaller envelope would answer, and would have the advantage that it would allow me to use a somewhate wider margin for the document. Kindly let me know on this point. If the copying of addresses has not begun, I could send you a sample of an envelope that would meet the conditions.

EXHIBIT No. 1134.

APRIL 22, 1915.

Dr. E. A. WASSON,
77 Milford Avenue,
Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR DR. WASSON: Confirming our telephone conversation, I beg to say that Boyd's City Dispatch inform me that the weight of the paper on the pamphlets advertising your book, varies to such an extent that the post office would be unlikely to accept them at the 1¢ rate.

Will you therefore instruct the Burr Printing House to send for the pamphlets that have already been delivered to Boyd's City Dispatch and to trim them ⅛ of an inch on three sides This will surely bring them within the required weight.

As the addressing people have about 75,000 envelopes ready, this work ought to be done as rapidly as possible.

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS'N,
By ——— ———.

HSS:JD

EXHIBIT No. 1135.

[Christian Feigenspan, a corporation, brewers and bottlers of lager beer, ales, and porter. P. O. N., trade mark. Office of the president, C. W. Feigenspan.]

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, U. S. A., *Jan. 5, 1915.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secty., 50 Union Square, New York.

MY DEAR MR. FOX: Enclosed please find communication this day received from Dr. Wasson. The material which he refers to I am sending you under separate cover.

I think the distribution of this synopsis will be very advisable, and it would seem to me, inasmuch as we are distributing practically the entire book, that the doctor's suggestion that we guarantee sales of $1500.00 is not out of reason, particularly so in the event of our having to take over these books they could be placed in some libraries not now furnished with copies.

I take it that Dr. Wasson figures these books to be purchased at the regular price, $1.25 per copy.

The President seems to think rather well of the idea of distributing this book.

Could your office estimate the entire cost of covering the various ministers throughout the country? My understanding is that there will be considerably more than we had originally figured, and that there are closer to one hundred and fifty or one hundred and seventy-five thousand than one hundred thousand.

Will you kindly let Mr. Piel look over Dr. Wasson's summary?

Yours very truly,

C. W. FEIGENSPAN.

EXHIBIT No. 1136.

[St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

JUNE 25, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York.

DEAR SIR: The printer, though still maintaining that he lived up to the letter of his instructions, will allow half the amount of the item in dispute. As I recall, the amount was $64. You can therefore reduce this by one half.

Very truly,

E. A. WASSON.

EXHIBIT No. 1137.

[United States Brewers Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

Confidential. FEBRUARY 19, 1914.

To the Members of the Board of Trustees.

GENTLEMEN: This is to inform you that we have secured the services of Mr Herbert S. Stone to take up our publicity work in the field, in accordance with the suggestion made at the last meeting of the Board. Mr. Stone is a son of Melville Stone, Manager of the Associated Press, and is himself a journalist and publisher of some years experience. He studied in Switzerland and Germany; is a graduate of Harvard (1894) where he edited the Harvard "Crimson," and before his graduation he established and edited "The Chap Book," which was a small literary magazine that had considerable vogue for several years. Mr. Stone formed the publishing house of Stone & Kimball of Chicago, which was quite well known, and after selling out to Mr. Kimball he conducted a publishing business under his own name until, in 1904, he was appointed by William H. Taft, then Secretary of War, to be Chief of the publicity department of the Philippine Exposition at the St. Louis World's Fair and was later made a member of the Commission and executive officer. He contributed various articles to newspapers and magazines from time to time, and also edited and published "The House Beautiful," a monthly magazine devoted to architecture and decoration—until some months ago he sold it to the publishers of the "Atlantic Monthly."

It will, of course, take some time for Mr. Stone to organize his work and visit the various centers. He cannot do sound work if it is to be done hurriedly, and his success will depend largely upon the co-operation that he receives from our State Associations and their willingness to spend money themselves in publicity work within their own States, after the lines have been carefully prepared. If you have any suggestions to make, we shall be glad to hear from you.

Very truly yours.

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

MARCH 30TH, 1915.

Dr. E. A. WASSON,
77 Milford Avenue, Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR DR. WASSON: I have taken up with Mr. Fox the question of going ahead with your booklet, and we have decided that you can give the printing order for 162,000 at once. This will enable us to have all the printed matter ready by the time we get the final lists, and in the meantime, there is no reason why our addressing people should not begin work on the envelopes and addressing.

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS'N.

By ——— ———

APRIL 21, 1915.

Dr. E. A. WASSON,
77 Milford, Avenue, Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR DR. WASSON: I have taken up with Mr. Fox and Mr. Feigenspan the question of sending copies of your book "Religion and Drink" to various libraries. They do not feel like taking more than the 1500 copies we have

greed to take but we have picked out 1500 important libraries a list of which e are mailing you today.

Will you instruct the Burr Printing House to forward copies to them? It understood the we are to pay you 75¢ a copy for these books.

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS'N,
By ——— ———

St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

APRIL 22, 1915.

Dr. HERBERT S. STONE,
New York.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your note with reference to shipping books to 500 selected libraries. I am also in receipt of the library lists. The books an be shipped at once, and the whole shipment can be completed in about hree days. But first a serious misunderstanding must be cleared up. I never neant to give the impression that I would sell these 1500 for 75 cents apiece. ly proposition was that after the 1500 books concerning which I had an agreement with Mr. Feigenspan had been provided for I would sell any complementary order for libraries for 75 cents apiece. That first 1500 concerning hich the agreement was entered into some three months ago is not in question at all. I am to get $1.25 apiece for them. This is entirely independent of ny subsequent or additional orders. I should certainly be out of my senses if, aving a contract for 1500 books at $1.25, I should offer those very books at 5 cents. That was not my thought. As to that contract, it stands. My roposition was with reference to any other contract that might be entered into.

When this agreement was entered into I said to Mr. Feigenspan that the profit accruing to me from it was, in my judgment, no more than a fair return for conveying the substance and heart of my book to more than 150,000 of the people that it was most important to reach; and in this Mr. Feigenspan agreed with me.

I am ready at any time to ship out these 1500 books to the libraries on the terms agreed on with the chairman of the publicity committee, and any additional order on the terms that I named to you. The misunderstanding was due to my not making myself clear, as our conversation was hurried.

Yours truly,

E. A. WASSON.

EXHIBIT No. 1138.

[Boyd's City Dispatch, E. J. Williams, manager, 19 and 21 Beekman Street, New York.]

ESTIMATE.

MAR. 1, 1915.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
Mr. GEORGE A. FRANZNICK,
50 Union Square, New York City.

MY DEAR GEORGE: We confirm 'phone conversation of this A. M. in connection with list of Clergymen of all denominations throughout this Country. As advised, we are in a position to prepare specially a new and revised list, which will represent in the neighborhood of 80,000 names, in the form of a hand-written copy, with the necessary street and post office address given, for the sum of $250.00. Should we, in the preparation of list, exceed the quantity estimated upon, our charge for all in excess would be pro-rata.

As mentioned over the telephone, if it is not your intention to circularize these names continually, at short intervals, we hardly consider it advisable to secure a list, and would therefore recommend that you have us perform the service of addressing envelopes to such names when you intend to circularize same, which will give you the benefit of all available names at such time, and our charge for addressing in neat commercial hand-writing, provided order is placed for the entire quantity, would be at the rate of $2.50 per M.

There is a larger number of Clergymen in this Country, but we have figured on supplying the names of only those which we are able to verify for post office addresses, although we have in our possession a larger quantity, which are con-

stantly shifting about and have no permanent addresses. Furthermore, some clergymen are connected with two or more churches, which we have estimated on eliminating and which naturally reduces the number. By securing only those which we are able to verify means considerable saving in the form of postage and printed matter.

If order is placed for list, we require prepayment, in accordance with "Rules and Regulations" enclosed, which is no reflection on your financial responsibility, but in accordance with terms governing our List Department. If order is placed for the addressing or any other service other than list, we will give same our prompt and careful attention upon receipt of written order, rendering you invoice upon completion, in the usual manner.

Trusting that we may have the pleasure of hearing further from you by return mail, we remain,

Yours very truly,

BOYD'S CITY DISPATCH (List Department).

EXHIBIT No. 1139.

APRIL 20, 1915.

BOYD'S CITY DISPATCH,
19 Beekham Street, City.

GENTLEMEN: Enclosed please find check for $100, on account of the postage for the pamphlets entitled: "Religion and Drink."

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS'N.
By ——— ———

EXHIBIT No. 1140.

[St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., 11 Elizabeth Ave., Newark, N. J.]

JUNE 9, 1915.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec. U. S. B. A., New York.

DEAR SIR: A word or two in elucidation of some features of the accompanying bill may not be out of place.

The Library lists sent me by Mr. Stone were supposed to contain 1,500 names. I mailed to them the stock of books that I had here in Newark, as far as they went,—namely, 666 books. I sent the rest of the lists to the publisher in New York, whom I had instructed to print another edition of my book, and to mail the balance of the lists. This, it appears from his bill, amounted to 889 copies. Consequently there is an excess of 55 books over the 1,500. I had no means of knowing this in advance without counting the lists; which did not occur to me, as I supposed that had been done in Mr. Stone's office. For these surplus books I am charging at the reduced rate of 75 cents.

Mr. Stone furnished very few of the clergy lists, and asked me to look after this end of the work. This entailed correspondence with every State in the Union. Finding that the Boyd's City Dispatch had a list of their own of the colored clergy, I thought it useless to hunt these up, and instructed them to use about a third to a half of these, with due reference to locality. Their charge for addressing these envelopes (about 4,000) was to be $2.75 per thousand. This is not included in my bill. It will be sent to you.

The item of $64.80 for "retrimming," in the printer's bill, is the consequence of a mistake in Mr. Stone's office. He and I originally selected an envelope adjusted to the dummy of the pamphlets so that the combined weight was under two ounces. This envelope Mr. Stone gave me, and I turned it over to the printer, so as to avoid any misunderstanding later. I suppose the printer still has that envelope. However, when the order of envelopes was turned over to the Boyd's City Dispatch, it was found that an envelope several sizes larger had been substituted. This brought the weight up to two ounces, and necessitated sending back and retrimming the pamphlets, so as to bring the weight under two ounces.

The foregoing, I think, is all that requires explanation in the bill.

Very truly,

E. A. WASSON.

EXHIBIT No. 1141.

[See File 646-647.]

Statement of receipts & expenditures of National Association of Commerce & Labor, January 21st, 1915.

Maltsters contribution to date	44,910.93
Glass Mfrs. " " "	15,606.06
Brewers " " "	31,268.87
	91,785.86
Interest	493.15
	92,279.01
Withdrawn (as per itemized state.)	12,000.00
	80.279.01
Expenditures (as per itemized state.)	8,021.98
Balance in Bank	72,257.03

EXHIBIT No. 1142.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square.]

NEW YORK, *March 17, 1915.*

Mr. PERCY ANDREAE,
Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR MR. ANDREAE: I am enclosing, for your information, copy of report on the German-American Literary Defense Committee of New York.

Very truly yours,

H. F. FOY,
Secretary.

(Copy.)

INFORMATION RE GERMAN-AMERICAN LITERARY DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

3/16/15.

In reply to your inquiry about German-American Literary Defense Committee, 150 Nassau St. (formerly 183 Williams St.) we beg to report that this Committee was organized in August 1914 for the purpose of creating reading matter and distributing its literature among citizens of the United States, presenting the German cause, etc., in the present war, including true information as to the developments of the war as well as the real causes which led to it.

The officers are as follows: Henry Weismann, Chairman (lawyer, 391 Fulton St., Bklyn.) Dr. Faust D. De Walsh, Vice Chairman (Professor in City College); Albert A. Sander, Executive Secretary (Reporter on Staats and Eagle); John G. Roth, Treas. (Retired business man of Brooklyn). Executive Board: Herman Alexander (Mgr. of German Herold); Gustave Schweppendick (Editor of German Journal); Henry Abeles (Dist. Mgr. of Germania Life Insurance Co.); Henry Pfeiffer, Max Mayr and Bruno C. Schmidt are under secretaries.

This Committee is working in conjunction with German-American Alliance, a membership corporation which was organized under the laws of the State of New York in 1909, the sole purpose of which is to promote friendly commercial relations between Germany and the United States. No officer of this Alliance receives a salary in this connection.

This Committee claims that its expenses, including rent, amounts to about $50 a week, and it is endeavoring to get 5,000 members to contribute a dollar or more each month in order to continue the distribution of the printed matter. At present it is claimed there are 70 members who contribute a dollar or more each month. None of the officers are receiving salaries.

Those interested in this committee have incorporated The Printers and Publishers Association, Inc. This is a corporation organized under the laws of the

State of N. Y. in March 1915 with an authorized capitalization of $2,000,00.. par value of shares $5 each. Following are the officers: Dr. H. Schweitzer Pres., Max Steohr, Treas., and Henry Weismann, Sec'y. This corporation intends to (but has not yet) start a newspaper which will be essentially pro-German. They intend to sell the stock by popular subscription. We are told that Henry Weismann intends to give up the practice of law and devote all of his time to this paper if it becomes a success.

We believe that those who are responsible for this Committee are honest in their beliefs and that they would be good for their obligations within reason.

EXHIBIT No. 1301.

[From U. S. B. A. files. For Miss Todd. Office copy. Please return this copy to the file

[Percy Andreae, 3357 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.]

JANUARY THIRD, 1914.

Mr. F. W. ZOLLMAN,
719 Pioneer Press Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.

DEAR MR. ZOLLMAN: I urgently request you to arrange to attend a meeting of the leaders of our organization in the various STATES to be held at these offices at 10:30 A. M. on January 15th, for the purpose of laying out the work to be undertaken in the Congressional Districts of the country.

The matters to be discussed and considered are:

1: The general complexion of the present Congress in relation to the question of prohibition.

2: As it is expedient to take the vote on the Webb-Kenyon Bill as a basis upon which to found conclusions as to the attitude of representatives and Senators on the question of national prohibition, a careful analysis of the votes cast for and against that measure has been prepared; and the following questions will be discussed:

(a) How many of those voting "Aye" and "Nay" on that bill have been re-elected, and how are these expected to stand on the question of nation-wide prohibition?

(b) What is the attitude, if known, in your particular State of the new members of the House or Senate regarding the nation-wide prohibition question?

3: What are the known conditions relative to liberal or anti-liberal sentiment, and the possibilities of awakening and organizing the former in those Congressional districts which are at present represented by pronounced "Dry" congressmen.

4: The selection of men from our own industries in each state to act as the local representatives of my organization and to keep in daily touch with its investigation and organization work in each state.

I need scarcely emphasize the extreme importance of your being present at this meeting and bringing with you such data as you may already possess bearing upon the questions that are to be discussed. It is not the intention to call upon you to attend more than this one meeting, and if you should be able to decide at once whom you will select as the person in your state to act there in conjunction with us, I suggest that you have him accompany you, so that we may confer with him in greater detail when the meeting has completed its labors.

I may mention, for your private information, and with especial reference to the plan of organization, which I outlined on October 3rd, last, that the German American Alliance has now perfected arrangements for really effective organization all over the country, under national auspices, in conjunction with our general plan of organization; that the labor unions directly interested in our cause are preparing to conduct their campaign among all labor unions in conformity with the policy outlined at our headquarters; that the foreign language press, through its national association, with a membership of over 000 newspapers, having a circulation of over seven million, is starting a carefully prepared educational campaign which has been so outlined as to assist and promote our organization work, and that, last, not least, the National Association of Commerce and Labor, consisting of the thousands of firms depending upon our industry, has perfected methods for raising additional funds

needed for the successful prosecution of all this work, which methods merely require the co-operation of the brewing and distilling industries to become automatically effective.

The enlisting of the co-operation, in this general scheme, of the retailers of the country, is the only task yet to be accomplished in order to render the general organization complete, but I shall have the privilege of addressing the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association on this subject at its forthcoming convention in Washington, on which occasion I have no doubt, from my knowledge of the leaders of that organization, that I shall secure the most enthusiastic and intelligent co-operation of that large and influential body and its constituent organizations in the various States.

I take this opportunity to inform you that all organizations affiliated with us throughout the country have been, and are being, called upon by this office to enter emphatic protests in Washington against the Works, Sheppard, and Hobson resolutions, and to do this both by petition and by individual letters and telegrams.

In this connection, it will interest you to learn that I am in receipt of information to the effect that the National German American Alliance has placed itself in communication on this subject with every German newspaper, every state branch and sub-branch of the Alliance, and every German society and club in the country, and that from those sources alone the National Alliance estimates that at least four million protests will shortly reach the Congress in Washington. The same activity is in preparation in labor union and other circles.

Please inform me by return mail whether I can rely upon your presence here on January 15th, and whom, if anybody you decide to bring with you to the meeting.

Very truly yours,

PERCY ANDREAE.

The following translations of a few of the reports of organizers of the German-American Alliance as financed by the United States Brewers Association through the National Association of Commerce and Labor, are submitted to illustrate the activities of the German-American Alliance in its efforts to organize and bring together the German element of the country for political purposes:

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

HAMMOND, INDIANA, *March 3, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I have just returned from Hobart and will inform you of the events before I go to bed. We had a wonderful meeting in the opera house of the place. The town band provided music and there were about 300 persons present, half being women and young people. The teacher of the German church school presided and a quartette of the church choir sang some pretty German songs. Paster Schuelke and his entire family were present. He joined the alliance with his own signature and promised to do all in his power to promote the society. He was delighted with my address and said that I had expressed the very yearnings of his heart. It was certainly very pleasing to hear this from a Missouri uncle. The pastor's wife was filled with enthusiasm, and expressed herself as ready in case a women's alliance were founded to devote her energies to it. The enclosed resolutions were adopted and I shall telegraph them in the morning to Washington. The other resolutions signed by the officers of the city alliance in Hammond and the four richest and most influential citizens of the city were telegraphed yesterday afternoon to Senator Kern and Congressman Wood.

I hope that you will be pleased with the work accomplished. But now I must close so that you will receive this letter early in the morning.

Yours, ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

HAMMOND, INDIANA, *March 6, 1916.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: It is too bad that you could not have been with us Sunday. Both meetings were a great success, especially the one in Cook. The German

flag waved proudly over the school-house. Rector Jurascheck is a fine man. I have great hopes of this alliance. Thus we have successfully brought eight new alliances into life. Tomorrow the work will proceed, as Mr. Barth has already informed you. Undoubtedly we shall establish two more alliances this week Mr. Barth has gone back to Chicago today. I began the preparation of the minutes (Protokolle) of the new alliances. Hearty thanks for the present to my son.

Best greetings,

R. L. SOERGEL.

P. S. Have you forgotten to send me the forms (Protokolle—forms for the proceedings)?

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

HAMMOND, INDIANA, *March 5, 1916—12.10 at night.*

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: Just in from the country and 15 minutes before train time and I shall tell you quickly that we have to-day founded two more alliances, one in Hanover Center (Cook) with 185 members and one in St. John with 105. Isn't this a very satisfactory result. To-morrow more. My hands are stiff from riding 32 miles in the automobile.

Best greetings.

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

GOODLAND, INDIANA, *April 14, 1916.*

DEAR Mr. KELLER: I would not call the present missionary journey a butcher's circuit, but the holding of meetings this Sunday or in fact any time before Easter is not to be thought of; however, I am thoroughly convinced that we can here within a circuit of 50 miles certainly establish four or five vigorous, if not very large, alliances. Inasmuch as we propose to make another lecture tour through this part of the State in May, it has occurred to me that the establishment of the new alliances can be combined with the visit to those already existing. I was most agreeably received by Pastor Lindhorst in Reynolds and by Pastor Paul in Goodland and I called in both places on the Catholic priests. Rev. F. P. Koch and Rev. Anton Henneberger. The latter is a Rhinelander and almost as German as Friend Moench. But unfortunately both have very much mixed congregations. The organization meetings will take place on May 7th one in the afternoon, the other in the evening. The place of assembly, which will probably be the High School Auditorium, will be decided within the next few days. Enclosed you will find the list of names, which may receive some additions later. Now as I have the travelling funds, I shall browse around the neighborhood. Tomorrow I shall go to Kentland, Indiana, where there is said to be a very strong German Catholic congregation, then to Denham and North Judson, where the pastor of the Missouri Synod has already shown a lively interest in our affairs. If we get four new alliances we shall not have spent the money for nothing. It is better also to give the people more time for preparing for a meeting. I hope that you are well and will not be too much disappointed that I do not at once bring 200 new members home in my pocket. Please book the names.

Very faithfully,

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

NORTH JUDSON, *April 14th, 1916.*

DEAR Mr. KELLER: I am sitting here in Pastor Heine's study. He has entertained me in the most gracious manner. I shall hold a meeting here on May 14. Pastor Heine promises that it will be a great success. The owner of the theater has placed it at our disposition free. On the day set, May 7th, in Goodland, where also the theater has been offered free. In Goodland two congregations, St. Antony's and Kendland will take part in the meeting. To-night I am going on to Denham. You will hear all further news by word of mouth on Monday. I believe that I have much joyful news for you. I was in Logansport yesterday evening. Many greetings from Mr. Steinmetz.

Sincerely,

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, *February 27, 1916.*

MY DEAR Mr. KELLER: Hurrah! Two new Hoosier alliances will be founded to-day, one in Hanover township and the other in Schererville, the latter purely Catholic and the former purely Lutheran. The meeting in Hanover township was grand. I was only sorry that I did not have a kodak with me to take a picture of the pretty school house surrounded by vehicles and automobiles. The people are naturally still somewhat shy but the foundation is laid and upon it we can surely build further. The alliance which we founded last has, as Mr. Miller says, already 30 more members. To-morrow I am going to Crown Point. I would recommend that you send a few lines of a stimulating nature to the presidents of the new branch alliances. Would you prepare the letters for Cook P. O. Cedar Lake and St. John's. The meeting in Cook takes place Sunday, March 5th, at 2 P. M. in the school hall and in St. John's at 7.30 P. M. in the Catholic guild hall. Mr. Barth says that he has sent you the names.

Hearty greetings,

R. L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

Dear Friends and racial Brothers: Whoever to-day with open eyes watches the intrigues of the elements hostile to liberty and sees what efforts are being made in the state and nation to reduce free citizens to a race of slaves, how they are everywhere endeavoring to suppress the last vestiges of self-determination, how large manufacturers in league with puritanical sectarian churches are trying to deprive the people of its rights and reduce it to a state of servitude, and how a deceived majority becomes a tyranny, must surely wonder and ask whether such things can and ought to go any further, whether the ruin of thousands and the destruction of the value of property can be endured.

The overwhelming majority of the Germans are on the side which has declared war against the enemies of liberty and is endeavoring to set bounds to the pest of hypocrisy. But individual efforts are hopeless against this gloomy situation, a large, fearless organization is needed, such as has been established in the (Deutsch-Amerikanischer Bund) German American Alliance. It was this organization which has given Germanism the necessary backbone, which has silenced the scoffers, and put an end to the signs of contempt so often seen in certain circles.

German-American National Alliance, of the United States of America.

(Incorporated by Act of Congress. Organization and Publication Committee. Joseph Keller, Chairman, 613 Merchants' Bank Bldg.)

What this great organization has accomplished in different fields during the twelve years of its existence is too well known to require mention here; it is enough to say that people have finally learned that they must take this Alliance into account and that a certain society has learned to fear it. Yet there are some Germans still who hold back and won't recognize the fact that the organization includes the whole Germanismus, both inside and outside the church, if it is going to make its influence felt and contribute to Americanism the finest and best that Germanism possesses. This requires Germanism as a whole, men and women with hearts full of ideals and not petty quibblers.

It requires first of all the support of German clubs in their entirety, associations which have maintained intact their esprit de corps, their racial pride, and their idealism. I come in this sense in the name of the organzation committee of our alliance and ask you to offer us your support in the struggle for the maintenance of German customs and in cherishing the attainments of our people.

Join your state society and lend your aid in throwing off a yoke in your state which for a generation has lain heavily upon your necks. Come to us, as it is worth while; the reward is great and the goal is noble.

With true German greetings,

For the Organization Committee,

JOSEPH KELLER, *Chairman.*

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

GREETINGS TO GERMAN-SPEAKING AMERICANS.

In this tremendous period, when, both on the battle-fields of Europe and in our own country, especially in our federal capital, the historian is overwhelmed with material, we must as an engrafted element of the citizenry of this republic and descendants of that great German race necessarily ask ourselves— "Are we going forwards, backwards, or standing still"? Standing still is commonly recognized to be in reality retrogression.

But if we apply to the events in this country since the war began the magnifying glass of candid honesty and impartiality, we must unfortunately be compelled to admit that German-Americanism has in general, to say the least, stood still and in spite of the efforts and warnings of the German American National Alliance has failed to take the proper course to make itself recognized as the formidable bulwark against lying, deceit, hatred, slander, and insult.

The leaders and lecturers of the German American National Alliance have since the establishment of this organization never failed to emphasize the fact that the greatness, the strength, and the influence of Germanism in this country lies in appreciation of itself, in the recognition of an inviolable union of ideals, which knows no limits, but only progress and upward aspiration, a union whose activity lies in the United States, protecting German style and manner and strengthening them.

It is a bitter experience for the descendents of a people like the German, which in its history for more than a thousand years has contributed so much to humanity and in its present unselfish, titanic struggle for its existence, for truth, justice, and righteousness has astounded the whole world and given unimpeachable evidence that it is inspired by an inviolable spirit of unity, to be scorned, insulted, and persecuted in the land of its free choice, in the land of the much lauded liberty, because it clings to the true, honorable, and tried traditions of fidelity and loyalty.

That the Hyphenated American, as the German American is now scornfully called, must run the gauntlet of the pro-British English press and the Anglicized Americans is largely to be ascribed to the fact that the concentration of the strength of the entire Germanism or rather of the descendents of the great German race in this land, for which such efforts were made, especially during the years just preceding the outbreak of the great war, had not yet been realized, inasmuch as, in certain circles, especially in German church circles, there was to a certain extent a hesitation at forming a union of forces with the National Alliance.

The time has certainly come for these obstructions to be removed if an avenue is to be opened for truth and true Americanism and the heritage of the distinct culture acquired by such efforts and struggles is to be preserved and the language, customs, and liberty of our fathers and forefathers are still to exist, and if the spiritual qualities of our people are to be contributed to the developing Americanism.

Let us in this critical epoch for us German Americans remember the words of Professor T. Lindsey Playner of the Central University in Kentucky, who said in his time: "Here in the New World, which possesses so much good and so much for the blessing of humanity, we believe that we are in no wise untrue to our fatherland, if we in contemplation of all that you have conferred on us our spiritual mother, cry: Hail Germania.

As guiding principle and source of teaching, courage, and hope, we may quote the words of the German pastor, Otto Wappler of Monona, Iowa, who speaks in the name of his synod: "As German pastors we should no longer look as silent spectators on the conflict of political truth and social righteousness, but enter the arena in full sight of friend and foe and with the talents which we possess serve in conflict the bold champions of the German cause, as well as we are able. Too long already have we, German pastors, at any rate most of us, Lutheran pastors, lain inactively in well protected trenches as little more than passive spectators of the conflict. But, praise God, we are finally shaken from our indolence and have determined to take our stand in the open and take an active part in the struggle for truth and righteousness before the forum of the public. Heretofore our efforts at reform were confined to the tranquillity of the church and the limited circle of the congregation. But from now on we propose to help in shedding the rays of German truthfulness, German honor, and German loyalty among the masses as far as we are able."

The Propaganda-Committee of the German American National Alliance urges therefore at the beginning of the new year that all German Americans, forgetting all separate interests, build, operate, and exercise their creative ability on the rock of true, inviolable union, on which all German life rests, on which all the higher ideals of the German can securely rest. This is the rock on which unfortunately the German American National Alliance was established too late, although the latter can look back upon many fine achievements in the German American struggle for the promotion of its peculiar culture and may be regarded in this storm-swept period as a veritable Gibraltar standing out against all vulgar, malicious insult and ridicule of the German name and against the unjust persecution of the German race and its off-spring in this land provoked by British gold.

Let us unmoved fight on with the sword of truth and courage creating an invincible might.

Let us find a basis on which the German-speaking Americans in their associations can join with their brothers in the churches and with true German honesty and frankness make the reciprocal confession:

"In the past we have not entirely understood one another and have strayed in this critical period into paths of distress and ignominy; but from now on we shall fight together the fight for light and truth against darkness and falsehood, true to the traditions of our fathers and forefathers above and true to the example of our brave brothers over yonder."

Then the time will not be far off, when, instead of hating and scoffing at the hyphenated American, people will learn to honor, respect, and love his true American loyalty as pattern for the true American.

Then, indeed, will it be possible to speak of a united German-Americanism on a firm foundation.

Therefore, the Propaganda-Committee of the German American National Alliance calls in this critical period to all German societies, to whatever class they may belong, and to all individual Germans, who still hesitated on the road: "Cease to be strangers and wayfarers in the ranks of German-Americanism, but join its great association, the German American National Alliance."

In the hope that this call will not have been uttered in vain, and that this year will bring us the long-expected peace both yonder and here, we remain,

With true German greetings,

THE PROPAGANDA-COMMITTEE OF THE
GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE,
JOSEPH KELLER, *Chairman.*

INDIANAPOLIS, *January, 1916.*

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

HAMMOND, *February 18, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I have just returned from Hobart, where we have arranged for a general meeting for March 2nd. Mr. Barth went to-day to two Catholic places to arrange for meetings. On Sunday I shall speak in Rensaller, on Sunday, the 27th, in Hanover township, where the German pastor will act as chairman, on February 28th in Crown Point, and on March 2nd in Hobart, where the teacher of the German church school will be chairman. Mr. Miller was with me in Hobart, but there was no evidence of any preparation. Farewell until Monday.

With best wishes,

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

HAMMOND, INDIANA, *February 18, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: I felt Saturday sitting in the train like a soldier who has been several weeks on furlough and is hastening back to his trench. Mr. Miller and another gentleman met me at the station in Hammond and steered me to the above hotel. In the evening there was a meeting in a side-room of a tavern with about fourteen men and one lady present. The main occupation was drinking and card-playing. You may well imagine what I thought of that. Even the pastor played cards. Of course there was nothing left for me to do. I am not quite sure about Mr. Miller. Unless I am quite mistaken, he is quite

egotistical and he seems to go rather strongly into politics. This afternoon I went to Tollerton. Notwithstanding a terrible snow-storm set in, the meeting was well attended, there having been present about 400 men and women. The successor of Pastor Kayer, Rector Link was present. He is a fine man, of middle age, a vigorous missionary. At my suggestion he delivered a short address in the evening as well, which was received with great applause. You may thank your Creator that you didn't go, as you would have gone to your death. Before I began to speak, I had to insist that the bar be closed. I spoke somewhat more than an hour and the address seemed to please the pastor very much, as he praised it heartily in his address in the evening. Likewise our good friend Barth, who had come to Hammond at noon delivered a very good address. Barth, Miller, and I meet tomorrow to plan another campaign. I believe that we shall be able with two weeks' work to found three or four new alliances. But I am displeased with the fact that Mr. Miller is constantly calling attention to the fact that he is not a rich man and can not neglect his business. A collection was taken in Gary for the Red Cross, which brought in the sum of $24.67. This evening Monday a meeting of the city alliance will take place in Hammond in which I am to speak and on Wednesday evening a womens' society will be founded, when I shall also speak. Our friend Barth will work in connection with the Catholic societies here in the mean-time. As far as I have learned thus far from Mr. Miller, there seems to be an excellent field for work here for two or three weeks, and it seems to me that Mr. Miller is afraid that he will lose some of his brilliancy. Well, we shall see how the matter developes. Please send me 500 more of our circulars. We have surely accomplished one thing in Gary, namely, the establishment of the society on a sound footing again. I also think that I have by my address contributed to covering over the Kayser case and bringing the new pastor nearer to the Transylvanian Saxons. As far as I can learn, Pastor Kayser seems to have brought about his own tragic death.

It has become really cold here and I envy you your fur coat. I hope that you feel better. The men all send greetings.

Very faithfully,

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

HAMMOND, INDIANA, *February 29, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: We took Crown Point by storm. The new society which was established there promises with time to become a vigorous branch of the German oak of its state. Unfortunately, a lodge held a family festival on the same evening, at which about 400 persons were present. Otherwise the hall in which we held our assembly would have been too small. Judge Kopellke occupied the chair. He sends hearty greetings to you. Although he was nominated as president of the new society and, as he declared, supported the movement heartily, he refused to accept the presidency, to avoid, as he very aptly remarked, giving any appearance of political affiliation to the affair. I should not be at all surprised if this new alliance with a little attention would soon have three hundred members. Tomorrow I shall have printed the applications for admission for the new societies. We must at first be active in helping the people.

Tomorrow we are going to Hobart. I had a long conversation with teacher Wolkenhauer to-day by telephone. He has made excellent preparations for the meeting. His orchestra will play and a double quartette from the church will sing. He expects between 300 and 500 persons in the audience, among them a number of Irish. So I shall have to speak a half hour in English. Unfortunately, dear Mr. Keller, I do not feel at all well. My stomach is not in proper order and to-day I had the whole day what the Americans call "blues." I do not know why, but one has this at times. After the meeting in Hobart I shall write again an article on the situation for the Illinois Staatszeitung, the Abendpost, and the Fort Wayne and Indianapolis papers, if you are not unfavorable to this. I shall make the article similar to last Sunday's. I do not know what is the matter with me to-day; I could wail the whole day. How are you? I hope that you feel better. Have you heard from South Bend? Will you go to Chicago this week? Please send me at once a dozen copies of the constitution. Best greetings, faithfully,

R. L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

CRYSTAL LAKE, ILLINOIS, *April 21, 1915.*

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: We have gotten through it successfully fortunately, but I must tell you one thing, dear Mr. Keller, and do not be irritated because I say it, Mr. Barth must be more active in making arrangements for the mass meetings in the small towns. We might have had a much better meeting if the news had been better disseminated. It is not enough to tell the people that they should hold a meeting and that we will send them a speaker. We would have had a remarkably successful meeting here, especially as regards the concurrence of the country people, if, as teacher Abraham informed me, more thorough preparations had been made. No post card was sent out, no circulars were printed, even the concurrence of the pastors was not solicited. Fortunately, I was able to induce Pastor Kuelnest to be present at the meeting and he addressed a few words to the assembly after my address. I shall complete the statistics here in the morning and then proceed to Chicago, whence I shall take the evening train for the return.

Please send Mr. Stier in Arlington Heights about 200 copies of "Ein ernstes Wort" (a serious Word) and a copy of the local constitution of Indianapolis. I hoped to have a few lines from you here.

Good-bye,

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen—Answered the 29th of June.)

AUSTIN TEXAS, *June 28, 1914.*

MY DEAR MR. KELLER: It delighted me to receive a sign of life from you, as I was very much worried about you. It is a great joy to be able to send you the best news that I have thus far been able to send from Texas. We are going to establish here a society which will lift the alliance throughout the state to an entirely new and higher level. I was about to leave Austin in bitter disappointment because the one directing spirit, Mr. W. H. Trenckmann, the manager of the Wochenblatt, said clearly that the establishment of a local society at the present would do more harm than good to our cause. But when I looked up Pastor H. Johannes Romberg, the Praeses of the Iowa Synod, and had a long conversation with him, I made up my mind to found a local branch here however long it might take, as I have found a material here which is interested in our affair and will bring our alliance in Texas to the degree of prestige which you and I wish for it. Pastor Romberg introduced me to the different University professors and the most prominent and influential Germans, who seemed to be impressed by my address on the nature of our mission. One of the oldest and best educated gentlemen said in a very flattering way: "Yes, Mr. Soergel, it needed a man like you here to make things clear." But I have noticed one thing here, the beer goat must not be ridden too hard, but the idealistic aims of our alliance must be chiefly emphasized.

Now, I beg you to send all available literature to Professor Dr. E. P. Shoch, 2214 Nueces St., regarding idealistic and cultural aims of the alliance and also a copy of the constitution. Dr. Shoch, professor of chemistry at the local university, promised Pastor Romberg and myself to take the presidency of the branch to be formed, but in the meantime he wants to obtain more information about the matter. To-day we chose one of the most able and respected business men of the city as treasurer, while a member of the German Club Germania at the university will be secretary. The mantle of the vice-presidency will rest on the shoulders of a prominent member of the lodge of the Sons of Hermann. Pastor Romberg and Judge Kleberg have expressed their willingness to act as members of the Executive Committee. Teh meeting for organization will be held next Thursday evening in the club room of the Saengergemeinde, the aristocratic German club of the city. I have sent out more than a hundred invitations, some to prominent Germans in the neighboring country. Tomorrow I am going to Segin and am coming back on Thursday. I visited the pastor of the Missouri Synod twice, but could not find him in.

My efforts with the Vereinigung der Wirthe (Saloonkeepers' League) in San Antonio seem not to have been without effect, according to the enclosed article in the San Antonio Express.

Dear Mr. Keller, have you not received my letter from La Grange and the article which I sent you from Victoria? How long do you want me to remain in

Texas? To be frank, I am beginning to feel a sort of homesickness. Have you followed my leading articles in Haxthausen's paper? What do you think of them? The smaller ones are copied by several of the smaller German papers throughout the state. On next Sunday I shall speak in Dallas. For the following Sunday arrangements have been made for a great mass meeting in Taylor. I met Captain Schramm of Taylor here and he insisted that I speak there on that date.

This is the first Sunday for weeks that I have had free; if it only would not be so terribly hot. I am sitting here in my room in my night shirt, and yet I am so bathed in prespiration that I have to wipe it off continually so as to go on wrting. I shall go to Dallas on Saturday evening and stop in Adolphus Hotel.

Dear Mr. Keller, I cannot tell you how delighted I am with the support which we have found among the local professors. Two of them have already given little social gatherings in my honor evenings at their homes. I hope that I shall be successful Thursday evening. I shall only treat the Prohibition question from the moral and ethical point of view.

Enclosed there is a report on the expenses of the past week. The hotel here, with a miserable cuisine, is the only one in the city and costs $4.00 per day.

Best greetings to yourself and esteemed wife, and hopes that this letter will find you on the road to recovery.

Yours,

ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

HOUSTON, TEXAS, *May 25, 1914*.

MR. JOSEPH KELLER,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

DEAR SIR: I beg to offer you sincerest thanks for your very friendly letter. As great president of the mighty German order of the Sons of Hermann in Texas it will be a great pleasure for me to do my best to promote the German American National Alliance and make it prosper here in Texas. At the same time I take the occasion to express my great respect for Mr. Soergel, who is at present in our city in the interests of the alliance. I have discovered unusual ability in Mr. Soergel, which, together with his very pleasant manner and extensive knowledge, is an invaluable force for promoting the alliance. You are at liberty to use my name as Great President for any propaganda purposes among the Sons of Hermann. Wishing you best success in your zealous and active efforts in creating a powerful, united germanism in this country, I send you German greeting and sign,

Very Respectfully,

AUGUST HAXTHAUSEN.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by G. H. Allen.)

AUSTIN, TEXAS, *July 3, 1914*.

DEAR MR. KELLER: It is over. But we are still alive and in fact livelier than ever. The meeting last evening was in every respect a remarkable success. The elite of the Germanism of Houston was represented. Nearly all the German professors of the university were present. After I had given a short address on the theme "What we want," several of the gentlemen of the university spoke, also Pastor Romberg. After a long debate the meeting organized itself as the Travis County Alliance and chose officers who will be an honor to the national organization. Professor Dr. E. P. Schoch of the State University was nominated and unanimously chosen president. He assumed the office with the remark that he would consider it an act of cowardice to refuse. Pastor J. Romberg was elected first vice-president, as second vice-president, Mr. Wm. Treuckmann, and as third, Mr. R. Rumpel, as secretary, Mr. Carl Luetke, the most able and respected German lawyer of the city, as treasurer, Professor Walter Wuppermann. Messrs. Richter, Kleberg, and Professor Muentzinger were chosen a committee to frame a constitution. You can well believe, dear Mr. Keller, that I am proud of this alliance, inasmuch as in my opinion this new alliance is of greater importance for our purposes in the state of Texas than all the other alliances together. This evening I am going to Dallas where I shall speak on Sunday afternoon. Please excuse the many mistakes as I am writing on a strange machine. I hope that you are better and that I shall

soon hear from you. I should be very glad if you would write a few lines to Professor Shoch and Pastor Romberg, as well as to Mr. Luetcke.

I shall speak Sunday, July 12th, in Taylor, and after that I hope that we shall soon meet again.

Sincere greetings from yours, ROBERT L. SOERGEL.

You can reach me Tuesday and Wednesday at Gunter Hotel, San Antonio.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 3, 1918.)

BURLINGTON, IOWA, 8/19–1914.

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER, *Indianapolis, Ind.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND: I am glad that you are really better, but I am sorry that you cannot be present in person with us at Manning. Mr. Soergel is of course most heartily welcome—the sooner that we can begin, the better for us and our cause. We need our organization more than ever at present and I hope that the news from the theater of war will cause our German-Americans to be drawn more closely together and so to the Staatsverband and the Bund (the State Alliance and the National).

Heartiest Greetings,

Yours, (Signed) ED L. DURAND.
P

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 3, 1918.)

BURLINGTON, IOWA, *June 22, 1915.*

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
Indianapolis, Ind.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:—Was last week in Waverly, and Denver, Waterloo and Cedar Rapids.—In Waverly we have now a new society and it may be predicted that this will be one of our best societies, for in this place is a Teachers' Seminary of the Iowa Evangelical Synod and not only the professors but all the German clergy of every confession; except the Methodist, have joined it. Fine men and they have have considerable influence in this whole region. In Denver too the Society has been reorganized since the early part of the year and is working hard. All Iowa is much excited, as everywhere, over the pro-British position of the English press and the Government. Things are going well in Waterloo too, although unfortunately I have not met Mr. Miller, who is on a vacation of a few weeks. Cedar Rapids is still our trouble, too many Bohemians and saloon keepers.—Next week I am going to Sioux City, Brunswick, and Le Mars.—How are you? Have to work hard to catch up with my neglected correspondence. With a German greeting,

Yours,

(Signed) ED L DURAND
P

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 3, 1918.)

BURLINGTON, IOWA, *July 5, 1915.*

Mr. JOSEPH KELLER,
Indianapolis, Ind.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: Your communication received, I want to tell you that I shall be very glad to travel with you, that as I learned from the program in Omaha, the Sangerfest is to be held July 21–27.—Dr. Hexamer is announced as the principal speaker. Many of our Iowa singers are going to it.—Are you intending to come to Omaha, which you can reach on the 11.59 train Friday night, stay a few days and attend at the beginning of the Sangerfest or to go straight on to Denver?—In the Iowa Reform I read that the congregation in Rock Island wants me as speaker on July 19. These want to join the Illinois State Alliance. If necessary I can postpone this meeting for a few weeks, so that it may be possible for me to be in Omaha at the proper time.—A full schedule at least to the time of leaving for Omaha makes it necessary for me to make my trip after that.—When will you be able to give me any more detailed information?—I hope that our treasurer has enough money in the treasury for the traveling expenses,

[illegible] if our state could not be represented, and I want to talk [illegible] over our affairs.

[illegible] greeting,

(Signed) Ed L Durand
P

[Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 3, 1918.]

Burlington, Iowa, *April 10, 1914.*

[illegible] Keller,
Indianapolis, Ind.

[illegible] Friend:—Your communication at hand, I want to inform you that [illegible] reserved for you the Iowa Reform and also the Staatsanzeiger, Des [illegible] the Burlington Zeitung, and the Denison Herold for you, and will write [illegible] the gentlemen without delay.

[illegible] In the meantime you have received my communication and voucher. [illegible] Mr. Miller has sent you the statement of the deficit. I get very encouraging news from all sections of the State. Am very much indebted to you for [illegible] list of clergymen, since I will send every one of them literature [illegible] our Protocoll. The first number of our Monthly will appear about [illegible], and I would be very glad to publish an article in German and English from your pen in the very first number, but I would have to have it in hand [illegible] month at the latest.

With a real German Greeting,

Yours,

(Signed) Ed L Durand
P

[Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 3, 1918.]

Burlington, Iowa, *April 28, 1914.*

Mr. Joseph Keller,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Friend: Your communication at hand, I have already told Miller [illegible] to send you the list of expenditures. During the next few days will publish [illegible] several articles in a few English papers here and Des Moines, to shake up [illegible] a bit of other tongues. Next week am going again to Iowa City, Oskaloosa, Pella, Sigourney and various other places where we have absolutely [illegible] and yet there are really Germans there. Miller is a candidate for the [illegible], if we could only elect 50 such men. The protocoll is finished this week and the Monthly appears the beginning of next week. Miller is too [illegible] so I must wait for him. The various articles by C. A. Windle against [illegible] received with thanks; they are excellent and I will use them a [illegible] in both German and English, and since I will need a lot of literature [illegible] question, I will order a few dozen. Our societies are very slow [illegible] sending in their list of members, as soon as the lists are ready, I will [illegible] them. Can you give me the address of Mr. Barth? Mr. Nicolay wrote [illegible] that Mr. Barth could give me more information about his territory than [illegible]. In a little over two weeks, I am going to the Northwest part [illegible] State, and will naturally visit several local societies and cities.

With a real German greeting,

Yours,

(Signed) Ed L Durand.
P.

[Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 3, 1918.]

Burlington, Iowa, *May 20, 1914.*

Mr. Joseph Keller,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Friend: Your friendly note acknowledging the Monthly received [illegible] thanks. I would earnestly request you to send another little article in

German or English for the next number, as the warning had a great response. In Clinton both the Church Societies as well as the others have joined. Now ever fresh and joyful, that must be our motto.

With a real German greeting

Yours

(Signed) ED L DURAND.
P.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 3, 1918.)

INDPLS, *Aug. 28, 1914*

To the Honorable Officers and Delegates of the State Alliance of German Societies, in Meeting in Mammond, Ind.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In the face of our sympathy for our German Fatherland which is at present struggling for its rightful existence as well as in justification of my feelings, I take the liberty as member of the Alliance of presenting you with the following proposal for your kind consideration.

As the Commercial Clubs in England lately decided to drive German wares and products from the English market, may the National Alliance be requested by the State Alliance of Ind. to send an appeal to all members and all comrades in sentiment with the request not to use any wares provided with an English trade-mark.

Requesting your favorable consideration of this proposal and with genuine German greeting and best wishes for a successful meeting,

A MEMBER FROM INDPLS.

A. B. T.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 2, 1918.)

CHICAGO, ILL., *Feb. 12, 1916.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: I have received your letter with the check for fifty dollars for traveling expenses, best thanks.

I am sorry to see from your letter that you are not feeling well. I hope it is merely something which will soon pass.

I shall try to meet the gentlemen Soergel and Miller tomorrow in Gary, Ind and get further information, then I shall write to you.

Enclosed you will find a list of the places I visited during the course of the week. Which ones shall I return to, when convenient, in order to do something more to secure members or to found a society.

Hoping that you be well upon receipt of this letter, I greet you heartily,

Yours,

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 2, 1918.)

CHICAGO, ILL., *Feb. 19, 1916.*

DR. MR. KELLER: Since sending my last letter, on the 14th inst I have been busy with Mr. Soergel and Mr. Millen in Hammond. That is not so much in Hamond as from Hamond to the neighborhood. Enclosed I am sending lists of the places I visited and where I tried to organize meetings. I hope that I was successful in some of them. It is difficult to raise enthusiasm quickly for our cause among the inhabitants of small places or right in the country, as most of them read only the English papers and there real German feeling is lacking. I need probably not say much about the work in general as Mr. Soergel generally does this most thoroughly. During the coming week I shall tramp around the neighborhood of Hammond and then meet Mr. Soergel on his return in order to be with him at the meeting.

As you told me I should work with Mr. Soergel and Mr. Miller there, I therefore follow their instructions, but if you should have anything special to confide

to me in this work, I beg you to write it to me, I should be glad to receive a answer to this letter from you! Please send me a letter care of Mr. Miller Hammond!

Hoping that you are now feeling well and are well,
I remain with hearty greetings,
Your

P. J. BARTH

P. S.—Shall I continue sending the names as on this list?

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 1918.)

CHICAGO, ILL., *Feb. 26, 1916*

DEAR MR. KELLER: Enclosed you will a list of the places I have visited during the course of the week. As you see I have tried to secure the names of all persons who are still German.

I too, hope that we can still get some societies! In some places it is scarcely possible, as there is no understanding and no interest there. The people often wonder whether we will also pay for the hall etc. We were asked this even yesterday in Chesterton! There is hardly a chance for a meeting there.

In Cook (or Hanover Center) I have arranged a meeting for Sunday the 5th of March, also in St. John for the same evening!

With reference to the remarks in Hamond on this question in the convention you must remember that Mr. Soergel is to-day still a newspaper man who twists everything or makes a mountain out of a mole-hill! There was no such feeling and no one had such a thought!

I will be at both meetings tomorrow and so will meet Mr. Soergel and hope to hear that you are still well.

Hearty greetings
Your,

P. J. BARTH.

P. S.—Please send Pastor J. A. Bescherer, Porter, Ind. a constitution of the Nat. Alliance and other litterature which you may consider suitable! Letter to me, care of Mr. Miller, Hamond!

(Attended to Tuesday, Feb. 29.)

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 1918.)

ELKHART, IND., *March 13, 1916*

DEAR MR. KELLER: As Mr. Soergel probably reported I went to Elkhart after we separated! I visited the various communities and societies & moved the Ev. Luth. Invalid Aid Society of the St. Johannes Community to join the Alliance in its meeting on Sunday afternoon. You will find the officials of the society in the enclosed list! On the back of the list you will the names of all the Germans I could find out. Pastor Stamm of the Trinity Community Mo. Soc. (Dreieinigkeits Gemeince) will consider the matter and then send you the names of his parish. He gave me only the names of the parish board! It is at present impossible to arrange a mass meeting in Elkhart, possibly later! I will now go to Goshen and look around. Then I do not yet know where I shall go. Perhaps south-ward. Probably I shall go to Indianapolis in a few days for an interview as it is not far out of the way home! I can then perhaps visit a few places on the way home.

I hope you are quite well.
Hearty greetings,
Your,

P. J. BARTH

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 1918.)

LA PORTE, INDIANA. *March 27, 191*

DEAR MR. KELLER: To day I called on Mr. Schaal in Michigan City and gave him your regards. He told me that the city alliance was in good condition and

was just then working on preparations for a bazar in which the entire German element of Michigan City was taking part for the benefit of the sufferers in Europe. He will see to getting the German Consul from Chicago to make a speech on one evening and perhaps on another, Mr. Keller? This is to take place about at the end of May. In the meantime Mr. Schaal will probably have been to Indianapolis and have spoken with you.

Tomorrow I shall try to see Mr. Zerweck here, later I go to South Bend where I expect to get information on Mishawaka, then farther on!

Hearty greetings from

Your,

P. J. BARTH.

Address: Gen. Del. South Bend, Ind.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 2, 1918.)

SOUTH BEND, IND., *March 29, 1916.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: Yesterday I met Mr. Zerweck in La Porte, Ind., and discussed the situation of the society there with him. As you already told me the entire German element seems to revolve around this gentleman. He appears to be an enthusiastic worker but admitted that a little more propaganda would do no harm, but was really necessary. He will therefore see that a mass-meeting is arranged in La Porte. The date is to be so fixed that it harmonizes with the meeting in Michigan City, I therefore asked Mr. Zerweck to make arrangements and to consult with you about the date.

I met Mr. Muczer here. This evening there will be the board meeting of the city society, and I shall be present at the same, and then report to you.

In the afternoon I shall go to Mishawaka, and tomorrow to Elkhart and farther east.

Heartiest greetings from

Your,

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 2, 1918.)

ELKHART, IND., *March 30, 1916.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: Yesterday evening the delegates of the South Bend city alliance held a meeting which I attended. It was resolved that on an evening in the third week of May in which a bazar for the benefit of the Austro-German Aid Fund will take place in South Bend, to collect the German element as much as possible to hear a speech on the aims and purposes of the N. B. (National Alliance). This evening is to be specified by you in order that it may not conflict with other meetings in Michigan City or La Porte. I shall also try to arrange a mass meeting here at the same time so that if you send Mr. Soergel up here he can make these speeches one after the other.

In Mishawaka I did some sounding but could find no hold for a society. There is an Ev. Luth. community there with the Rev. Otto Turk as Pastor, which also has a school. Then the Catholic community with school, but the people of both communities are so English that only the smallest part of the children still learns German and almost every one in the church in the Catholic community is unfortunately English.

An endeavor will be made to have the German element of Mishawaka present in South Bend on the evening of the speech, which gives a good opportunity to encourage the people to work for the German cause.

I did not fill out the list of the places visited as you told me on my last visit that you had a complete list of the Germans in this county. Naturally I shall endeavor to get a complete list of the new places to be visited and send it in.

I hope I have done the right thing with regard to the meetings concerned in leaving the settlement of the dates to you, or any way the speech evenings.

I have as yet received no news from you since I was in Indianapolis and can therefore not judge well about your thoughts regarding my work until now.

From here I will go to Ligonier and from there to Kendallville, Noble Co. Ind. where I should like to find a letter from you on Saturday! Gen. Del.

Hoping that you are well and with hearty greetings from

Your,

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 4, 1918.)

BURLINGTON, IOWA, *Feb. 8, 1914.*

Mr. JOS. KELLER,
Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR SIR: I arrived here safely last Thursday evening at nearly twelve o'clock. On Saturday, yesterday morning, I had an interview with Mr. Durant in which I exposed your point of view in the matter about which I saw you, which was satisfactory to him. I repeated that you could not come to the State convention but would be very glad to speak to the entire board of the Iowa State Alliance at the first favorable opportunity and to meet them. The gentlemen will refer to you directly in the affair mentioned so that you will become better acquainted through the correspondence and probably be able to come to a more definite opinion about him. The well-being of the State Alliance appears to lie very close to his heart. He appears to be a very energetic worker which is very good for German interests. He gave me a very good letter of introduction to the various boards which will I hope be of good use to me.

As I have not yet been in any other place but Burlington in Iowa, I can make no further report except on what I have to say about here.

All societies existing here belong to the State Alliance with the exception of the Austrian, which however, as Mr. Durant tells me is very socialistic so that it would be rather more of a hindrance than an advantage for the association. When I asked for the names of the officials of the local societies I was told they were in the list which the secretary had sent you. I did not dare press him too much for fear of arousing suspicion, so had to be content with that statement. I have spoken with German Catholics, and told them of my work and desires so that I am convinced that through a bit of small work the German Cath. element will stand well in the affair referred to. I will sometime give you the officers of the various Cath. societies in a complete list. Tomorrow morning I am going to Fort Madison where it probably will take me several days to see my way clearly. The State Alliance was as yet unable to obtain any hold there! Keokuk also has nothing as yet so I shall stretch out my feelers there and report.

Now I would like to ask you to please let me know whenever you would like to have a supplementary report or a detailed explanation whenever anything is not clear to you and I am sure that you and I too will be satisfied. There is nothing more to report now except my expenses below. Therefore, I stop.

Greeting you with the highest esteem,

Your,

P. J. BARTH.

Expenses for the past week:

Transportation	$18.59
Hotel and board	7.50
Other expenses	.85
Total	26.94

PS. I expect your letter: Gen. Del, Fort Madison, Ia.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 4, 1918.)

DES MOINES, IA., *Feb. 15, 1914.*

MR. JOS. KELLER, *Indianapolis, Ind.*

DEAR SIR: During the last week I visited the following places:

Fort Madison, West Point, Keokuk, and Ottumwa, Ia.

There is German Luth. community in Fort Madison, and three Cath. communities almost entirely composed of German members. There are no societies

ther than the church German societies, there was once a singing society; all ttempts to resurrect anything of the sort fell through; there is no longer any ope for anything specifically German. The same applies to West Point. In eokuk there are no longer any German societies. The only one there was has hrunk to a card club of four to six men and cannot be revived. The Anti-Saloon League is working in Keokuk, but Lee Co. is in general liberal and nly a Liberal candidate can hope for election there. Opposing side powerless.

In Ottumwa the German element is small. There also there are not German societies and nothing more can be collected. The few individual old gentlemen re not sufficient and young America is no longer German. There are no saloons there but about 150 Blind Pigs which are connected with many other nuisances. The work of the hypocrites consists in bothering these and keeping ut public houses. The representatives of this county concerned are supposed to be Liberal and have prospects of being re-elected. The Cath. priests I visited here in these places are Liberal and listened to me willingly when I told of my work and agreed with me with reserve, which I can tell you of better orally upon the next opportunity. I have not yet seen anyone here, I arrived late. I do not know what places I shall visit between here and Ft. Dodge but will try to be in Fort Dodge by next Thursday evening on account of the convention on Friday and Saturday.

My expenses for the past week are:

Transportation	$4.52
Hotel and board	14.50
Extras	1.20
Total	20.22

Please write to me at Fort Dodge, Ia., Gen. Del. and give me any instructions necessary, also about the convention.

Hoping that you are well and that everything is going well with heartiest greetings,

Your

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 4, 1918.)

FORT DODGE, *Feb. 22, 1914.*

MR. JOS. KELLER, *Indianapolis, Ind.*

DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of Feb. 16. My report of last week is as follows:

In *Des Moines, Ia.* matters do not stand very well in favor of German affairs. The Turnverein has about two hundred members of which 75 are German and the rest Irishmen and Americans. It did not pay any poll-tax this year and did not send any delegates to the convention. It was not considered worth while. The Singing Society joined the State Alliance; it has about 80 members. Upon asking whether it would be possible to collect the German element in a meeting, I was assured that the Turnhalle was available, but the meeting would have to be announce before hand with free lunch and beer otherwise very few would come. I could not see the minister there. The German Cath. priest was very pleasant to me and is in favor of our cause.

In *Newton* where I went next, there are but a few Germans, the place is dry. I spoke to some of the Germans who told me that about half the county is German, but lives in the country; it is also liberal but indifferent. There is nothing to be done for our cause in the village.

Grinnell the next place I went to, is a Baptist College town. Has virtually no German inhabitants. Most of the people in the town and the neighborhood are Norwegians.

Marshalltown a city of about 13,000 inhabitants, had a so-called Liberal League, which belongs to the State Alliance, a Luth. German church, whose pastor is supposed to be a good worker but not generally beloved, a German Cath. population of 30 families. No public-houses. They told me nothing about *Blind Pigs* but they have enough clubs for drinking.

There are a few good workers for our cause there, but there is no general cooperation! The district assessor could not even go to the convention. More life could be aroused in Des Moines and Marshalltown through mass meetings!

Nevada, the next place I visited, also had no German element, I spoke to some Germans there. No prospects for our affair there.

There is a better German element here in Fort Dodge!

A G. Lutheran community, which also has two branch communities in neighboring country. In this community German is taught in three c... there are also schools in the country in which the pastors teach. There Singing Society in this community which is supposed to do well, but there tension between the community and the new singing society so that the singing society took part in the concert which was given here in honor of convention. The Cath. German element is small here and disappears in Irish, but they are all supposed to be liberal. In the gala issue of the G... newspaper you can find more details on the German element here.

The convention is over and I consider it a successful one! I delivered greetings and wishes and was therefore presented to the meeting and received; I had to say a few words to the assembly and believe I made impression for many of the delegates wished to know whether and when going to them, whether it would not be possible to arrange a meeting meantime so that the people might be encouraged by me etc. I promised ing, but said that if it were possible I would let them know.

I was very well received by Dr. Durant and well treated as well as Mueller, vice-pres. and all the gentlemen in general. According to a deci the meeting the protocol will be ready in about four weeks and will be you in order to give you a good idea of the business accomplished. Acc to my conviction it means a lot of small work to be done.

There are twenty two or three German newspapers in the state. I expe give you their names, addresses etc. in my next report. One of them is and I am enclosing the death certificate! There is no good society in the which concerns itself with German history. Upon asking Dr. Durant wh you could sometime have a meeting with him and his executives in the st he said the sooner the better. They will meet in Cedar Rapids in about weeks. That would perhaps be the best opportunity for your going there. secretary promised me to send you the list of the various societies of the alliance in a short time.

Next Saturday I shall go home. Would be possible to meet you there or I go to Indianapolis. Everything that should be discussed can not be dis... in letters.

Please send your next letter to me to Chicago.

1124 Oakdale Ave.

My expenses for the last week:

Transportation	$
Hotel and board	17.
Extras	
Total	2[illegible]

With heartiest greetings
Your

P. J. Ba...

P. S.—State wide Prohibition will not be voted for but there is a de... have the present laws recalled, instead of the present petition law, secret v... for the keeping of public houses.

P.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date Dece... 1918.)

CLINTON, IA., *March* 6, 1[illegible]

DEAR MR. KELLER: I found strange conditions in this city! A large Ger... element but not in the State or National Alliance with the exception of Turnverein. There are two German Luth. communities here, the pastors which are *liberal!* Pastor Lutz, Cor. 4th St. and 3rd Ave. has only been h... since last fall! You probably did not have his name. He at least said he received no circular. The other, Mr. Grimm, lives in Lyons (which now be... to the city of Clinton) 118 Prospect, L.

Two German Cath. communities: one pastor here in Clinton, Father Br... mann, is ill, therefore I could not see him, Father Fritz in Lyons told me he was for any good and just cause! German is taught in both Cath. sch...

and the children exercise in German songs and performances on the stage! There are young people's societies and church choirs in the Luth. communities, which give public performances at least once a year!

The general German element (members of churches of both confessions included) is organized into the following societies which do not belong to the State Alliance or the National Alliance.

German Societies. Clinton (Deutscher Verein)
(Herm. Otto 752, 2nd Ave. (Pres)
(Hans Behr, 209, 3rd St. (Sec.)
Gild of Brothers and Sisters (Bruder und Schwester Gilde) Clinton.
(Karl Mohr 276 Harrison (Pres).
(Paul Nielsen 540 De Witt, (Sec)
Clinton Male Chorus. (Clinton Maennerchor) *Clinton.*
Emil Evers 129 N. 6th St (Pres).
Otto Paetow 214 4th S (Sec).
Workingmen's Aid Society (Arbeiter Unterstützungs Verein) *Lyons.*
Karl David 615 N. 7th L. (Pres).
Rich. Ridder 708 N 7th St L. (Sec).
German Society (Deutscher Verein) *Lyons*
Hy. Toenningsen 421 N. 7th L. (Pres).
A. H. Heil 400 Main L. (Sec).
Schiller Committee Clinton
Theo. Carstensen 925 N. 2nd (Pres).
Aug. Burglaff 306 N. 2nd (Sec.)
Harmony Lodge, D. O. H. (Harmonie Loge) *Clinton.*
Claus Duehr 1245 Camanche (Pres.)
Geo. Schmidt 100 Second St. (Sec.)

The Schiller Committee mentioned forms the center spot of all the societies and therefore has the greatest influence (but does not exercise pressure on the societies) The Sec. Mr. Aug. Burzlaff is the Publisher of the Clinton Anzeiger, and was the principal opponent to association with the National Alliance. He declares that he is against the name of the alliance, against a state in a state and bases his opposition on this. He is a strong Republican. Others say that this is the reason! Well, however it may be, he is very influential though not as radical as formerly!

If you should pass through here on your way to Cedar Rapids it would be well to call on some of the leading spirits here! A great mass-meeting could be arranged here but not in this short time. It will certainly have great success!

Please send Pastor Lutz a letter on the German movement! (XXXOK)

This closes my letter on Clinton.

I go from here to Davenport then to *Muscatine, Ia.* where I expect a letter from you *Gen. Del.*

Hoping that you are well, I greet you heartily,

Your,

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date Dec. 4, 1918.)

DAVENPORT, IA., *March 12, 1914.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: I received your kind letter yesterday; hearty thanks!

The following is my report for this time:

According to the leading spirits here, Dr. Radenhausen and Mr. Brand, the district chairman, Davenport is well organized! All Germans belong to the City Alliance with the exception of the Cath. St. Joseph's Society, The Brewery Workingmen's Union and a German Aid Society! The first society is in sympathy with the German movement and will co-operate but will probably not join the State Alliance as a society! I spoke with the president.

I spoke with the secretary of the Brewery Workmen's Union to-day. Next Sunday he will try to persuade the Society to join the State Alliance, and on Sunday afternoon the Invalid Aid Society of which he is a member. I hope with success. The officers of these societies are:

Brewery Workmen's Union: Andrea Jensen (Pres.), John Goblin (Sec.), 739 Howell.

Workmen's Aid Society: Arthur Kehr (Pres.), Fritz Knabe (Sec.), 524 24th St. Rock Island, Ill.

I tried to see three of the local Luth. ministers but could not speak to any of them. The German Cath. priest is Liberal and with the movement.

In Muscatine there are three societies not belonging to the church: Turnverein: By Hinz, Muscatine Herold (Speaker). Christ Klopp, 1313 Cedar St. (Sec.)

Craftsmen's Aid Society: (Handwerkerunterstutzungsverein). Wm. Wendland 1000 Fulliam Ave. (Pres.) (not in favor of the alliance); Herm. Grensing 115 Foster St. (Sec.)

Muscatine Maennerchor: John Nester, 311 Mulberry (Pres.); Hy. Heinz Muscatine Herold, (Sec.).

Cath. St. Joseph's Aid Society: Louis Schwab, 201 Bell St., (Pres.); Geo. Frey, 408 Green St. (Sec.).

Cath. St. Mary's Protective League (Kath. St. Marien Schutzgesellschaft): Alex Kollmann 1137 Lucas St. (Pres); Jos. Schwab 706 Spruce St. (Sec.).

The Turnverein belongs to the State Alliance! The Catholic priest O. K.

There are two Lutheran churches. One pastor John Haefner, 513 Sycamore St. built a fine school, he is all flame for the German cause and movement. The other, Wm. Marten, 907 Iowa St., I could not speak to; he was in the country! He belongs to another synod. has no school and belongs to the local Ministerial Ass. which is not good for our cause! Muscatine has no saloons, but is supposed to have about 50 Blind Pigs!

Mr. Hy. Heinz appears to be the maker there, but appears to be very easy going!

Wilton, Ia. has two Luth. churches, no societies. The pastors are Jul. Doden, Iowa, Synod. Has no schools, favorable to the movement! The Mr. P. W. Happel, Mo. Synod has no school! He is a little bit fearful, wishes to know more about the National Alliance. I told him to turn confidently to you for information. It will be difficult to unite the people there on account of the difference in churches!

Durant, Ia. has a Turnverein, belongs to the State Alliance. The speaker is at the same time District assessor of the State Alliance. There is also an invalid aid society: which does not belong to the Alliance: Jacob Carsten (Pres.), Hy. Diedrich (Sec.).

Sunbury, Ia. has a Veteran Society should belong to the State Alliance but has gone to sleep! Officers are: Fred. Petersen (Pres.), Wm. Dibben, (Sec.), both now live in Durant Ia.

Walcott, Ia. almost entirely German, has no German church or school, a public house, an Invalid Aid Society and three German lodges. The officers of the Aid Society are: Johannes Wegner, (Pres.), I. D. Beckmann (Sec.). Long ago an attempt was made to organize a branch of the State Alliance, members were enrolled but no officers elected, that is how matters are today. The people have now become rattle-headed, especially Johannes Wegner (pres) of the Aid Society which has done most of the work, I called the attention of the people here to this and hope still to do some good.

So much for my report today.

When I went to Dr. Radenhausen today he told me that the meeting of the executors would take place in Burlington on March 22 and not in Cedar Rapids, so that I must arrange my next trip from here in such a manner as to reach that neighborhood by that time! Most of the places I have to visit during the next few days are little country towns. I cannot reach the larger towns in the west of the state before the meeting

Enclosed you will find a list of the German papers now published in Iowa.

My expenses from my last report until today are: Transportation, $8.87: hotel and meals, $18.20; extras, $3.50; total, $30.57.

By next Thursday I shall probably be in Cedar Rapids so please write to me there, Gen. Del.

With hearty greetings, I remain your,

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 4, 1918.)

CEDAR RAPIDS, IA., *March 17, 1914*.

DEAR MR. KELLER: I have just received your kind letter of yesterday. I shall go to Burlington on Saturday and shall be glad to see you, and I hope also Lead Moersch with you!

Since making my last report I have visited the following places:

Eldridge: has a Turnverein which is in fairly good shape, Fritz, Kroeger, Pres. Herm. Jessen, Sec. There was also a Burger Alliance there with Theo. Kroeger as Pres. The Sec. is traveling in unknown parts with the books and lists therefore this society fell asleep. I shook up the president so that new life will come into it again. The money which was collected for the State Alliance is in the bank but I hope it has not yet been sent in. There is a public-house there, no church.

Wheatland. had a Schützen Club, Hans Loeding, pres., Hy. Klahn, Sec. Has a public-house also a German Reform church, Pastor Gattermann, a zealous prohibitionist. An attempt was never made to found a Liberal Society there.

Lowden. has a Veteran Society. Geo. Steffen, Pres., Peter Muhs, Sec., also a Bowling Club, Geo. Steffen, Pres., Alb. Schaefer, Sec. Two Luth. churches: Rev. J. H. Brammer, Preacher. He had a school with one teacher and about 60 children. He is a Liberal, will devote his influence outside of the church to the Liberal cause. The other preacher, the Rev. Fritz Werning, has a German school for a short time during the year, which he keeps himself. Is supposed to be a Liberal! A Burger Alliance was once founded with Rich. Muhs, Pres., F. W. Rix, Sec., but it fell asleep again.

Clarence. is a nest of prohibition. A Luth. church with school of 25 children; Rev. E. Hensen, preacher. No public-house for about twenty five years, is supposed to be the reason that no public-house can succeed in the whole district.

Grand Mount! has a public-house, Hy. Stier. prop. Has a Luth. church, Rev. Lothringer, preacher. Supposed to be very liberal. No society there.

De Witt. Hardly ten families in the village, mostly Irish. Liberal.

Delmar. No German connections. Few Germans there.

Cedar Rapids. Has a German Saenger-Bund. Joe Stark Pres., Paul H. Barth, Sec.; a Bürger Bund with Hy. U Zuber as pres. Hy. Gundling, publisher of the Iowa Post, Sec., The society stands well; the work is energetic. A Luth. Church, Rev. Julius Deckmann, preacher. He told me that he would not subscribe to everything in connection with the State Alliance or better, with this movement! A conference of the Mo. Synod (probably of Iowa) would soon take place in Williamsburg and the preacher believed that you would be informed of it. Another German preacher here is Prohibitionist.

Walker where I was today, as well as Cedar Point, has only a few German families, no coherence! Marion also.

To close, my expense account to date: transportation, $5.30; hotel and board, $13.60; extras, $1.90; total, $20.80.

I hope we will meet again in four days in Burlington.

Heartiest greetings from your

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (M. I. 6) by C. J. Gilbert, date December 4, 1918.)

MANILLA, IA., *Sept. 26, 1914.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: I received your kind letter of the day before yesterday this noon, in Earling. I am glad to see from it that you are still on deck. My inclosed report will show you that I have not allowed the grass to grow under my feet, but still did everything in the places mentioned which I thought could be done now! Much harm was done to the German societies in Iowa by the former management through faulty organization and later carelessness. Time will show how much can be done to remedy this. At present our chief duty is to get the people to vote well, which I am doing to the best of my ability!

Will you or shall I call the attention of Mr. Durand to such places in which meetings could and should be attended by speakers as I stated in my last and in this report?

Will you still come to Iowa as planned and when?

Every day this cursed election day draws nearer when the fruits of our labors will I hope show up well! If we had such a German element, with such enthusiasm and tendency to enthusiasm here in Iowa as in Texas I would have no fear, but this North German stoicism and niggardliness as it is here is enough to make one burst one's collar. It seems as though back of each bob one could see gleam the question: How much money does the fellow want from us? Nickel splitters and beer guzzlers, especially when it costs little or nothing!

Forgive me if I explode too freely!
I shall go north from here! Please send your next letter to Wall Lake, Sac Co. Ia. Gen Del.
With hearty greetings I remain, your,

P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 4, 1918.)

REPORT ON THE PAST WEEK.

CHICAGO, *Oct. 18, 1914.*

On Sunday evening, Oct. 11, I met Messrs. Hamilton, Connolly, and Steele in the Teutonia Club in Sioux City, it was not a political meeting, only a friendly visit to two Germans which the gentlemen made. From there I went to Le Mars. In that place there is a large German congregation, Mgr. F. X. Feuerstein priest. He promised me his assistance for the election. A Lutheran German congregation, Rev. J. J. Vollmar (this gentleman is also alderman) belongs to the Ohio Sy., will help in our idea. a small Ev. German Church, Ev. Synod of N. A. Rev. M. J. Dormann, this gentleman will know nothing of the National Association, refuses any help at all, belongs to the Ministerial Assn. of the city. I spoke with John Starze of the LeMars Herald and Anderson, County Democracy. then to Remsen. spoke there with Father Schulte and his chaplain (assistant) Both are good and will work in their large congregation. There are also there two German Protestant congregations which are mutually antagonistic, did not visit them. There is a Herm. Son's Lodge there with Herm. Nordmann Pres. John Grotti Sec. and a Luxemburg Bruderbund (Fraternal Association) with Mak-Treinen Pres. and Eug. Kiefer Sec. The latter also editor of the Remsen, Bell-Enterprise, Democratic. Have sent the names of Kath. Forstner, Herm. Sons and Lux. Bruderbund to Dr. Durand for the sending of circulars. In Oyens, the next place which I visited, I spoke with the German Catholic Priest, Father Rolfes, who has had bitter experiences with the Saloon and is glad that his place is dry and wanted to keep it so. no help from him but the people are all Democratic, no other connection with Germanism. Then I came to Alton. Father Bourne was unfortunately away. Then I went to Granville. Here there is a Luxemburg Bruderbund of Catholic Foresters. Father Gerlemann will urge his people to vote. From there to Paullina. In that place there is a small Lutheran congregation Rev. Semann Mo. Sy, no other special society; the people belong to the O'Brien County Society. there are good people there, Ed. Hilker, Wm. Strampe, Hy. Appeldorn, Wm. Krall. From there I went to Sutherland. In that place there is no organization but the County Society. Fedd er Feddersen and Wm. Peters good people. Then I went to Calumet. In that place is a small Evangelical congregation, Rev. H. Rixmann will assist. I also saw Gus Linneweh Sec. of the O'Brien County Society, the Pres. of which is John Ehrens. The people will work hard to get out all the votes. On my way east I spoke with Senator John C. Segel in Charles City where it looks as if he would be reelected, and I went to Waterloo to Mr. Miller, who said to me that he would be very glad to see you soon in Waterloo, where he hopes to get a large attendance for you.
This morning I went home from there at 12.40.
Yours,

(Signed) P. J. BARTH.

(Translated in Military Intelligence Division (6) by C. A. M., December 4, 1918.)

BURLINGTON, IA., *Oct. 26, 1914.*

DEAR MR. KELLER: The following is the report on the work of the last week till to-day:
In Bellvue, Ia. I visited Father Bies, Priest of the Catholic congregation, he promised me to urge his people to vote! A Catholic Society there with officers. Pres. Fred Mueller, Sec. A. C. Sieverding. Formerly there were also a Turnverein and also a Gesangverein (a singing society), but these had gone entirely to sleep. An Ev. congregation also there, could not see the pastor. No day school in this congregation!
La Motte. In this place is a Catholic congregation, Rev. John Friedmann was not at home! Also an Ev. Mission Church of St. Donatus. No German society.

Zwingle! Here are mostly Pennsylvania Germans. Could do nothing there!

Bernard. has a Catholic congregation half German, no German society, 95% of the people Democrats.

Cascade! has a large German Catholic congregation, Rev. J. B. Albers Pastor! He will urge them to vote! 4/5 of the city Catholic, only Catholic societies there.

The editor of the paper "Catholic Watchman" (Kath. Wächter) Mr. Kircher, took at once when I visited him a short article on the Necessity of Liberal Voting and promised me this week a longer article; also he will send a list to Dr. Durand so as to have him send circulars.

In Monticello I visited Father Hauck, the German priest there will urge voting A Lutheran congregation, Ia. Sy. with Rev. Ide, preacher. This congregation has built a school there to teach German. This preacher will send the names of his people to Dr. Durand for circulars and also urge them to vote! ("He spoke about our liberal Activity! it works against the Roman Church")

Anamosa. No union and no Germanism.

Keystone! has a socalled Turnverein but no exercising! Pres. John Albers, Sec. J. F. Feuerbach. Both good people! Also a shooting society this is unfortunately English! Pres. Kock, Sec. Gus. Seeck. Here I met Mr. Katz of Dubuque, who was glad to work the County under the direction of Mr. Thuenen. I spoke then only with a few other people and travelled on.

The next place was Haverhill! Here there is only a German Catholic congregation with a school. Father J. Dupont will urge his people to vote.

Melbourne the next place which I visited has many Germans. Most are said to be Knights of Luther, so I could do nothing there. Then on to Gilbertsville! Here I visited Father J. Nemers, who promised me to exhort his people energetically. Also he will take care, if circulars are sent, that every one sees them, have Dr. Durand informed of this! No other society but a Catholic one! Then went to Waterloo, Cedar Rapids, Burlington! In West Burlington, I visited the priest Father Scherfe, who unfortunately leaves this week! The new priest is not here yet.

Conclusion.

Yours, (Signed) P. J. BARTH.

The following letters, submitted to the committee by Mr. Looney, attorney general of the State of Texas, at the request of the committee, and bearing upon the political activities of various brewers and brewing associations in Texas and elsewhere, are herewith submtted for the record and are printed in full as follows:

EXHIBIT No. 1039.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 31, 1904.*

Mr. OTTO KOEHLER,
President San Antonio Brewing Co., San Antonio, Texas.

SIR: Please take notice of copy of telegram below:

I beg you to give this your immediate attention, the matter being in your interest as well as in the common interest of the brewing industry of this country. The United States Brewers Association is sparing no effort or expense to defeat those measures now before Congress and it behooves us to assist them to the extent of our ability.

Your very truly,

A. G. RICKS,
Member of Board of Trustees United States Brewers' Association.

(Copy.)

A. G. RICKS: Request all Southern Brewers to wire to Representative John Sharpe Williams of Mississippi, stating that the Hepburn & Dolliver Bills would injure both Brewing industry and cause of Temperance and should not be passed.

GALLUS THOMANN.

EXHIBIT No. 1040.

[Anheuser Busch Brewing Association.]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *April 25th, 1904.*

MY DEAR CETTI: I know from personal observation that the Honorable James L. Slayden of Texas has proven himself a good friend of our business at all time, and has sought to protect its interest on the floor of Congress whenever the opportunity presented itself. I had occasion to write the Hon. Richard Bartholdt, member from my district, about Mr. Slayden today, and promised to lend our hearty support at his next election.

I hope you can see your way clear to do this, as we need strong friends in Congress, in order to prevent further attacks on our business, and in order to have loyal defenders when occasion demands, and this is almost every day. We lost the Post Canteen, and through a recent measure the Soldiers Home, simply because the fanatics attacked us and we had nobody present to defend us.

It is unfortunate that we do not urge every Member of Congress and every Senator to take up the fight in our behalf when obnoxious bills are presented; you know they will not do it unless specially requested and unless their assistance is asked. They all seem afraid of the women, and this must be changed. Our statesmen must be fearless in opposing fanatical and narrow-minded petitions of the clergy and temperance cranks, and we ought to exact a promise from every Representative and Senator whom we support that they will in turn watch our interests and not allow them to be trodden on and crushed out of existence.

I shall be glad to hear from you whether you will support my friend Slayden to the best of your ability, regardless of the cost, and whether you concur in the sentiments I have expressed herein.

Very truly yours,

ADOLPHUS BUSCH.

Mr. ZANE CETTI, *Ft. Worth, Texas.*

EXHIBIT No. 1041.

[Adolphus Busch, St. Louis, Mo.]

PARIS, *Oct. 19th, 1905.*

MY DEAR CETTI:

(*President Texas Brewing Co., Ft. Worth, Tex.*)

Mr. Clauss wrote me that you have refused to pay your assessment towards the Educational Bureau, which has, so to speak, been created by me and some of my friends for the benefit of the brewing business of the U. S.

Most of our people have no idea of the true merits of beer—they know nothing of its wholesomeness and its superior nutritious properties—and rather believe all the false things said about this article. No voice has ever been raised to correct this wrong impression people have got about beer. It is my aim to win the American people over to our side, to make them all lovers of beer and teach them to have respect for the brewing industry and the brewer. This work has got to be done systematically, and the best writers of our country will have to lend their assistance. It may cost us a million of dollars, or even more, but what of it if thereby we elevate our position? I stand ready to sacrifice my annual profits for years to come if I can gain my point and make people look upon beer in the right light.

We must pay over to the U. S. Brewers Ass'n whatever it may require to represent us properly before Congress, where we have most important bills to defend. We must defeat that Hepburn-Dolliver Bill, which is most dangerous and antagonistic to our industry and which makes Prohibition possible. Then we want to defeat any bill which may be brought up to increase the revenue tax on beer, with which we are now threatened; we want to reestablish the army canteen at all army posts and on our Men of War; and in all Reciprocity treaties, we want our government to see that American beer enters foreign countries with a moderate and reasonable duty, and not one which is prohibitive as in the case in most of the republics in South America and in Australia and as will be the case in all countries where breweries will be established unless we take an active interest in the matter and prevent this.

We want further to see that no Prohibition is enforced in the District of Columbia or embodied in the Constitution of Oklahoma when the latter is admitted to statehood.

All this will cost lots of money; we do not want to spend one cent bribing the good people, but we will have to be liberal with the Press of many states and with friends to gain the ear of senators or members of Congress and enlist their good will. Up to now everything has been neglected; no brewery in the United States has done its duty towards its business, and for this reason we have met with defeat in nearly every instance. The lawmakers of our country feel this, and therefore I say reforms are imperative; we must act; we must all put our shoulder to the wheel; we must do our duty towards ourselves and our business, and I demand of you that you enter the rank and file and help us to win our cause. If small and stupid fellows who happen to be in the same line of business with us stay out, it cuts no figure; but every sensible brewer must join the movement, and assist us in our efforts to put the brewing business in the United States in the first rank.

It is of importance that you remit at once to Mr. Clauss and thus prevent our colleagues from expressing surprise that one of the breweries in which Adolphus Busch is interested has refused to pay its assessment. Everything that is done by the Bureau will benefit Texas in some way, if not directly then indirectly.

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

ADOLPHUS BUSCH.

Mr. ZANE CETTI,
Ft. Worth, Tex.

EXHIBIT No. 1042.

[The National Educational Bureau.]

JAN. 22, 1907.

SAN ANTONIO BREWING CO.,
San Antonio, Tex.

GENTLEMEN: I find that you have not yet remitted for the last assessment but Mr. Lieber referred to me your letter in which you state that you would like to be excused because you were under such heavy expense. Permit me to say that the other Texas Breweries who are also under the same expense have promptly paid their assessment, and you must also consider that the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n has been very liberal in co-operation on all matters affecting the brewing industry in your State.

Our Educational Bureau is doing splendid work, it has been agitating the restoration of the Canteen, enlisting the support of the G. A. R. and the Spanish veterans, and has finally succeeded in arousing the sentiment of the women which has brought such a pressure on Congress that the Bill is likely to pass.

In other respects the Bureau is doing good work, but while we are managing it on every economical lines, we are dependent upon the support of our subscribers, and I confidentially expect that you will send me your check by return mail as our Board of Directors will have its regular meeting at Newark on Feb. 7th, and I want to be in position to report that the assessments have been paid.

Yours truly,

E. S. CLAUSS.

$250.00 1/4¢ per Bbl.
Sales 1904.

EXHIBIT No. 1043.

[The National Educational Bureau.]

6-27-07.

SAN ANTONIO BREWING ASS'N.,
San Antonio, Texas.

DEAR SIRS: . . . . . Our Bureau representing the leading shipping breweries, has not only done good work in the Educational line, but our Bureau has been the means of inducing the U. S. B. A. to adopt a policy under which

the brewers in the various states will be more thoroughly organized and the position strengthened both with respect to politics and business. It is, therefore, very desirable that the breweries composing our National Educational Bureau continue this work and as we can only accomplish results by united efforts, the resignation of any of our members can only have a bad effect.

Our Bureau had its annual meeting at Atlantic City last June where the past and future work was fully discussed, and our principal work now is to further the agitation for the restoration of the Army Canteen which, if restored, will give the brewer the best argument against prohibition. . . . . .

Yours very truly,

E. S. CLAUSS.

EXHIBIT No. 1044.

[The National Educational Bureau.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
August 24, 1907

AMERICAN BREWING ASS'N.,
Houston, Texas.

GENTLEMEN: Ever since the establishment of our Bureau, the members of your Executive Committee aided by your Board of Directors, have kept close, almost daily touch with the work that has been done. Frequent reports have been made by the Bureau to Mr. Albert Lieber, Vice-Chairman, and to the Executive Committee, and at least two meetings of the Directors have been held each year, at which reports, oral and written, were received. These reports have been satisfactory, and were approved at our last meeting in Atlantic City, early in June.

Because of the necessity of working with the greatest caution, so as to avoid fatal mistakes, and by reason of the fact that to the industry generally our plans were not known, the Bureau proceeded without the blowing of horns and announcing to the World its intentions. Slowly it has made itself felt in an educational way, and the prospect is good that each month it will grow stronger in that direction.

While much of the work of the Bureau has been done independent of the brewers, along legitimate and fair lines with newspapers, periodicals and other publications, it has, of necessity, been important to enlist the co-operation of the brewers in placing before the public the truth as to beer. By slow degrees our friends in various parts of the country, especially in the West, have come to recognize the work as of great help, and they are giving a more cordial co-operation to the plans than at any time in the past, as shown by letters received from a number of brewers.

Prohibition influence has become so wide-spread that newspapers, even in the large cities of the country, now cater to the element advocating sumptuary laws, and voluntarily do not print news articles of interest to our side of the question, except upon the personal request of local brewers who do business with them. In instances where newspapers will fairly recognize the news and facts as to both sides, and will accept such facts, our Bureau deals with them directly, but where this is difficult, the Bureau seeks to obtain the assistance of brewers in having articles printed, showing the truth of beer as a beverage and as a genuine temperance drink.

We can assure the members who have backed us up and desire to continue to do so, that we received, at frequent periods, numerous evidences of the successful efforts to have newspapers print material fair to our side of the question. Hundreds of newspapers and clippings were submitted to us, showing that the work of our Bureau has been of decided benefit to the trade. Incidentally, we are pleased to call your attention to the broader and fairer spirit displayed by the public, relative to the restoration of the Army Canteens.

With certain other phases of the work of the Bureau, you are probably fairly well acquainted. This is the work of slowly acquainting the brewers of the country with the necessity of getting into closer touch with their newspapers and newspaper friends, and of advertising along lines that will educate the public while helping the brewers direct. This work has been more successful among such brewers as do not employ advertising writers, but also among the large brewers, the advertising suggestions of our establishment and the well-known cuts sent out by it have been accepted and used in various forms. The

has not been confined to the West either. Progressive brewers, who realize that the public is influenced by proper and truthful advertising, and by clean, suggestive cuts, are now following the lines laid down by our Bureau.

It is in the fact that the Bureau has succeeded to a commendable extent, educating and uniting the brewers in a course of educational advertising, that such good has been done and still greater good is promised. New ideas are given to the industry as fast as possible, and our work has not been confined to certain brewers. Every brewer in the country, whether a member of the *U. S. B. A.* or otherwise, receives communications from the Bureau, which is now beginning to serve many of them directly, by writing communications, answering unfair and untruthful articles that have appeared. This is a line of work which it is proposed to develop, and is now being developed.

As already stated, our Bureau gets in direct touch with newspapers, but we deem it of great importance that the brewers should maintain a cordial relationship with their local newspaper man, and thereby place themselves in a position where fair play will be accorded them freely.

The work has not been costly, compared to experience in that line, in the past, and we feel justified in continuing it and giving it our cordial support.

Very truly yours,

ALBERT LIEBER,
Vice-Chairman.

EXHIBIT No. 1045.

11/6/07

Mr. THOMAS F. KEELEY,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: . , . . . It has always seemed to me that our National Ass'n (United States Brewers Association) acted somewhat in a "penny wise" and "pound foolish" manner, and that they let the other side get things too much their way before making even any protest, while on the other hand I have been informed from a very reliable source that the Whiskey people maintained at Washington one of the strongest of lobbies, standing always ready and willing to protect their interest. Further, as stated in my letter to Mr. Adoue I am firmly of the opinion that the Whiskey Trust is putting up a large amount of funds that are being used by the Anti-Saloon League; That is, the Whiskey Trust and the Patent Medicine Trust, which we all know from articles that have of late appeared in Colliers, is about one and the same. It is true the Pure Food Law may in a measure reduce the Whiskey output through the Medicine route, but in my opinion the reduction will be very small, and will be more than off set by the advantage the Whiskey people will gain if they can get a law through prohibiting the issuing of Internal Revenue License, except to parties holding a State, County, and City License. . . .

Yours very truly,

Dict. S.T.M. (S. T. MORGAN)__
H. Enc.

EXHIBIT No. 1046.

NOVEMBER 7, 1910.

Mr. B. ADOUE,
Galveston, Tex.

DEAR SIR: * * * I had letter from Mr. Gardner the other day in which he confirmed a telegram to effect that we might expect something very soon. Mr. Koehler will land in New York from Europe today and I might ask him if he cares for another conference with those gentlemen with a view of getting some definite knowledge about these figures.

Received a letter from Mr. Koehler this morning in which he states that he saw Mr. McDermott, Vice-Pres., and the latter informed him that all financial obligations to the Texas people would be paid before the expiration of this year.

Recurring to correspondence which we have had with reference to our financial affairs, beg to state that the firm of Adoue and Lobit carry the sum of $10,000 the amount which we expect to receive from Messrs. Gardner & McDer-

mott, and I suggest now that we borrow additional $15,000 either from your firm or the Frost National Bank of this city, and in this way get rid of all the obligations, thus affording relief for all concerned, for I am sure from the statements which I have received as well as the information imparted by Mr. Koehler that the money will be forthcoming before the first of the year.

I have not changed my mind and still hold the option had before that home breweries should not be taxed more than outside breweries.

Yours truly,

OTTO WAHRMUND.

EXHIBIT No. 1047.

(List of names furnished 1/25/08.)

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASSOCIATION.
Chicago, January 2, 1908.

GALVESTON BREWING CO.,
Galveston, Tex.

GENTLEMEN: The United States Brewers Association, recognizing the work of the Anti-Saloon League in the creation of a false and manufactured sentiment against our interests, has actively begun to take up the work of the thorough organization of the brewing interests, the allied trades and others directly and indirectly interested in our business, and it has reached the stage where fair minded business men should declare themselves as unalterably opposed to Prohibition, whether same be sought to be applied to townships, counties and states, or to the nation.

The brewing interests, with millions of capital invested giving well paid employment to thousands, patronizing almost every line of business firms, have up to the present practically stood alone in fighting for not only their rights and property, but also for the peoples rights, home rule and personal liberty.

Believing that the time has come when our people should take an active interest in this, and being offered the support of the allied industries to the brewing trade, Manufacturers and Dealers Clubs are being organized in all of the large brewing states and important brewing centers. This work has been actively taken up by people associated with the allied trades themselves. In order to facilitate this work, but at the same time get a complete list of all of the supply houses who furnish brewers supplies or who are dependent on the brewing industry for an important share of their business, we enclose you a blank which we would ask you to kindly fill out at your earliest convenience, and return to this office.

In the work this Bureau is undertaking, we shall be pleased to hear from any of the brewers of the United States, with suggestions or advices and also any information that they may be in possession of bearing on the situation.

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. MCDERMOTT,
Manager, Organization Bureau, U. S. Brewers Association.

EXHIBIT No. 1048.

[Copy. "Confidential."]

CHICAGO, ILL., *January 28, 1918.*

MR. SAM T. MORGAN,
Dallas Brewery, Dallas, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Your letter relative to various bills that are being introduced in Congress to hand. There has been considerable agitation along these lines for some time back, and there has been a special committee of the Judiciary committee of the lower house appointed to hear arguments on the various bills submitted. They all tend in the same direction, namely: State control of drug and liquor traffic within the boundary of the various states.

Last Friday, Yerkes, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue and now acting for the whiskey trust as attorney appeared before the committee and made his argument. The attorney for the United States Brewers Association is trying to make arrangements to be heard as late in February as possible.

and the Wholesale Druggist Ass'n. have also made an application for hearing. All three Associations are working in harmony, and the general feeling in Washington is, as near as we can learn, that they do not want any such bills going to a vote, as the representatives do not want to be forced to vote on such a question. Speaker Cannon has been very friendly and outspoken on this point, and has successfully kept all such bills in the committee, just how long he can resist the outside pressure is a question, so far, however, the pressure seems to come entirely from the democratic side, largely representatives from southern states. I was talking with some of the men who attended the hearing Friday, and they seem to be very hopeful that the sub-committee will report unfavorably on the bills of the constitutional question. I feel, however, from what I can learn, that the sentiment of the republican party does not want to foster any such measures, and will avoid it as a party measure.

Yours very truly,

Sig. THOMAS F. KEELEY.

EXHIBIT No. 1049.

BALTIMORE, *January 29, 1908.*

DALLAS BREWERY,
S. T. MORGAN, Esq., *President,*
Dallas, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 25th inst. received. The several bills to which you refer in your letter are being strongly opposed by the United States Brewers Association. I hope we will be able to defeat the same. It may be gratifying to you to know that both of your distinguished Senators are in favor of these bills in behalf of the prohibition propaganda. I hope that when the election rolls around you may have sufficient influence to at least a hold a conference with these two distinguished men from your state. It may ease the situation with you to know that all the democratic Senators and Members of the House from the South have joined the prohibition party. Probably, when the negro bugaboo has died away in the South, sensible men will agree that the time has arrived to break away from socialism, anarchism and so-called temperanceism—and along with these other "isms," democracyism.

This letter is not written by a republican; it is written by one who has been a democrat from his infancy, but who has reached the age when the teachings of his childhood no longer direct either his conscience or his common sense.

Respectfully,

ROBERT CRAIN,
General Counsel, United States Brewers' Association.

EXHIBIT No. 1050.

(Confidential.)

NEW YORK, *April 24, 1908.*

To the members of the U. S. Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: I enclose copy of an address delivered by the Chaplain of Governor's Island against Local Option at the legislature hearing in Albany, on March 25th. You will notice the application of the canteen argument to our interests.

The sky begins to clear. During the past month the Anti-Saloon League has been defeated in Maryland, New Jersey, New York State, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. We expect to win in Louisiana, Florida, and possibly in North Carolina. Tennessee looks doubtful; and there will be a hard fight next fall in Utah and Idaho. The Illinois fight proves the necessity of reaching the people in the outlying districts. The brewers won in the cities and lost in the small towns.

One of the most significant things that has happened in some time was the admission of the Rev. P. A. Baker, national superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, in the course of an address made in Plainfield, N. J., on April 6th, that the tone of the press is changing. Mr. Baker declared that newspapers all over the country that have been friendly are turning against the Anti-Saloon League, and he accounts for it by declaring that the Anheuser-Busch

Brewing Association and the Pabst Brewing Company are trying the experiment of spending a million dollars on the newspapers. There is absolutely no foundation for the report, but it is interesting to note that Mr. Baker should feel it necessary to recognize publicly the change in the attitude of the press, and to try to account for it.

Do not forget the Brewers' Convention. It is going to be a live affair; and we shall need your views and suggestions in regard to the forward movement which is just started.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

P. S.—If you happen to be one of the Members who have not paid their dues. "Do it now."

EXHIBIT No. 1051.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
St. Louis, June 12, 1908.

SAN ANTONIO BREWING ASSN.,
San Antonio, Tex.

GENTLEMEN: Congress has adjourned without enacting class legislation.

It is due to the splendid assistance of the business men that we have been able to defeat all attempts of the labor lobby to bulldoze Congressmen and Senators into passing the eight-hour law, the anti-injunction law and the Hepburn amendment.

The last two were defeated by us in spite of most powerful combinations and regardless of the strongest possible administrative pressure.

Our remarkable demonstration of strength in Washington proves that while the manufacturers, the business men, want no special privileges for themselves, they will not permit such for others, especially not to combinations, whether they be labor, political, or industrial.

Our past success must make us even more conservative in the future. It is not enough to show our strength in defeating bad legislation. *We must do constructive work.* To encourage good legislation and good politics, to defend our friends among public men, and to oppose demagogues is our duty as manufacturers, as citizens, as men.

I believe it is the duty of every manufacturer and of every business man to join hands with us. It is not enough to deplore and find fault with bad politics and bad legislation. Put your shoulder to the wheel. Help us to bring these matters on as sound a business basis as you would have your own establishment.

Do not delay. You would not delay your insurance. Sign to-day your application for active or associate membership and mail it to me in enclosed envelope.

Truly yours,

J. W. VAN CLEAVE, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 1052.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
St. Louis, June 30, 1908.

SAN ANTONIO BREWING ASSN.,
San Antonio, Tex.

GENTLEMEN: The story of our activity at the National Republican Convention in Chicago marks a new epoch in the political history of the United States. The business men have once more shown the spirit of '76. Attached circular tells you all about this.

Our country stands at the present time in great need of *constructive* statesmanship. Party lines are ignored by the thinking men. Their thoughts are devoted to the definite solution of the great questions confronting the nation. *Principles* and *not parties* are the issue of the 1908 campaign.

I wish you could have viewed with me the power of our Association as demonstrated in Chicago. It would prove to you, as it has to me, the fact that no fallacy, demagogery or anti-American heresy can stand up before us, *providing we are right and properly organized.* But remember we have hardly started in the serious task ahead of us.

The lawless elements among labor organizations and among the Socialists realize that they can never accomplish their base purpose by means of the strike and boycott as long as our Judiciary is left unhampered, and as long as strong protective associations prevent the singling out of individual employers. Therefore, they are trying to surround you with hampering national and state legislation to gain, *through the politician*, what cannot be secured through the Court, and they endeavor to *whip into line* the business man—the employer who has no organization to take his part.

There is no better argument for strengthening our organization, and the daily increasing number of new members proves appreciation of this fact.

I am sure that you have overlooked my former letter on this subject. I am sure you cannot but agree with me that it is your privilege as well as your duty to join us in our patriotic work. But aside from patriotism there is no better *business insurance*, at less than one dollar a week, than the co-operation of this great association in all matters pertaining to business welfare.

Let me hear from you promptly in enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

J. W. VAN CLEAVE, *President.*

P. S.—Note that provision is made on attached enrollment blank for *active* membership of manufacturers and *associate* membership of all business men.

EXHIBIT No. 1053.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
New York, June 16, 1908.

To the Active Members of the U. S. Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: You will no doubt recall that at the 45th Convention held in 1905, a resolution was passed giving the Board of Trustees discretionary power to levy an assessment of not more than two cents (2c) per barrel. Up to the present time only one cent (1c) of this assessment has been levied. The Board recommended to the members of the Association at the Milwaukee Convention, June 10, 1908, that the remaining cent per barrel be now called for. A resolution was passed unanimously by the Association, directing me to notify all of the active members of this levy. According to the terms of the resolution, the assessment is now *immediately payable*, on the basis of your sales for the year ended April 1, 1908.

The Association is in urgent need of funds to carry on its work. Will you kindly send your check to the order of the United States Brewers' Association at your earliest convenience?

Yours respectfully,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

(Enclosure.)

EXHIBIT No. 1054.

JUNE 20, 1908.

The AMERICAN BREWING ASSN.,
Houston, Tex.

GENTLEMEN: You will no doubt recall that at the 45th Convention, which was held in 1905, a resolution was passed giving the Board of Trustees discretionary power to levy an assessment of not more than two cents per barrel. Up to the present time only one cent of this assessment has been levied. I find, in going over the books of this association, that you are among the list of those members who failed to respond to the first call. Possibly you may have felt that the circumstances did not warrant the action which was taken three years ago? You must, however, realize that under present conditions, it is absolutely necessary that we should be fully equipped for the fight that is before us. The Board recommended to the members of this association at the Milwaukee Convention, on June 10, 1908, that the remaining cent per barrel of the original assessment be now called for. The matter was brought before the entire membership present at the Convention, and a resolution was passed, unanimously, instructing me to notify all of the active members of this levy. According to the terms of this resolution, the assessment is payable immediately on the basis of your sales for the year ended April 1, 1908.

I am directed to say that the payment of the first call will be waived in your case, but we trust that you will respond promptly to the present call. The association is in urgent need of funds to carry on its work, and it is not too much to say that the usefullness of the association to its mmebers and to the trade at large is only limited by the measure of support which it receives.

Hoping that we may count upon your loyal cooperation and support, and requesting that you will send your check immediately, to the order of the U. S. Brewers' Association, I am

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1055.

JULY 2, 1908.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secty.*,
U. S. Brewers Association, New York.

DEAR SIR: I send you herewith petition of the Texas Brewers for relief, which I hope will be granted, it is for a worthy cause entitled to the support of all the U. S. Brewers. The Anti-Saloon League appears to have no end of money and talent, they must be met with some weapons; men and money; as you know Texas is now the focus of the prohibition fight and repetition of Georgia's fate must be prevented, to do that requires money and plenty of it.

Yours truly,

B. ADOUE,
Chairman Texas Brewers Assn.

EXHIBIT No. 1056.

HOUSTON, TEX., *July 3, 1908.*

Mr. HUGH F. FOX, *Secy.*
New York.

DEAR SIR: Supplementing communication you will receive from our President, Mr. B. Adoue, I wish to offer a suggestion that presents itself to me about requesting the National Wholesale Liquor Association to lend us a helping hand at this crucial moment.

In Mr. Adoue's letter of yesterday accompanying appeal from the Texas Brewers we asked you for sum of $10,000:00 to be available immediately. We would like to have this amount doubled by obtaining an equal amount from the Wholesale Liquor Dealers of the United States, and the method of making the call, is suggested by a letter shown by kindness of Mr. J. Kahn, addressed to him by his firm, Mess. Friedberg & Kahn, Cincinnati, Ohio, dated June 20th a paragraph of which reads as follows:

"The Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association will do nothing unless they are called upon by the Texas Wholesale Dealers. If they are called upon, we are satisfied they will contribute.

"The National Association of Brewers have appointed a committee of three to confer with the similar committee, which they have requested the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers to appoint. This is being done. If the National Wholesale Brewers do that we do not see what the Texas Brewers are standing back for."

Now our suggestion is that, you take up this matter immediately with the three members of the National Brewers Association Committee, who in turn may take the matter up with the Wholesale Dealers Committee and ask for this fund to be furnished at once through Mr. Max Eppstein, President of the Texas Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association.

A copy of this letter is mailed to Mr. Max Eppstein for his information, with request to act thereon immediately. If this channel is not quite regular please do not stand on any hair splitting, but get down to business and get the money.

Act quick and answer quick.

Yours very truly,

EXHIBIT No. 1057.

[Copy.]

NEW YORK, *July 6, 1908.*

LONE STAR BREWING CO.,
San Antonio, Tex.

GENTLEMEN: I have your recent letter in regard to the matter of assessment, and have received similar letters from the San Antonio Brewing Association, American Brewing Association, Texas Brewing Company and the Galveston Brewing Company. I am directed to say that we fully appreciate the excellent work which has been done by the Texas brewers in fighting their own battles in the past, and have no doubt that the action which you have taken has been of material interest to the cause in other States. It has been reported to us that the Texas brewers have assessed themselves from 10 to 20 cents per barrel for their own fight. Compared to this, the 1 cent per barrel, which comprises the assessment of this Association, is very small, and yet I think it has resulted in considerable benefit to you.

The defeat of the seventy-nine (79) bills in Congress during the past session is, in a great measure, due to our efforts; and the recent victories in Georgia, Tennessee and Florida should be credited in part, at least, to the work of this Association. This work must be continued on a larger scale than ever, and we ourselves are facing this crisis with an absolutely empty treasury.

The larger part of our dues for the current year have already been expended; and demands for organization, education, literature, etc., etc., are incessant.

Our By-Laws provide that the Trustees shall not appropriate any money for local or State interests, without being authorized to do so by a 2/3 vote of the members present and voting at a Convention.

It is a matter of regret that none of your members were present at the Milwaukee Convention, when you might have presented your request, and at the same time would have informed yourselves as to the value of the work which this Association is doing and the need of its further development.

The By-Laws provide that whenever any local association has rendered direct and valuable services in the interest of the Association, the Association, at its regular Convention, may upon application indemnify such local Association for expenses incurred to a certain extent.

I find in going over our books that the seven Texas brewers have a very good record. None of them are in arrears for dues or assessments for 1905, 1906, or or 1907, but there are four who have not yet paid their dues for 1908.

Under these circumstances, and in view of your own heroic efforts on your own behalf, you have certainly earned the right to special consideration, and the President directs me to say that the matter will be considered at the next meeting of our Board of Trustees, which, however, will not be held until October. In the meantime, I venture to submit that the proper and prudent course for you to pursue is to pay the present assessment now without a question, instead of attempting to make conditions before payment.

Yours very respecfully,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1058.

NEW YORK, *July 13, 1908.*

To the Members of the United States Brewers Assn.

GENTLEMEN: The report of the Forty-Eighth Convention will be ready in a few days, and it contains so much good material, of permanent educational value that every brewer should keep it on file for ready reference. We trust that our members will study it carefully, so as to become thoroughly familiar with its contents.

We shall also send out next week three new pamphlets. The first, Entitled "Brewers Declare for Reform," is a summary of the editorial comments of representative newspaper on the Convention, and on the declaration of principles which was adopted there. This is a sixteen-page pamphlet.

Arthur Brisbane's notable Convention address on Prohibition is also republished in pamphlet form, for convenience in distribution. It is a most effective document.

"Prohibition a Failure" is a reprint of an article by R. Carradine in "The Savannah Press."

"Mills on Prohibition" is a revised and abbreviated reprint of a remarkable address delivered by Ex-Senator Mills of Texas, during the Prohibition Campaign in that State in 1887.

We shall be glad to furnish those pamphlets in quantities for the use of our members, on demand.

You are no doubt aware that the Prohibitionists have been defeated in Tennessee, Louisiana and Florida. The defeat of Governor Hoke Smith of Georgia is also accepted by the people of that State as a complete reversal of Prohibition sentiment. The efforts of our opponents are now concentrated on Texas, where an election will take place on the 25th inst.

ASSESSMENT.

A number of our members have not yet responded to the assessment notice which was sent out on June 16th, and there are some brewers who have not yet paid their dues for 1908. If you are among those who have not remitted, will you please do so without delay?

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1059.

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASSN.,
New York, July 14, 1908.

R. L. AUTREY, Esq.,
Houston Ice & Brewing Co., Houston, Tex.

DEAR SIR: I have only just been able to take up your letter of the 3rd because it was useless to ask the whiskey people to do anything until our own people were ready to act. I have now taken the matter up with Mr. Cyrus Turner who has charge of such matters for the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Assn. and he is putting it before his committee and will act as soon as possible.

I have wired Mr. B. Adoue as follows: "After payment of assessment by your sever petitioners we will contribute ten thousand" and have written him fully explaining same.

Regretting the delay, which however, was unavoidable, I am,

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1060.

[Adoue & Lobit, Bankers, Galveston, Texas.]

JULY 14, 1908.

Mr. H. HAMILTON,
Houston, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Fox wires the U. S. Brewers Association will contribute $10000 to a campaign fund and ask remittance of the 1% (1 cent per barrel) assessment.

I advise that you send check immediately.

Yours truly,

B. ADOUE.

EXHIBIT No. 1061.

CHICAGO, ILL., *July 20, 1908.*

Mr. B. ADOUE,
President Texas Brewers Association, Galveston, Texas.

DEAR SIR: We beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 13th inst., and in reply thereto would say that we answered your letter of June 23rd on July 10th. In this letter we informed you that the contribution you ask of the different maulsters would be sent forward to you by the Treasurer of our Association. The writer called up the Secretary of our Association on receipt of your letter and was informed that the Association's check had gone forward to you promptly at that time and that he had your receipt. You may rest assured that

we appreciate the fighting you have on hand down there and that we are ready to do the best we can for you at all times. In Illinois we have as bad a fight as you have down in Texas and the Illinois brewers and Allied Industries are just now busy raising a fund of $100,000.00 for the campaign.

Always pleased to hear from you, we are.

Yours very truly

ALBERT SCHWILL & COMPANY,
By OSCAR J. RUH, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1062.

[Letter-head of the Texas Brewers' Association.]

GALVESTON, TEXAS, *July 20, 1908.*

UNITED MALTERS ASS'N.,
Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 14th enclosing remittance of $2,250.00 being the contribution of your association to the funds of the Texas Brewers Assn., has been duly received, and the Malsters Assn., has our most hearty thanks for the prompt and practical manner in which they have come to our aid in our time of trouble.

The association may rest assured that every cent of the contribution will be well laid out. In accordance with your request we are enclosing exchange for $40.00, being the amount remitted by the National Malting Co.

Again thanking you for your assistance, which will prove of incalculable value in the fight now on hand, we remain,

Yours truly,

THE TEXAS BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

EXHIBIT No. 1063.

THE CROWN CORK AND SEAL CO.,
Baltimore, U. S. A., August 13th 1908

THE HOUSTON ICE & BEG. CO.,
Houston, Texas.

GENTLEMEN: We beg to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed favor of the 8th in reference to a circular letter sent out by the Texas Brewers Association, requesting us to aid them in their fight against the prohibition movement.

In reply would say that we are enclosing you herewith our check for $100.00 which we request that you hand to this Association to be used to the best advantage.

We would also ask that you please do not mention our name in connection with the matter for the reason that we make it a rule never to contribute to local organizations.

We wish to say that we have been taking steps on our own lines in reference to this matter in Washington, in order to overcome adverse legislation, which we hope will be beneficial to all.

Thanking you for your favor, we remain,

Yours very truly,

THE CROWN CORK AND SEAL CO.
$100 E. R. HARTLY, *Mgr. Sales Dept.*

EXHIBIT No. 1064.

THE FARMERS AND MANUFACTURERS ALLIANCE,
Chicago, Sept. 25, 1908.

SAN ANTONIO BEG. ASSN.,
San Antonio, Texas.

DEAR SIR: You have observed that the Prohibition forces are fighting harder and with more success than ever before.

Chafin and his managers confidently count on getting 1,000,000 votes for the Prohibition Candidate this fall.

The Rev. W. A. Bartlett, D. D. of Chicago, says that a vast combination has been formed in which brewers etc. are trying to enlist all allied interests and that if they expend 25% of their annual profits they could put a million dollars a day at work to defeat prohibition. Evidently Dr. Bartlett fears that a real campaign of education will be begun by those who favor Personal Liberty.

Such a campaign MUST be carried on if the advance of prohibition laws is to be checked. Voters must be educated our way or they may be persuaded to vote the other way.

This educational work has been taken up by "The Farmers and Manufacturers Alliance." It is not intended to be the organ of any trade or any class, but its purpose is to give enlightment to the vast body of voters as to the evil effect which would result from the success of Prohibition.

It will do a hundred per cent more good than any special literature can do. It reaches the masses and appeals to them. It does not offend, it reasons and it will make votes for the cause.

Its preliminary expenses are large. It needs your aid. It is fighting your fight. It is your paper. Good business judgment and a desire for self-preservation should prompt you to give it your heartiest support to the full extent of your ability.

We ask you to be practical—to help the paper that is helping you. If you have not received a copy of "The Farmers and Manufacturers Alliance" send for it and information as to its scope and the work it is doing.

Yours respectfully,

COOPER LYON, *Sec'y & Treas.*

Executive Committee: J. A. McDermott, A. H. Berger, Edw. Lansberg, Representing U. S. Brewers' Association; H. F. Davenport, Cooper Lyon, Geo. T. Turner, Representing Manufacturers & Dealers Club.

EXHIBIT No. 1065.

[Texas Brewers' Association: Galveston Brewing Co., American Brewing Assn., Lone Star Brewing Co., San Antonio Brewing Assn., Houston Ice & Brewing Co., Dallas Brewery, Texas Brewery Co., Anheuser Busch Brewing Assn., Wm. J. Lemp Brewing Co.]

HOUSTON, TEX. *June 27, 1908.*

CLARK & COURTS,
Galveston, Texas.

DEAR SIR: We have a State Wide Prohibition fight on our hands and it is fast and furious. It has only one merit, and that is short duration.

The fight is before the State Democratic Primary, to be held July 25th. The result of the Texas Democratic Primary is equivalent to an election, therefore the result at the Primary is for a purpose final.

We need money and are appealing to all Merchants, Manufacturers, Persons, and Corporations from whom each of the Brewers in Texas bought goods in the year 1907 to give us 1% of the amount of the bill bought and paid for.

ON THIS BASIS WE ASSESS YOU THE SUM OF $5.00.

Kindly send us your check at once, making it payable to the writer individually. This donation from you will be bread cast upon the waters.

Yours truly,

TEXAS BREWERS ASSOCIATION
B. ADOUE, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 1066.

HOUSTON, TEXAS, *Sept 26–08.*

Mr. B. ADOUE,
Galveston, Texas.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 25th, enclosing list No. 9, duly in hand. I presume that this is the final list.

I now enclose you a list of Contributors, and also a Black List. In order that we may not do any one an injustice, will you kindly compare them with your records, and advise me if they are correct. On receipt of your reply, I will mail copies of each list to all the Texas Brewers.

Kindly advise me if you have acknowledged receipt of the contributions from Reymershoffer and Adolph Heller.

Yours truly,

G/W.

EXHIBIT No. 1067.

LIST OF THOSE WHO DID NOT RESPOND TO OUR CALL.

Acme White Lead & Color Works, Detroit, Mich.
Adler & Hirsch, New York.
American Car & Foundry Co., St. Louis, Mo.
American Bottle Co., Chicago.
American Car and Equipment Co., Chicago.
Atlantic Rice Mills, Beaumont, Texas.
Austin Separator Co., Detroit, Mich.
Blair Milling Co., Atchison, Kans.
Crane & Co., St. Louis, Mo.
C. A. Mfg. Co., Austin, Texas.
Corn Products Refining Co., Chicago.
Cummins, F. F., & Co., Chicago.
Dimmick Pipe Co., Birmingham, Ala.
Delta Bag Co., New Orleans, La.
El Campo Rice Milling Co., El Campo.
Electro Motor & Equipment Co., Newark, N. J.
F. A. Fay & Eagan Co., Cincinnati, O.
Fairbanks, Morse & Co., Kansas City, Mo.
Fairbanks Co., New Orleans, La.
Gifford-Wood Co., Arlington, Mass.
Great Western Cereal Co., Chicago, Ill.
General Electric Co., Schenectady, N. Y.
Gugler Lithographing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
Hermann Sons, Prague, Bohemia.
Hohman & Maurer Mfg. Co., Rochester, N. Y.
Helbach-Deckman Ref. & Fixt. Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Hartford Rubber Co., Hartford, Conn.
Oscar Heyman & Co., New York.
Huss Bros. Mfg. Co., Cincinnati.
Houston Rice Milling Co., Houston.
International Filter Co., Chicago.
A. L. Ide & Sons, Springfield, Ill.
International Time Recording Co., Binghampton, N. Y.
Kaester & Co., Chicago.
Krebs Bros., Salem, Ore.
Keystone Chem. Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
Kimball-Fowler Cereal Co., Kansas City, Mo.
Louisiana Cooperage Co., New Orleans, La.
Lillienthal Bros., New York.
Link Belt Co., Philadelphia.
Lakeside Rice Milling Co., Lakeside, Texas.
Lane Rice Mills, Lane City, Texas.
Markham Rice Milling Co., Markham, Texas.
Mack Bros. Motor Co., Allentown, Pa.
Meek & Co., Coshocton, O.
National Aniline & Chem. Co., Kansas City, Mo.
New York Specialty Co., New York.
Northwestern Lithographing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
Orange Rice Mills Co., Orange, Texas.
Port Arthur Rice Milling Co., Port Arthur, Texas.
C. T. Patterson Co., Ltd., New Orleans, La.
Chas. Passon & Sons, Chicago.
Pfaudler & Co., Rochester, N. Y.
Peden & Co., Houston.
Rhodes Imp. Metallic Packing Co., New York.
Rochester Valve Co., Rochester.
Sims Co., Cleveland, Ohio.
Standard Asphalt & Rubber Co., Denver, Colo.
Sanders Engraving Co., St. Louis.
W. B. Schaefers Sons Co., Cincinnati.
The Tuchfarber Co., Cincinnati.
Texas & Pacific Coal Co., Thurber, Texas.
Union Fiber Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
Western Electric Co., St. Louis, Mo.

EXHIBIT No. 1068.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

American Steel Package Co., Defiance, O
Armstrong Cork Co., St. Louis
American Hominy Co., Indianapolis, Ind
American Lignite Briquette Co., San Antonio, Tex
American Cork Specialty Co., Brooklyn
Allis-Chalmers Co., Dallas, Tex
Armstrong Cork Co., Pittsburg
Automatic Racking Machine Co., Chicago
American Antiformin Co., New York
American Malting Co., Milwaukee, Member U. M. A.
Bayou City Rice Mills, Houston
Beebe Stave Co., Little Rock, Ark
Bottlers Machinery Mfg. Co., Chicago
Borchert Malting Co., Milwaukee
Bishop & Babcock Co., Chicago
Beach,—H. O.—Company, Coshocton, O
Brooklyn Bottler Stopper Co., Brooklyn
Barry-Wehmiller Mach. Co., St. Louis
Bayou City Mills Co., Galveston
Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co., Chicago
Brewers Special Mach. Co., New York
Busch-Freund Brewers Supply Co., St. Louis
Coshocton Glass Co., Coshocton, O
Cale-Lane Oil Co., Houston
Clarke & Courts, Galveston
Chilton Malting Co., Chilton, Wis
Cleveland Faucet Co., Cleveland, O
Cincinnati Cooperage Co., Cincinnati
Cage,—D. S.—& Co., Houston
Crown Cork & Seal Co., Baltimore, Md
Chicago Flexible Shaft Co., Chicago
Dallas Cooperage Co., Dallas
De La Vergne Mach. Co., New York
Detroit Steel Cooperage Co., Detroit
Deckerbach,—F. C.—Sons Co., Cincinnati
Ehlermann (Chas.) Hop & Malt Co., St. Louis
Economic Specialty Co., Chicago
Erie Specialty Co., Erie, Pa
Edgewood Distilling Co., San Antonio
Edward Ermald, New York
Falk-Wormser & Co., Chicago
Farrell, Wm. J., New York
Feuerbacher, Frank W., St. Louis
Fort Wayne Cooperage Co., Fort Wayne, Ind
Gair,—Robt.—Co., Brooklyn
Golden Gate Mfg. Co., New York
Goldman,—E.—& Co., Chicago
Gilsonite Construction Co., St. Louis
Garlock Packing Co., New Orleans
Goerres,—Philip—Cooperage Co., Milwaukee
Hartwell Iron Works, Houston
Heine Safety Boiler Co., St. Louis
Hasty, J. F. & Sons, Peragould, Ark
Heinisdorf, B. O., Chicago
A. Heller, Prague
International Coal Mines Co., Eagle Pass, Tex
Jones Cold Store Door Co., Hagerstown, Md
Kansas City Mach. Works, Kansas City
Kaufman & Strauss Co., New York
Liquid Carbonic Co., Chicago
Loew Mfg. Co., Cleveland, O
Milwaukee Western Malting Co., Milwaukee
Milwaukee Com. & Importing Co., Milwaukee

Miller Mfg. Co., St. Louis	$10.00
Meyer Supply Co., St. Louis	50.00
Magnes A. Sons Co., Chicago	360.00
McFaddin-Weiss-Kyle Rice Mill. Co., Beaumont	18.05
Milwaukee Bag Co., Milwaukee	10.00
Milwaukee Malting Co., Milwaukee, Member U. M. A.	
National Malting Co., Chicago	40.00
Nixon & Costelle Co., Dayton, O	30.00
Northwestern Malt & Grain Co., Chicago, Member U. M. A.	
Ohio Galvanizing & Mfg. Co., Niles, O	15.00
Ozark Cooperage & Lbr. Co., St. Louis	50.00
Phœnix Brush & Mfg. Co., Chicago	10.00
Palm-Fetcheler & Co., St. Louis	10.00
Parsons, J. M. Chemical Co., Chicago	5.00
J. Reymershoffer, Galveston	100.00
Revere Rubber Co., New Orleans	5.00
Root Glass Co., Terre Haute	200.00
Reynolds-Dull-Flasher Co., Chicago	5.00
Russell, Frank B., Louisville, Ky	10.00
Reisinger, Hug., New York	115.00
Robertson, WF—Steel & Iron Co., Cincinnati	.35
Reumill-Dawley Mfg. Co., St. Louis	5.00
Rheinstrom Bros., Cincinnati	15.00
Reinemann, Paul, New York	100.00
Rahr, Wm. Sons Co., Manitowock, Wis., U. M. A.	
Spanish-American Cork Co., Chicago	30.00
Schneible Co., Chicago	15.00
St. Louis Cooperage Co., St. Louis	50.00
Stephens Litho. & Engr. Co., St. Louis	10.00
Schwarzwaider, J. & Sons, Louisville, Ky	75.00
Stevenson Co., Chester, Pa	5.00
Scharrer, Edw. & Co., Constatt-Stuttgart, Germany	150.00
Southern Rice Co., Houston	50.00
Schaeffer-Budenberg & Co., New York	5.00
Sonnenschein & Laudemann, Prague, Bohemia	30.00
Schwill, Albert & Co., Chicago, Member U. M. A.	
Sprague Electric Co., New York	5.00
Schlitz, Jos., Brewing Co., Milwaukee	1,000.00
Texas Rice Mills, Houston	25.00
Toledo Bushing Co., Toledo	5.00
Tuber Pump Co., Buffalo	10.00
United States Bung Mfg. Co., Cincinnati	25.00
Uhlmann, S. & F., New York	50.00
United Malsters Assn	2,500.00
Vilter Mfg. Co., Milwaukee	100.00
Wenzell, S. S. Machine Co., Philadelphia	10.00
Wolf & Co., Philadelphia	10.00
Wheeler Condenser Co., New York	25.00
Wolf, Fred W., Co., Chicago	150.00
Wheeler, C. H., Mfg. Co., Phila	25.00
Wangler, Jos. F., Boiler & Sheet Iron Works, St. Louis	10.00
York Mfg. Co., York, Pa	15.00
Zoller, Chas., Co., New York	317.17
Grand Total	10,293.97

EXHIBIT No. 1069.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
St. Louis, April the Second, Nineteen-Eight.

Strictly confidential.

SAN ANTONIO BREWING ASSN.,
San Antonio, Tex.

MY DEAR SIRS: I wrote you on March 7, at great length, but so far have had no reply to my letter. My position being strictly honorary, I have no financial interest in this campaign. My only motive is the desire to have the interests

of the manufacturers properly taken care of. *Your industry is at present in special need of co-operation.*

The National Association of Manufacturers is representing *in legislative work* 116 organizations, national, state and local. Do you know of an organization that is one-half, one-fourth or one-tenth as strong as ours?

I urge you to read carefully copy of a letter attached hereto, written to one of our members. *In your own interest do not lay it aside without reading every word*, do it today and then write me definitely whether you can afford *not* to join us.

Very truly yours,

(Sgd) J. W. VAN CLEAVE,
President.

P. S.—If you desire I will be glad to send you a long list of our members engaged in your lines. They can tell of our work. *Please consider this correspondence absolutely confidential.*

EXHIBIT No. 1070.

FEBRUARY THE TWELFTH, NINETEEN-EIGHT.

Mr. A. L. PFAU,
President North Baltimore Bottle Glass Company,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

Re prohibition movement.

MY DEAR SIR: I wish to acknowledge your most interesting letter of January 25. I could not answer it until now for several reasons, namely: the proposition you have placed before us is so important, and the facts of such serious character, that I desired to give immediate personal attention to this matter before writing you. I went to Washington immediately after the New York meeting, and can write you more understandingly now after reaching home.

Your communications were placed before our Board on January 31. After a lengthy discussion the Directors unanimously decided that all the cooperation and assistance, which can be given you under our laws and regulations, are at your disposal. A very interesting discussion took place at the New York meeting. When I say to you, in strict confidence, that one of the best arguments in your favor was made by a member of the Board who prefaced his remarks with the statement that he had been a total abstainer all his life, then you will appreciate that our members are big enough and broad enough to look at this question not from the narrow view of the prohibitionist, but from the broad standpoint of *opposition to destruction of property by legislation.*

Personally, I feel very strong on this question. As President of the National Association of Manufacturers I have had to give much time and attention to legislative matters. We have several representatives in Washington at all times, and I have seen so much of legislative interference and official meddling with the business of manufacturers and corporations in general, that I have no patience whatsoever with any further attempts in that direction. Of course, we must all admit that many excesses have been committed, and the demagogue and politician has not been slow to use these to his advantage. The unscrupulous newspapers of the country have reaped a harvest by using their columns for preaching excesses, and have become, in many cases, the misleaders instead of the leaders, of the people. *We have had too much sensationalism, too much demagogism, and it is time that we were getting down to moderation and common sense.* Unless we learn soon to remain in the middle of the road without going to extremes on either side, all American business men, and not only those interested in beverages, will suffer and many will face ruin.

But coming back to your proposition. I am, personally, a Kentuckian. I want no one to interfere with my right to take a drink whenever I want it, whether it is once in a day or once in a year, and I appreciate that I have no right to interfere with my friends who do not care for this privilege. It would indeed, be a serious reflection upon the principles of liberty, which should stand so high to Americans, to have such laws enacted as are at this time advocated by the extremists. To the man who argues that alcoholic beverages are not a necessity we might answer that if all things that are not a necessity should be done away with where would we land? We no doubt would return at an early date to primitive life in the wilds of African forests.

Now, while I have told you how I personally feel, there is no getting away from the fact that our organization has, no doubt, among its members, men who are extreme on the question of prohibition, the same as it has men who drink to an extreme. It is not one of the questions in which this organization, as an organization, is interested, but I am sure many of its members are. It would, no doubt, be unwise to come out with resolutions and public statements. Such action might do more harm than good to your interest and it would, at the same time, hurt our organization. The best plan, as I see it, is first, to assist you in every way possible in Washington; second, to give you the opportunity to approach our members individually.

In connection with the first proposition I have made it a point in a week's stay in Washington to look carefully over the ground, and I want to say to you, in strict confidence, that there is no more danger of the Tillman bill passing Congress, than there is of the slavery days returning. I have had the opportunity of discussing this subject with dozens of our legislators, in a strictly confidential way, and I know that there is not the ghost of a chance for this bill passing. I, furthermore, feel confident when I say that not even the bill restricting the liquor traffic in the District of Columbia has a ghost of a chance of passing.

In the first place, there are, as you may know, certain watchdogs in both chambers of Congress, who cannot be fooled, and who cannot be gotten around, either, and in the second place, I have been told by public men, who have had their ears to the ground for many years and usually know what is coming that this prohibition sentiment is not now on the increase, but that the pendulum is standing still, and will slowly swing the other way. I say this, appreciating full well that this question involves an issue of deep and significant importance, and that the movement is without precedent as to extent and intensity. I say it, carefully measuring its economic strength, being, as it is, partially social and certainly, to a very large extent, a legal and political question. I speak from personal observation, and from impressions secured from contact with the best posted men in Washington. I have given instructions to our Washington representatives to watch the situation carefully, and to keep me posted. *I shall continue to give careful personal attention to this matter*, and I will be glad to co-operate with you in your endeavors to the limit of my ability.

I will be glad to have you call my attention to matters as you see them, and to call my attention to things that we might do in proper co-operation with you. I have given orders today to send you under separate cover a copy of the American Trade Index, this being a classified list of our membership. It should serve you well in case you desire to write to the members direct. As I see it now your associates should use every endeavor to bring to final determination by the United States Supreme Court the Constitutionality of the various state statutes passed with respect to the restriction of or prohibition of the sale of liquor. As I understand it in Georgia a test case is already being made in the courts. The United States Judiciary, and particularly the United States Supreme Court, can be relied upon to stand as a strong bulwark between the Constitution and popular fashion or passion. *I consider confiscation of private property through acts and laws the most demagogic and most dangerous that any country can adopt.*

I wish to congratulate you upon the efficiency of your various organizations. I have had letters from many sources endorsing your request, and I shall take pleasure in having a copy of this letter sent to each one of the concerns that has written or telegraphed me or the organization.

It is, of course, that while I have no reason in the world to hide my personal views, I have not written this letter as President of the organization for publication purposes, and its use for such is not authorized.

Wishing you success and hoping to hear from you often, I am,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. VAN CLEAVE, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 1071.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
New York, March 8, 1909.

GENTLEMEN: This is to call your attention to an article on Prohibition in Georgia in the March number of Putnam's Magazine, copy of which will be sent

to you direct. It proves the complete failure of Prohibition in the city of Georgia, and I am arranging to have reprints of the article for distribution. In view of the fact that the magazine will probably lose some of its subscribers through the publication of this article, it is important that we should recognize the independent attitude of the publishers by getting them as many new subscribers as possible. I believe that it is the intention of the magazine to follow the subject up in subsequent issues. I beg, therefore, to suggest that you send your subscription to Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 West 23d Street, New York City, for the magazine, with your check for ($3.00) Three Dollars *notifying me of your action.*

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1072.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
New York, November 24, 1915.

Confidential

To the members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: The circular herewith has been given to the press and is receiving wide publicity. Our members should, however, be cautioned against over-optimism. The facts are to be interpreted as indicating what can be accomplished by thorough organization, effective educational methods and the recognition of the public demand for properly conducted saloons. But the fight is by no means over; in fact it will be hotter than ever during the next two years, and we cannot maintain our position or regain the "dry" territory, unless we "get together." There is a big campaign ahead of us, and our preparations must be made accordingly. The great strength of our opponents is largely due to the indifference of the brewers during the past decade!

Your membership and co-operation in the U. S. Brewers' Association is not only a matter of loyalty to a common cause; it is a matter of Business Insurance for your own particular benefit.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Enclosure.

EXHIBIT No. 1073.

New York, December 2, 1910.

Confidential

DALLAS BREWERY,
Dallas, Texas

GENTLEMEN: I presume that you have received a copy of our circular letter of November 17th, giving the results of the recent elections. In one way or another our assistance was sought in all of the States to which reference was made, besides a number of others that are not included in the list. Over a million pieces of printed matter were sent out from this office; and through our various departments, speakers and organizers were furnished, and in some cases press agents also. As you can imagine, this involved a very large expenditure of money and a great deal of work.

There are several other State-wide campaigns which will engross us during the coming year, besides the usual license elections and the local contests, so that the demand upon our activity and resources is unceasing. Our opponents are seeking to regain their prestige by starting new fights in places where our industry is least prepared to resist. For sample, they are trying to make Vermont "dry" to offset their defeat in Maine, and are doing the same thing in the State of Washington to offset their defeat in Oregon. I cite these merely to illustrate their tactics.

The experience of the last year clearly shows that our opponents have so unified their forces, that they can concentrate their strength at any point in this country; in other words, the Prohibitionists, under whatever name they call themselves, are now a mobile army, closely federated and practically nationalized. I am sure you will see how futile it is for us to try to meet

such an effective organization by merely local efforts. Every brewer in the country is therefore vitally interested in the continuance of the forward movement which the United States Brewers' Association is leading. The extent of the Association's usefulness depends upon and is limited by the measure of support it receives from its members. There is an urgent need for funds, and I wrote to ask you whether you will not send us dues for the current year, or at least inform us when you are likely to be able to do so conveniently?

Awaiting your reply, I am,

Yours faithfully,

R. F. Fox, *Secretary.*

HFF/KHD

EXHIBIT No. 1074.

[National Liquor League of the United States.]

OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.
National Hotel, Washington, D. C., May 3, 1912.

DEAR SIR: Senate Bill 5461, the reading of which I will not tire you with is a very drastic measure and means prohibition for the District of Columbia should it be enacted into law.

It has already passed the United States Senate and is now in the hands of the House Committee on the District of Columbia. We are writing you to ask you to bring all the influence possible to bear on any or all of the following members of Congress who compose the Committee on the Dist. of Columbia.

Hon. Ben Johnson of Bardstown, Kentucky
" Wyatt Aiken of Abbeville, South Carolina
" John H. Rothermel of Reading, Pennsylvania
" James A. Hamil of Jersey City, New Jersey
" John A. M. Adair of Portland, Indiana
" Carl C. Anderson of Fostoria, Ohio
" Martin Dies of Beaumont, Texas
" William A. Oldfield of Batesville, Arkansas
" G. F. O'Shaunessy of Providence, Rhode Island
" Henry George, Jr., of New York City, New York
" Edmund J. Stack of Chicago, Illinois
" C. O. Lobeck of Omaha, Nebraska
" William C. Redfield of Brooklyn, New York
" George Konig of Baltimore, Maryland
" William Cary of Milwaukee, Wisconsin
" Julius Kahn of San Francisco, California
" Cyrus A. Sulloway of Manchester, New Hampshire
" Leonidas C. Dyer of St. Louis, Missouri
" Henry S. De Forest of Schenectady, New York
" Solomon F. Prouty of Des Moines, Iowa
" Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Please act at once. The Anti-Saloon League is working night and day to have this Committee make a favorable report.

We must beat them. Should they gain this victory it will encourage them to practically upset the Entire Liquor interests of the country during the coming year. No doubt you are aware that the City of Washington is the one place where the Congress of the United States can vote on the Liquor question. It is the desire of the Anti-Saloon League to place our law-makers on record and hence a strenuous fight is raging as it never did before.

You are appealed to in behalf of the perpetuation of the legalized Liquor trade to not lose a moment but to get right to work. Have your friend use their influence with any of the above named Committee, by correspondence, telegrams or otherwise—no matter how—you will be serving and assisting in defeating this attempt to make the Nation's Capital a prohibition city.

Thanking you in advance and watching hourly for the effect of your work I am, with much respect and high personal regard

Yours truly,

HUGH A. HARVEY,
Chairman Congressional Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 1075.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109–111 EAST 15TH STREET,
New York City, March 3, 1913.

Confidential.

To the Brewers of the United States:

GENTLEMEN: The enclosed report gives the substance of the addresses which were delivered at the Chicago conference on February 20th, 1913, together with a list of the brewers who were in attendance. It was, without question, the largest, most representative and most enthusiastic assemblage of brewers that has ever been held in the history of the industry in this country. While the meeting was called by the United States Brewers' Association, the meeting was truly national in its character. One-fifth of those present were not members of the United States Brewers' Association, but before the meeting adjourned nearly all of them indicated their desire to join the Association.

After going carefully over the proxies presented by individuals for other brewers who could not be present, and the accredited delegates from state and local associations, and taking into account the letters received from brewers who were prevented by sickness, etc., from attending, but who desired to be recorded as concurring in the action taken, we estimate that *fully 85 per cent* of the entire brewing industry of the United States was represented at this meeting.

After the addresses of the principal speakers, the meeting practically resolved itself into a committee on ways and means. It was the general opinion that we must organize our work in a permanent basis with the assurance of continuous support, and two resolutions were finally *adopted unanimously*. The first urges all brewers to become members of the United States Brewers' Association. The second resolution took the form of a pledge to give three cents a barrel each year for a period of five years. This means that, in addition to the dues to the United States Brewers' Association of one cent per barrel, the brewers voluntarily pledged themselves to an additional assessment of two cents per barrel, and it was understood that this should be collected by the United States Brewers' Association, in three instalments, as needed, beginning with the 1st of April.

While this action was unanimous, about one-fifth of the brewers who were present declared that they would have to consult their Boards of Directors before commiting them definitely. With these exceptions, all the members present agreed to abide by these resolutions, and all the brewers promised to recommend the matter to their Directors.

The administration of this fund was referred to the Board of Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association, and under their direction we are asking the brewers of each state to select a *National Committeeman* who will meet within thirty days, if possible, with the Board of Trustees and work out the details of organization, etc. In the meantime, you are requested to confirm promptly the action taken at the general meeting.

Awaiting your reply, I am,
Yours faithfully,

(Sgd) HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

P. S. Report referred to will follow later.—H. F. F.

EXHIBIT No. 1076.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION
109–111 EAST 15TH STREET,
New York City, April 14, 1913.

To the Brewers of the United States:

This is to inform you that in accordance with the action taken at the National Conference of Brewers, which was held in Chicago on February 20th, 1913, a National Committee of Brewers has been organized, which consists of delegates or their alternates, appointed by the various State Brewer's Associations, and by the groups of brewers in those states where there is no State Association, together with the Officers and Trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Association.

At a general meeting of the Committee held in New York on April 10th and

11th, 1913, an Executive Committee of Fifteen was elected, consisting of the following:

Committee of fifteen: Jacob Ruppert, Jr., Chairman, New York; Percy Andreae, Illinois; J. R. Nicholson, Mass.; N. W. Kendall, Conn.; John Gardiner, Penn.; L. J. Hauck, Ohio; L. B. Schram, New York; E. S. Clauss, Missouri; F. Fehr, Kentucky; A. Fitger, Minn.; J. Lippman, Utah; Joseph Uihlein, Wis.; Paul Wessinger, Oregon; R. L. Autroy, Texas; Conrad Mann, Missouri; Hugh F. Fox, Secretary, New York.

Committees were also appointed on Organization and Education as follows:

Committee on education: James R. Nicholson, Boston, Mass.; Gilbert R. Potts, Newark, N. J.; Adam Oertseifen, Chicago, Ill.; S. S. Fleming, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; G. J. Jung, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jacob Rupert, Jr. (Ex-Officio), New York, N. Y.

Committee on organization: John Gardiner, Philadelphia, Pa.; Carl J. Hostet, Columbus, Ohio; Gustave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; E. S. Clauss, St. Louis, Mo.; Frank Fehr, Louisville, Ky.; Jacob Ruppert, Jr. (Ex-Officio), New York, N. Y.

The Executive Committee is to meet in Chicago on the first day of May, and in the meantime the various State Brewers Association are to meet for the purpose of considering a plan of action.

This is to urge you to attend the meeting of your State Association when it is called and to assure you that the matter is of the greatest and *most pressing importance*, as we are facing a condition that *materially* affects the welfare of every brewer in the United States. We cannot go into the *matter by correspondence* but assure you that it will be to your interest to respond to the call.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Enclosure.

EXHIBIT No. 1077.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN APPOINTED (DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES).

Nahan Greil, Capitol Brg. & Ice Co., Montgomery, Ala.
L. M. Kutcher, Home Brewing Co., Bridgeport, Conn.
John F. Hehl, Bavarian Brewing Co., Wilmington, Del.
P. A. Drury, Abner-Drury Brew. Co., Washington, D. C.
Leon Tobriner, Chr. Heurich Brg. Co., Washington, D. C.
A. S. Guickenheimer, Savannah Brewing Co., Savannah, Ga.
Adam Ortseifen, McAvoy Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill.
William H. Rhem, National Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill., Alt.
O. B. Oberstadt, Schoenhofen Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill.
Joseph Theurer, Schoenhofen Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill.
Chas. F. Hartmetz, Evansville Brewing Co., Evansville, Ind.
F. W. Kemmerle, Iowa Brewing Company, Iowa City, Iowa.
B. H. Kingsbury, Sioux City Brewing Co., Sioux City, Iowa.
L. Reichert, Kentucky Brewes' Ass'n., Louisville, Ky.
Albert H. Wehr, G-B-S Brewing Co., Baltimore, Md.
Walter Carl, Roessle Brewery, Boston, Mass.
G. A. Kusterer, Grand Rapids Brewing Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.
E. R. Diederick, Theo. Hamm Brewing Co., St. Paul, Minn.
Henry Nicolaus, St. Louis Brewing Assn., St. Louis, Mo.
Conrad Mann, Kansas City Breweries Co., Kansas City, Mo., Alt.
E. S. Clauss, Anheuser-Busch Brg. Ass'n., St. Louis, Mo.
Arthur Harris, Portsmouth Brewing Co., Portsmouth, N. H.
Gilbert R. Potts, Ballantine & Sons, Newark, N. J.
E. G. S. Miller, Lang Brewery, Buffalo, N. Y.
Peter Doelger, Doelger Brewery, New York, N. Y.
Louis J. Hauck, Hauck Brewing Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.
J. Geo. Junk, Morlein Brewing Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Paul Wessinger, Henry Weinhard Brewery, Portland, Oregon.
Edward Heuer, Erie Brewing Co., Erie, Pa.
Spencer H. Over, Hanley Brewing Co., Providence, R. I.
Gastave Mensing, Providence, R. I., Providence, R. I., Alt.
R. L. Autrey, Houston Ice & Brg. Co., Houston, Texas.
S. T. Morgan, Dallas Brewing Co., Dallas, Texas, Alt.

Joseph Lippman Salt Lake City Brg. Co. Salt Lake City Utah.
A. Von Rosenegk, Rosenegk Brewing Co., Richmond, Va.
A. S. Lindemann, Milwaukee-Waukesha Brg. Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
Oscar Schmidt, Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
Mr. Jackson, Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
Note: (Alt. indicates Alternate.)

EXHIBIT No. 1078.

[United States Brewers' Association, 109–111 East 15th Street, New York City.]

[CONFIDENTIAL.—For your personal attention and prompt action.]

NEW YORK, *April 12, 1913.*

REPORT OF THE JOINT MEETING OF STATE DELEGATES AND THE TRUSTEES OF THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION, HELD IN NEW YORK, APRIL 10–11, 1913.

This meeting was held in accordance with the action taken at the National Conference of Brewers which met in Chicago on February 19th and 20th, 1913. Appended is a list of Delegates and Alternates appointed by the Brewers in each state, and all persons who attended this meeting, together with the committees chosen.

Mr. Ruppert was elected Chairman of the meeting and Mr. Fox, Secretary.

It was decided that a National Committee should be organized, consisting of the delegates or their alternates and of the officers and trustees of the U. S. Brewers' Ass'n. and that the National Committee for the year beginning April 1st, 1913, should consist of those now appointed, together with the Officers and Trustees of the United States Brewers' Association.

It was resolved that an Executive Committee of Fifteen should be elected, with the President of the U. S. Brewers' Association as a member and Chairman thereof, with full power to transact all business in the interim of the meetings of the National Committee. Annexed hereto are the names of those comprising the Executive Committee of Fifteen.

The President of the United States Brewers' Association was instructed to appoint a Committee of Five at Large on Organization, and similar committees on Education, of which he should be an ex-officia member, and the following committees were so appointed:

Committee on Education: James R. Nicholson, Boston, Mass.; Gilbert E. Potts, Newark, N. J.; Adam Ortsefein, Chicago, Ill.; S. E. Fleming, Fort Wayne, Ind.; S. J. Jung, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jacob Ruppert, jr. (ex-officio), New York, N. Y.

Commitee on Organization: John Gardiner, Philadelphia, Pa.; Carl J. Hoster, Columbus, Ohio; Gustave Pabst, Milwaukee, Wis.; E. S. Claus, St. Louis, Mo.; Frank Fehr, Louisville, Ky.; Jacob Ruppert, jr. (ex-officio), New York, N. Y.

At the request of the meeting, Mr. Percy Andreae presented an outline of a plan for the organization of all the existing liberal associations and leagues of the country into a national body, for the purpose of concerted action and mutual support. The plan does not contemplate any change in the present identity of any such association or league, but merely a coalition of all the forces represented in them and the employment of those forces in the attainment of the objects which are common to all, under one leadership. This national organization will be, as this description clearly implies, entirely separate and apart from the brewing industry, and the details of its promotion and maintenance were exhaustively discussed at the meeting.

The committee of Fifteen is to meet in Chicago on May 1st, to take favorable action in regard to the plan above outlined, with such changes or modifications as shall be satisfactory to Mr. Andreae, with the understanding that he will assume charge thereof and devote his entire time to its direction. This is to be entirely separate from and in addition to the work now being carried on by the U. S. Brewers' Association, which will be continued as before and extended as required. It will be necessary to raise an even larger sum of money than was contemplated at the Chicago Conference, and the success of the undertaking depends upon the prompt action of the brewers in pledging their support. It is therefore urged that the State Brewers' Associations be called together at

once, so that a full report may be made at the meeting at which is to be held in Chicago on the first of May.

Each of the delegates and trustees to whom this is addressed, is requested to give it immediate attention, using this report as the basis of the statement, they may make to the various groups of brewers, when they are assembled.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 1078.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION;
109–111 EAST 15TH STREET,
New York City, April 26, 1913.

Confidential.

To the Brewers of the United States:

GENTLEMEN: Some four years ago we wrote you suggesting that you subscribe for Harper's Weekly. A number of brewers did so and have renewed their subscriptions from year to year.

In view of the general attitude of Harper's Weekly on sumptuary laws and the rights of the individual and its consistent editorial policy in relation thereto, we feel that this publication is fairly entitled to your consderation and support, and that you should be reckoned among its readers, for your own information.

The editorials in Harper's are widely quoted, and I shall appreciate your co-operation in this matter. I take the liberty of suggesting that you write direct to Messrs. Harper & Bros., enclosing $4.00 for your subscription, and that you endeavor to secure additional subscriptions from your friends and colleagues for this most interesting and valuable publication.

Will you advise me of your action so that I may be able to measure the success of this appeal?

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

P. S.—I enclose five subscription blanks. Will you please hand one or two of them to your friends?

H. F. F.

EXHIBIT No. 1079.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109 & 111 EAST 15TH STREET,
New York, May 9, 1913.

LONE STAR BREWING CO.,
San Antonio, Texas.

GENTLEMEN: This is to thank you for your prompt action in connection with Harper's Weekly. Such co-operation is most encouraging.

Yours very truly,

FT. HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1080.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
109–11 EAST 15TH STREET,
New York City, June 11, 1913.

To the Brewers of the United States:

The Board of Trustees held a special meeting in New York City, June 5th, which was attended by the Executive Committee of the National Committee and also the Committees on Organization and Education. After full consideration, it was unanimously decided that the brewers of the United States must be asked to enter into a definite agreement to enable us to finance our undertaking during the next five years. I am instructed by resolution to send this agreement to you for your consideration. You will notice that it is conditional upon a total

subscription of 3¢ per barrel upon 25,000,000 barrels annually, which is the minimum amount that must be secured to carry out our plans.

Brewers who have already agreed to this undertaking are requested to sign the enclosed agreement for the sake of uniformity.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1081.

To the United States Brewers' Association, New York:

Memorandum of agreement made and entered into this ——— day of ———. 1913, by and between the undersigned for and on behalf of himself, or itself, his or its personal representatives, successors and assigns, hereinafter called the "Brewer" and the United States Brewers' Association, a memberhip corporation, duly organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the State of New York, hereinafter called the "Association,".

Whereas, The Association is about to undertake certain work of vital importance to the brewing industry, which will require the outlay of a large sum of money during the next five years.

Now, this agreement witnesseth, that the Brewer, in consideration of the promises, and of the sum of one dollar ($1.00) to the said Brewer duly paid by the Association, receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, it is hereby covenanted and agreed to and with the Association to pay to said Association the sum of three (3) cents per barrel upon the amount of sales to his or its customers yearly, measured in barrels each year, for a period of five (5) years from the first day of April, 1913. payable in such installments each year and at such times in each year as the Association, shall, from time to time. designate. Such contributions of three (3) cents per barrel for each year during a period of five (5) years shall constitute the Brewer a member of said Association during the life of this Agreement without additional cost, provided, always, nevertheless, that this Agreement shall be and become null and void and of no effect unless on or before the fourth day of October, 1913. the Association, shall have received similar agreements duly executed and delivered by other brewers in the United States to the Association, pledging yearly for a period of five (5) years three (3) cents per barrel each year upon an aggregate of 25 000,000 barrels. All of such agreement shall be similar in form to this Agreement.

Witness the hand and seal of the said Brewer.

In the Presence of:

For the purpose of uniformity and convenience, the sales for the preceding twelve months will be taken as the basis of this calculation. Thus, the payment for 1913 should be upon the amount of beer sold during the twelve months from April 1st, 1912, to March 31st, 1913.

EXHIBIT No. 1082.

DALLAS, TEXAS, *Sept. 3, 1913.*

United States Brewers' Association
#50 Union Square, New York City.

GENTLEMEN: We beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of August 22nd. in which you advise that we have not paid dues since 1911. This has been an oversight on our part and we thank you for calling our attention to same. and we now have pleasure in handing you herewith American Exchange National Bank of this city's #109739 on the National City Bank of New York City for $1.154.05 payable to your order, covering our dues for two years from April 1st, 1911, to March 31st, 1913.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige

Yours very truly

DALLAS BREWERY,

President

EXHIBIT No. 1083.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE,
New York City, October 24, 1913.

IN REGARD TO BOCK BEER.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: A discussion took place at a recent meeting of the brewers of the New England States in regard to the practise of sending out Bock Beer in season or out of season, according to individual caprice, at conflicting dates. A resolution was passed unanimously:

"That it is the consensus of opinion of the representative brewers of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut that we should cooperate in the attempt to ship Bock Beer to the trade not earlier than the first Monday in March in any year, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the United States Brewers' Association for the purpose of that Association taking the matter up with the other brewers of the country as a national question."

In the opinion of the Advisory Committee the matter is one of great importance and we are bringing it to your attention with the request that you give it careful consideration and take it up with your colleagues in your local and State Associations, with a view to establishing uniformity of practise, as a matter of mutual interest and common concern.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1084.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

The following article is reprinted from the American Issue for January, 1914, to inform our members of the latest development in the program of the Anti-Saloon League.

The Anti-Saloon League is publishing "temperance tracts" which are being sold to large employers of labor, for encolsure in the pay envelopes of the workmen.

MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN DRINK AND JOB.

Business World Insists on Sobriety Because It Promotes Efficiency, Decreases Accidents and Gives Stability and Character to Employees—Efforts of Manufacturers to Keep Saloons Away from Their Factories and Their Workmen.

More and more employees are realizing they must choose between the drink and the job. While they may exercise their personal liberty by indulging in intoxicants the employer may also exercise his personal liberty by putting other men at work whose efficiency has not been diminished by liquor.

Individuals, firms and corporations who until recently have been neutral and indifferent on the liquor question are now taking radical action to protect their employees from the baneful effects of the saloon and are giving their men to understand that if they persist in patronizing such places others will be given their positions. There is no sentiment on the part of employers, but they treat it as a cold matter of business.

As a rule the public does not realize the efforts many manufacturers are putting forth to protect their workmen from saloons. In recent "wet" and "dry" elections here in Ohio, managers and superintendents of plants have invariably lined up on the "dry" side because they did not want saloons near their plants. The State licensing board and local license commissioners are appealed to by employers not to grant licenses to saloons near factories. Owners and managers of shops and plants of various kinds are constantly asking the Anti-Saloon League for direction or asistance in keeping liquor joints away from their men.

A recent instance showing how manufacturers feel is that in Perry township, Allen county. This township lies south of the city of Lima, and under the law

is entitled to three saloons. In the township are located the plant of the Ohio Steel Foundry Company and the Gramm Motor Factory. Managers of these plants have appealed to the Allen County license commissioners not to permit saloons in that vicinity because such places would prove detrimental to the interest of their men. There have been a number of applicants for licenses, but all of them have been turned down.

So insistent on this point are the owners and managers of these concerns that a number of licensing boards are granting licenses to applicants at some distance from such plants over applicants for near-by locations. Manufacturers generally are including saloons in their "safety-first" propaganda. This movement has been recognized by the Progressive party of Illinois, as in its State platform is a plank reading:

"We believe that safety first should be promoted by asking the liquor license commission to refuse to license a saloon within 500 feet of a large business concern."

Such a movement was started some months ago by the American Foundrymen's Association, at its annual convention in Chicago. This organization, which touches the big industries of the country, declared not only for the slogan, "Safety First," but coupled with it the other slogan, "Back with the Saloon," meaning that they favored keeping the saloons away from manufacturing plants. That convention named a committee of one man from each State to plan and execute a general and systematic campaign for legislation to keep saloons from the vicinity of factories. In an article in the Survey, Thomas D West, chairman of the Association's committee on prevention of accidents, argues that "Drink befogs the brains of men entrusted with the handling of machinery and dangerous tools, and makes them less cautious, and near-by saloons are responsible for maiming and killing men in factories."

Public officials are running manufacturers a close second in demanding sobriety on the part of their subordinates. Newspapers carried the news recently of the action of the director of the United States Census Bureau, who issued an order against employees in his department using liquor, even in moderation. A few days ago the five judges of the municipal court of Atlanta signed and promulgated this order:

"On and after this date any misconduct or conduct unbecoming an officer of this court, either on or off duty, will be considered a ground of dismissal, and so treated, and especially we emphasize this rule in regard to all intoxicating drinks. This does not mean intoxication only, but the indulgence to any extent will be considered a violation of this rule."

The Atlanta Constitution contained a long editorial commending the judges for their action, declaring it a significant sign of the times when a court of such important jurisdiction places such a ban on alcohol and says that the action of the court is reflected throughout the business world of America. The Constitution then goes on to say:

"There is nothing emotional, nothing melodramatic, nothing yellow about the onward march of temperance from this source. It is just the cold, logical economic business argument that gives a man the alternative between his potations and his position. The railroads ushered in the era, for manifest reasons. The crusade has spread from vocation to vocation until it includes about every major means of making a livelihood.

"And it is the economic factor that has wrought this remarkable change, and that has hardly begun its work.

"When the moral and business world unite for the overthrow of a traffic which is without merit, viewed from any and all standpoints, the days of that traffic are numbered."

EXHIBIT No. 1085.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

y *New York, March 4, 1914.*

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: Enclosed are separate lists of the brewers who are members and of those who are not members of the United States Brewers' Association. I also enclose copy of the letter that we have sent to all of the non-members by way of a last appeal to them to join the Association.

I am instructed to ask if you will kindly look over the list of non-members in your State and address personal letters to them emphasizing our appeal and urging them, with all the force at your command, to apply for membership at once.

We believe if every non-member receives a number of such appeals from his brother brewers, he will be so impressed by the earnestness of our plea, as to give the matter his consideration. If he will not join, let us at least find out the reason why!

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Enclosures.

EXHIBIT No. 1086.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York, March 5, 1914.

AMERICAN LIFE CONVENTION.

The fourth mid-year meeting of the medical section of the American Life Convention will be held March 4, 5, and 6, at the French Lick Springs Hotel, French Lick, Ind., and Dr. T. D. Crothers, editor of the Journal of American Society for the Study of Alcohol and other Narcotics, is down for an address.

THE FEDERAL FOOD AND DRUGS ACT.

A conference was held in Washington recently between State Food Commissioners and Officials of the Department of Agriculture to consider the Food and Drugs Act. The chief point of attack was the section which permits the use of a guarantee label by manufacturers, which was declared to be misleading to the public. The meeting was called at the invitation of the Secretary of Agriculture to secure cooperation between State and Federal authorities. Dr. Alsberg stated that the law is inadequate and unnecessarily complicated, and urged the standardization of foods and drugs. At the close of the discussion a committee of five was appointed to urge Congress to provide a law to make standards. A committee was also appointed to work with the American Bar Association in securing uniformity of Federal and State Laws for the enforcement of pure food legislation. It is not expected, however, that the matter will be reached during the present session of Congress.

The National Civic Federation has appointed a Food and Drug Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. Vincent Astor. Dr. Alsberg and other men of national prestige have agreed to serve as members of the Commission.

A National Food Trades Conference was held in New York on February 27th "to encourage a greater uniformity of efficient food control, laws and regulations, and to aid generally in attaining purer and better foods, honestly and properly labeled and advertised." It is hoped that the Conference will be organized on a permanent basis. The United States Brewers' Association was represented by Mr. G. W. Lembeck and the Secretary.

THE NATIONAL RETAIL LIQUOR DEALERS' ASSOCIATION.

At the recent Convention of this Association, Mr. H. F. Fox, was present on behalf of the United States Brewers' Association, and made a vigorous appeal for absolute obedience to all the laws and ordinances affecting the liquor traffic.

President Farley and other members of the Association from various States urged the same course of action, and an organized effort is to be made to secure the cooperation of all licensed retailers.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF U. S.

At the Annual Convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which was held in Washington recently, the United States Brewers' Association was represented by Mr. C. W. Feigenspan, and the Secretary. Mr. Charles Bradley, of Newark, N. J., and Messrs. August Lindemann and Oscar Schmidt of Milwaukee were present, representing their local Chambers of Commerce. A number of brewers have joined the Chamber as individual members.

NATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIES.

While the Chamber of Commerce of the United States was in session a meeting was held of the Secretaries and Executive Officers of National and Inter-State trade organizations of manufacturers and wholesalers, and it was decided to form a permanent organization for the purpose of promoting the interests of the organizations represented, and to co-operate with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. An executive committee of five members was elected as follows:

Mr. Cudworth Beye, Secretary, National Association of Tanners, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Wm. R. Corwine, Secretary, National Association of Clothiers, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Frank F. Fish, Sec'y-Treas., National Hardwood Lumber Association, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Hugh F. Fox, Secretary, United States Brewers' Association, New York, N. Y.

Mr. E. W. McCullough, Secy. and Gen. Mgr., National Implement & Vehicle Association, Chicago, Ill.

The Executive Committee subsequently elected Mr. F. F. Fish, of Chicago, as its Chairman, and Mr. H. F. Fox, of New York, as Secretary-Treasurer.

EXHIBIT No. 1087.

MARCH 11, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: This is to inform you that at a joint conference of the Officers of the United States Brewers' Association, and the Chairmen of our Standing Committees, and the representatives of our Allied Interests, it was decided that our members be requested to get as many signatures to the petitions against National Prohibition, as possible, and forward them to Washington, without delay.

It is desirable that these petitions should be secured by Congressional Districts, and sent to the individual Congressman from the constituency he represents, and a copy sent to the United States Senator.

It is also important that a record be kept of the number of signers to each petition by Congressional Districts, so that we may know how many have gone forward; and also the total number of names that all of the petitions finally represent.

Yours respectfully,

HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 1088.

MARCH 25TH, 1914.

H. BRUHN,
Sec., Lone Star Brewing Co., San Antonio, Texas.

DEAR MR. BRUHN: The Secretary of the U. S. Brewers Association has referred to me for reply several enquiries received by him in response to the circular issued by the Association under date of March 11, in which all brewers were requested to obtain as many signatures to the petitions against National Prohibition as possible, and forward them to Washington without delay.

Most of these enquiries contain requests for a form of petition, and I therefore enclose herein the form issued by me, after conference with a large number of representatives of the joint industries, in January last. This form of petition was sent to 107 organizations throughout the country, including labor unions, and other friendly societies, with a letter accompanying it suggesting that these organizations in each state confer with each other and lay out the work systematically in their respective territories in accordance with my first appeal to the same organizations on the subject of petitions issued on December 15, 1913.

I beg to suggest, therefore, that every individual brewer who has now received the circular from the U. S. Brewers Association urging his cooperation in this work, communicate at once with his state or local Association, and

place his services at its disposal, so that the work may be accomplished methodically and without unnecessary duplication of effort.

In States where no such association exists, it must, of course, rest with the individual brewer himself to put forth every effort, through such channels as may be at his command, to obtain as many signatures to these protests as possible and forward these signatures to the respective Congressmen from the districts in which they are obtained, and to the two Senators from the State at large.

It will be of interest to you to know that since December 15, when I issued the first appeal to send letters, resolutions, and petitions to Congress, nearly one thousand such petitions have been presented and recorded in the Congressional record against less than 200 such petitions from those who favor prohibition, and this in addition to hundreds of thousands of letters and telegrams which have reached the individual Congressmen from liberal constituents in their respective districts, and are now in many cases being collected and tabulated, for presentation to the Congress.

Kindly held in this work to the utmost of your power, and thereby help your own interest.

Yours very truly,

PERCY ANDREAE.

EXHIBIT No. 1089.

APR. 4, 1914.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE & LABOR,
3357 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: Please send us discount stamps of the following denominations:

10 stamps of $20.00	$200.00
30 stamps of $10.00	300.00
60 stamps of $5.00	300.00
50 stamps of $2.00	100.00
100 stamps of $1.00	100.00
200 stamps of $0.50	100.00
200 stamps of $0.25	50.00
250 stamps of $0.10	25.00
500 stamps of $0.05	25.00
Total	$1,200.00

for which amount please debit our account.

We agree to remit to the National Ass'n. of Commerce & Labor every month the equivalent of such stamps as have been used in our business or return all uncancelled stamps, for which in both cases our account is to be credited accordingly.

GALVESTON BREWING CO.,
(Signed) L. A. STEIN.

EXHIBIT No. 1090.

APRIL 7, 1914.

N. PRINCE, AMERICAN BREWING ASSN.,
Houston, Texas.

DEAR SIR: We are mailing you today, under separate cover, a number of discount stamps of the National Association of Commerce and Labor in accordance with your requisition under date of ———.

So that there may be no misunderstanding of the circumstances under which these stamps are supplied, I beg to call to your attention the following resolution passed by the Executive Board of the National Association of Commerce and Labor on December 8, 1913, to wit:

"That the Assessment of the members of said Association be fixed at one per cent. of the total amount of goods sold by them to the brewing trade and that the brewers buying said goods be requested to collect such assessment in the following manner.

"The brewers, (1) to deduct one per cent. from each bill presented to them by members of the Association voluntarily agreeing to such deduction: (2) to

affix to such bills discount stamps for an amount corresponding with the amount of the discount deducted such stamps to be supplied to the brewers by the National Association of Commerce and Labor."

You will please bear in mind, therefore that the discount represented by these stamps can only be deducted from the bills of members of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, *who have agreed to such deduction*, and that it is their voluntary contribution towards the Anti-prohibition fund of that Association, not an assessment which the brewer is imposing, or has a right to impose upon those from whom he purchased goods.

Very truly yours,

NAT. ASSN. OF COMMERCE & LABOR.
Per B.

EXHIBIT No. 1091.

Confidential.

U. S. BREWERS' ASSN.,
New York City, April 8, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers Association.

DEAR SIRS: Toward the end of February, the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company notified all of its employes throughout the country that they must withdraw from fraternal organizations and clubs which maintained sidebars or cease work in the company's plants. They were also prohibited from indorsing liquor license applications.

These orders are so obvious an interference with personal liberty and such so improper a condition in fraternal clubhouses, that the matter was promptly brought to the attention of the Elks, Eagles, Owls and others. They are now taking action—in a large way—that should produce results.

The latest issue of The Eastern Elk prints an editorial questioning the right of the employer to dictate to the employe as to what he shall or shall not believe; as to how he shall vote, and, as a future possibility, as to what church he may belong to. "Easy it is," the editorial says, "if the man submitted to this dictation, for the tin plate company to extend its 'Thou shall nots' until these employees lost all their rights and liberties for the privilege of slaving away their lives, making sheet steel, or tinning for the stockholder of the company. Have not these men the right to enjoy their clubs as do their employers?"

The Eagles of Kansas City have passed a resolution which declares the action of the Tin Plate Company is an interference with individual liberty, and is an aspersion on the integrity, loyalty and citizenship of the men concerned, even though they may be total abstainers or of temperate habits. They urge all their members, and members of other fraternal bodies, to join in vigorous protest against this unjust order. Copies of this resolution are being sent to twenty-two hundred branches of the Eagles, and they expect unanimous action.

It may be of interest to you to take this matter up in your locality. We shall be glad to assist you in any way possible.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASS'N,
By HERBERT S. STONE,
Manager Publicity Department.

EXHIBIT No. 1092.

MR. H. PRINCE, *Houston, Texas.*

MY DEAR MR. PRINCE: I have your letter of the 14th instant inclosing your personal check for $50.00 as a contribution to the McLemore Campaign fund.

Please accept the thanks of both Mr. McLemore and myself for this generous contribution, together with your expression of good wishes for our mutual friend's success in the coming July primaries.

Very truly yours,

Q. U. WATSON.

QUW/H

April Fifteenth, Nineteen Fourteen.

EXHIBIT No. 1093.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York City April 14, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: I send you herewith copy of a poster which we have printed in large quantities, and are distributing through the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association throughout the country.

The facts presented are so interesting that I take the liberty of bringing the matter to your attention.

Yours very truly,

HERBERT S. STONE,
Manager Publicity Dept.

EXHIBIT No. 1094.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York City, April 14, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: Herewith we hand you the following new leaflets:

Cardinal Gibbons on Prohibition; Dr. Lyman Abbott on Temperance; Bishop Boy Vincent of Ohio on Indulgence; Rabbi Mendel Silber on The Prohibition Peril; Rev. Bruno Howe on The Eleventh Commandment; Rev. Washington Gladden on Hurricane Reform; True Temperance by the Nestor of the Woman Suffrage Movement; Alcoholic Beverages from "American Medicine"; Prohibition's Plan Means Home Stills; The Drug Habit Menace in the South, by Dr. E. H. Williams; American Liberty in Danger, by Julge Cullen; A Few Facts about Kansas, by I. T. Martin; Danish Beer and Continental Beer Gardens, by Dr. Max Henius.

These pamphlets cover many phases of the questions confronting us in the various States. Effectively distributed, they should be of material help in an educational campaign. We shall be glad to supply them in quantities to our members and to the State Brewers Associations.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1095.

APRIL 27, 1914.

EOLZ-MCBRIDGE COOPERAGE CO.,
St. Louis, Mo.

GENTLEMEN: In forwarding to you our check in settlement of attached invoice, less the amount of one per cent represented by discount stamps of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, we desire to explain that these stamps, purchased by us from said Association, represent the contribution which members of the Association have offered to make towards the educational campaign now being carried on by it against nation-wide prohibition.

We have been asked to aid in the collection of this contribution by deducting one per cent from the invoices of all members of trades and industries allied with our own, who, realizing that their interests and ours in this campaign are identical, have consented to the same, and it is with the understanding that you are one of these that we have deducted said discount from your invoice.

In case this understanding is erroneous, and you are neither a member, through a local Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association, of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, nor interested in contributing to its funds, we shall, upon receipt of advice from you to this effect, remit to you the amount of discount deducted, with due apologies for our error.

Yours truly,

LONE STAR BREWING CO.,
H. BRUHN, *Manager.*

EXHIBIT No. 1096.

APRIL 27, 1

FULTON BAG & COTTON MILLS,
New Orleans, La.

GENTLEMEN: In forwarding to you our check in settlement of attac voice, less the amount of one percent represented by discount stamps National Association of Commerce and Labor, we desire to explain tha stamps, purchased by us from said Association, represent the contri which members of the Association have offered to make towards the tional campaign now being carried on by it against nation-wide prohibition

We have been asked to aid in the collection of this contribution by de one per cent from the invoices of all members of trades and industries with our own, who, realizing that their interests and ours in this ca are identical, have consented to the same and it is with the unders that you are one of these that we have deducted said discount fro invoice.

In case this understanding is erroneous, and you are neither a m through a local Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association of the Nationa ciation of Commerce and Labor nor interested in contributing to its fu shall, upon receipt of advice from you to this effect, remit to you the a of discount deducted, with due apologies for our error.

Yours truly,

LONE STAR BREWIN
H. BRUHN, *Manage*

EXHIBIT No. 1097.

APRIL 28, 19

LOUISVILLE DRYING MACHINERY CO.,
Louisville, Ky.

GENTLEMEN: Yours of 21st received, and in accordance with the te contract between us we are enclosing you herewith Exchange No. 1043 the National City Bank of New York, for $2250.00, covering first paym Grains Dryer.

Kindly mail us receipt to cover, and oblige,

Very truly yours,

GALVESTON BREWING CO.
Per I. A. STEIN,
Secy. & Genl. Mana

Enc. — 1.

P. S. Please advise us if you are members of the National Associa Commerce & Labor and if we may deduct from the last payment due yo of the total amount of your bill, which members of that Association are tributing toward the anti-prohibition defense fund.

EXHIBIT No. 1098.

[Night letter.]

Received at 501 Main St. Ft. Worth, Phone Lamar 4321, New.

CHICAGO ILLS. *May 5* 19

33DAK 73NL
File 522

ZANE CETTI,
President Texas Brewing Co., Fort Worth, Tex.

Hobson resolution providing nation wide prohibition reported to Hous committee this morning and may come to a vote immediately. Imperativ you prevail upon all friends possible to send letters and telegrams immedi to Members from your district protesting against passage. Also hasten pe petitions now in circulation to Members of Congress. Act without a mo delay and devote all your time to this matter for your entire existence dep on it.

ANDRE

407 AM 6th.

EXHIBIT No. 1099.

MAY 7, 1914.

BOLZ-MRBRIDE COOPERAGE CO., *St. Louis Mo.*

GENTLEMEN: We are in receipt of your favor of the 4th inst., and are glad indeed to know that you are willing to contribute your share towards the National Association of Commerce and Labor, and we will take the liberty of deducting ½% instead of 1% of your future invoices.

Appreciating the spirit you are showing in this matter, we beg to remain, Gentlemen;

Yours truly

LONE STAR BREWING CO.
H. BRUHN, *Manager.*

EXHIBIT No. 1100.

MAY 15, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Assn.,

GENTLEMEN: We enclosed two leaflets which show the favorable action taken by the Chambers of Commerce in Los Angeles and Milwaukee. It would be well to call the attention of the important members of the principal Chambers of Commerce in manufacturing centers to the effect that national prohibition would have upon the business interests of the country. In this connection they should be shown the small leaflets on "Corporation Threatened with Increased Taxes." We can supply you as many copies of this literature as you can use effectively.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX.

EXHIBIT No. 1101.

LONE STAR BREWING CO.,
June 11, 1914.

ADRIANCE MACHINE WORKS,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: In forwarding to you our check in settlement of attached invoice, less the amount of the percent represented by discount stamps of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, we desire to explain that these stamps, purchased by us from said Association, represent the contribution which members of the Association have offered to make towards the educational campaign now being carried on by it against nation-wide prohibition.

We have been asked to aid in the collection of this contribution by deducting one per cent from the invoices of all members of trades and industries allied with our own, who, realizing that their interests and ours in this campaign are identical, have consented to the same, and it is with the understanding that you are one of these that we have deducted said discount from your invoice.

In case this understanding is erroneous, and you are neither a member, through a local Manufacturers' and Dealers' Association, of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, nor interested in contributing to its funds, we shall upon receipt of advice from you to this effect, remit to you the amount of discount deducted, with due apologies for our error.

Yours truly,

LONE STAR BREWING CO.
H. BRUHN, *Manager.*

EXHIBIT No. 1102.

JUNE 12, 1914.

AMERICAN BREWING CO., *Houston, Texas.*

GENTLEMEN: In view of the fact that there are over fifty thousand firms supplying the brewery trade, it is manifestly impossible to state with any degree of accuracy which of these firms belong, through subsidiary organizations, to the National Association of Commerce and Labor and have agreed to the assessment of that Association. It lies, therefore, largely with the brewer,

who has been asked by the Association to assist in collecting this assessment to ascertain this from those who supply him.

We may state, for your guidance, that many brewing firms have already deducted the one per cent from *all* invoices and accompanied their remittances with the enclosed letter of explanation. Since the result in this case has been that only in one or two isolated instances was there any objection raised to the deduction, the inference is permissible that the discount plan has been generally accepted.

Yours very truly,

NATIONAL ASSN. OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.
By E. T. BUSH.

EXHIBIT No. 1103.

In forwarding to you our check in settlement of attached invoice, less the amount of one per cent. represented by discount stamps of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, we desire to explain that these stamps purchased by us from said Association, represent the contribution which members of the Association have offered to make towards the educational campaign now being carried on by it against nationwide prohibition.

We have been asked to aid in the collection of this contribution by deducting one per cent. from the invoices of all members of trades and industries dealing with our own, who, realizing that their interests and ours in this campaign are identical, have consented to the same, and it is with the understanding that you are one of these that we have deducted said discount from your invoice.

In case this understanding is erroneous, and you are neither a member through a local Manufacturer's and Dealers' association, of the National Association of Commerce and Labor nor interested in contributing to its funds, we shall, upon receipt of advice from you to this effect, remit to you the amount of discount deducted with due apologies for our error.

EXHIBIT No. 1104.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

50 Union Square, New York, June 20th, 1914

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

RE GUARANTY AND SERIAL NUMBER.

The effective date of Food Inspection Decision No. 153, which abolishes the printing on the labels of the guaranty and serial number, has been postponed until May 1st, 1916, in order that manufacturers may have time to use stocks of labels they have already prepared; though it is optional with the manufacturer to comply with it immediately if he so desires.

RE NET WEIGHT AND VOLUME LAW.

The Secretary of the Committee on Regulations writes under date of June 2nd: "No decision has yet been reached regarding the marking of the quantity of the contents upon wooden packages of beer, although this matter is under consideration in conjunction with representatives of the Treasury Department."

The State of Massachusetts has just passed an Act to establish Tolerance in packages containing malt beverages, which provides that in barrels or fractional part of barrels a variation or tolerance of 6% shall be permitted. However, the Massachusetts Law provides that a barrel shall contain 31 gallons.

STATING THE QUANTITY ON THE BOTTLES.

The Regulation as to stating the quantity of the contents on the bottle, provides that "it shall be marked in terms of the largest unit contained in it

Lackage." We asked the committee on Regulations for a ruling as to whether a large bottle should be labeled "capacity twenty-four ounces," or "capacity one pint-eight ounces." The Committee informs us that the statement giving the capacity of the bottle as twenty-four ounces is not satisfactory, and that the quantity should be given in pints and fluid ounces.

REGISTRATION OF DESIGNS.

Upon proposals for a law to permit registration of designs in a more adequate way than the present law, which treats designs like patents, the Congressional House Committee on Patents has been holding rather extensive hearings. Copies of the testimony of these hearings, running to ten or more parts, can be obtained by addressing the Clerk of the Committee.

DECEITFUL DESIGNATION OF INTERSTATE SHIPMENTS.

In the United States District Court a New York wine dealer has been fined for mis-branding seven gallons of whiskey, shipped to "dry" territory in Vermont, by marking the boxes "groceries."

ADULTERATION.

The Department of Agriculture has prosecuted a number of shippers for the adulteration of cider.

The State Dairy and Food Commissioner of Utah has issued the following warning to all liquor dealers in that State: "The complaints frequently received by this department need no confirmation that liquor dealers engaged principally in the retail trade are guilty of gross carelessness in the bottling and labeling of liquors taken from the original containers. On display in many saloon windows and evidences of this fact, rums, brandies, cordials and whiskies are frequently mis-branded. No further warning will be given the trade, but prosecutions will immediately follow the issuance of this warning. All liquors taken from the original containers and bottled must be labeled precisely the same as the original containers."

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX.
Secretary.

Name of Member American Brewing Association,
Address Houston, Texas.
To The United States Brewers' Association, Dr.,

Members pay dues at the rate of 1¢ per barrel on all malt liquors sold (lager beer, ale and porter) from April 1, 1913 to March 31, 1914, as provided in the bylaws.

Members will please fill in, in the space provided below, the number of barrels sold during the period stated together with the amount remitted. Send this notice with check.

No. of Barrels sold during year ending March 31, 1914	Rate per barrel	Amount herewith Remitted	Remarks
86347½	1¢	863.47	First half of the voluntary 2¢ assessment dues 4/1/13 to 3/31/14
86347½	1¢	863.47	

Date September 17, 1914 Signed —— ——

EXHIBIT No. 1106.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

JULY 16, 1914.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: We are sending you a copy of the new book by Dr. Edward Huntington Williams,—The Question of Alcohol. This is most valuable, and

is eminently readable, and ought to be widely circulated. Fifteen thousand copies of it have already been sent to members of the American Medical Association in some 15,000 small cities and towns throughout the United States. It would be well if our members could put it in the hands of people of standing and influence in their localities. We commend it to your consideration.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 1107.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

JULY 31ST, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

The Bureau of Chemistry issued on July 17th, 1914, opinions regarding questions arising out of the Food & Drugs act, from which the following are quoted:

"The quantity of the contents must be stated in terms of the largest unit; for instance, 26 fluid ounces should be given as, 1 pint, 10 fluid ounces."

"It is not permissible to use one label at the same time for large and small bottles of liquids. Each size of bottle must be labelled with a plain statement of the quantity of its contents."

"A statement blown in the bottle would be satisfactory if plain and conspicuous, but such a statement should apply to the quantity of the contents and not to the capacity of the bottle."

"A statement of the contents upon the crown cork is not conspicuous, and does not comply with the regulations."

"Bottled-in-bond goods and bulk packages bearing internal-revenue brands are not exempt from requirements as to declaration of contents."

"In order to prevent unnecessary destruction of labels and cartons which were printed before the issuance of Food Inspection Decision 154, the department has decided that, prior to June 1, 1915, it will not recommend proceedings solely upon the charge that the statement of the quantity of the contents on a package, if otherwise satisfactory, is not in the terms of the largest unit in the package, provided that upon investigation it is found that the labels or cartons bearing such statements were printed prior to May 11, 1914, and plainly indicate an honest attempt to comply with the provisions of the law."

"The Department has never yet recommended a case relative to malt sprouts for prosecution unless the foreign material in the product amounted to 10 per cent, or more; though it is possible that further investigation will show that this limit of allowable foreign matter can be reduced."

Under date of July 23rd, we are advised by the Committee on Regulations, that no specific regulations have been issued regarding the marking of brewers' packages, further than the requirements of Food Inspection Decision 154.

Several brewers have been prosecuted and fined recently, for adulterating and misbranding their beer, because the label indicated that it was brewed of malt and hops, whereas the government showed that a cereal product had been substituted in part for malt. Such proceedings not only invite prosecution, but reflect upon, and, therefore, injure the brewing industry.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1108.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York.]

NEW YORK, *Aug. 4, 1914.*

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: We believe you will be interested in having a brief report of the recent activities of our Publication Committee.

Since the first of January we have printed 3,500,000 books, pamphlets and leaflets, which have been distributed through State and local brewing associations and through our own members, to a large body of readers. Our own indi-

vidual mailing lists include the newspapers, public libraries, universities and colleges, and a picked list of about 50,000 persons who are members of such organizations as the American Bar Association, American Medical Society and of various national bodies of economists, statisticians, social-welfare workers and other leaders of thought throughout the country.

In addition to this we have sent out 120,000 circular letters to our members, including our Monthly Bulletin and Legal Bulletin, and are continuing to send our Monthly Press letter to the newspapers.

We are now making new publicity plans on an extensive scale, which it is hoped will be most effective in the promotion of our educational campaign.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

On behalf of the Publication Committee: Adolph G. Hupfel, jr.; Henry A. Rueter; August Lindemann; William Peter, jr.; W. J. F. Piel.

EXHIBIT No. 1109.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

AUGUST 11, 1914.

To the Brewers of the United States.

GENTLEMEN: Our confidential letter of June 20th, regarding public positions held by brewers, has brought responses from some one hundred breweries, which indicate that a great many of our people are taking a most active and useful part in public affairs. The replies are so encouraging that we should like to make the report complete, so as to cover every city and state in the country.

If you have not yet replied will you kindly give this matter your attention at once, and oblige,

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1110.

[United States Brewers' Association, 50 Union Square, New York City.]

AUGUST 14, 1914.

MARKING BARRELS.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: The Secretary of the Committee on Regulation of the Net Weight Law Committee, representing the Secretaries of the Treasury, Argiculture and Commerce, informs us that barrels and kegs of beer should be labeled conspicuously with a statement of the quantity of the contents in gallons and fractions. His letter is as follows:

"Replying to your communication of August 10th, we note your statement that the distilling interests have advised their members, through their official publication, that in the absence of regulations, the revenue stamp is sufficient to designate the quantity of the contents. This opinion is not in accordance with the ruling of this department.

Replying to your further inquiry as to whether it is sufficient to let the internal revenue stamp indicate the contents of the barrel without affixing any other label, you are informed that in the opinion of this Department, barrels and kegs of beer should be labeled plainly and conspicuously with a statement of the quantity of the contents in gallons and fractions in conformance with regulation Food Inspection Decision 154."

At a meeting on the 12th inst., of the Lager Beer Brewers' Board of Trade of New York and vicinity, which was called for the purpose of adopting a uniform practice in marking cooperage, it was decided to label or brand the half barrels, "Contents not less than 14 gallons," and this plan will be followed generally by the brewers of New York and New Jersey.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

P. S. The Net Weight Law goes into effect on September 3rd, 1914.

96 EXHIBIT No. 1111.

AUG. 14, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Secretary U. S. Brewers' Association,
50 Union Square, New York City.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with your request of the 1st inst., we are enclosing you herewith, for educational work, Exchange #32949 for $516.28, on the National Bank of Commerce in New York, covering second installment of one cent per barrel on our sales during the year ending March 31, 1914.

Kindly acknowledge receipt, and oblige,

Yours very truly,

GALVESTON BREWING CO.,
(signed) A L G GRIFFITH.

Enc. 1

EXHIBIT No. 1112.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE,
New York City, August 17, 1914.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN:—This is to inform you that in response to the appeal made by President Wilson to the people of the United States for funds for the American Red Cross, to be expended impartially for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers of the nations at war, we have made a contribution of Five Thousand Dollars, on behalf of the members of the United States Brewers' Association.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1113.

This goes to a carefully selected list of one hundred brewers throughout the United States. Your attention is therefore *necessary!*

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE,
New York, August 28th, 1914.

Confidential.

One of the most telling arguments against nation-wide prohibition is the economic importance of the liquor industry, the destruction of which would cause an enormous loss to the whole country. In order to be able to state their argument clearly and in an unanswerable manner, a special inquiry is being undertaken by the United States Brewers' Association.

One of the difficult but exceedingly important points to be covered relates to the retail trade and its financial significance (the values represented by investment in fixtures and fittings, rentals of premises, cost of supplies other than liquors, amount of wages paid, etc.). Now the information needed is only obtainable through the co-operation of those directly interested in this retail trade. Recognizing its great importance, several brewers in New Jersey have collected the required facts in regard to retail places in that State which will serve in part as a basis for working out figures relating to the whole country. But the returns for New Jersey must be supplemented by similar ones for other places. We therefore earnestly seek your co-operation and are sending you, under separate cover, one hundred schedules, showing the information desired, hoping that you will seek to have them filled for at least one hundred retail places in your own city or State. We want at least two hundred sample schedules from cities of the first class, one hundred from cities of the second class and twenty-five to fifty from the representative cities of the third class.

Of course all information given will be regarded as wholly confidential. It is urged that the filling out of the schedules be undertaken at once and returned as soon as possible to the undersigned.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1114.

NEW YORK, *Sept. 30, 1914.*

HOUSTON ICE & BREWING CO.,
Houston, Texas.

DEAR SIRS: We have been requested to make a report of the exact barrelage of our members in each State separately, for the purpose of facilitating the Nominating Committee in giving fair representation to all the different geographical divisions of the country on the Board of Trustees.

As you have not paid your dues for 1914, we do not know what your barrelage is for the twelve months which ended March 31st, 1914. Will you kindly let us know this by return mail, in order that we may complete our report?

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

Total Barrelage ———

EXHIBIT No. 1115.

OCT. 23RD, '14.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: On the 14th of September, '14, I sent you telegram, confirmed by letter (copy of letter herewith) and will state that I received no acknowledgment of either.

My good friend, Mr. Slayden, informs me that your representative never called, and I am at a loss to understand this, for had he done so, he would have had the pleasure of meeting not only a very fine gentleman, but as good a friend and as strong a supporter, as our affairs have in the House. I think that I can say without fear of contradiction that Hon. James L. Slayden has as much to do with confining the additional tax to 50 cts. per barrel, if not more so, than than any member of Congress. I surely regret that he was not accorded the courtesy suggested.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

EXHIBIT No. 1116.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 Union Square, New York City, November 12, 1914.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association:

GENTLEMEN: This is to call your special attention to the article entitled "Facts about Kansas on the Water Wagon" by the Hon. Royal E. Cabell, which appears in Leslie's Weekly of November 12th.

We believe that this article should be put before as many people as possible, and suggest that you send to Leslie's direct for as many copies as you can use, without delay.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1117.

DEC. 5, 1914.

Mr. HUGH F. FOX,
Sec'y. U. S. Brewers Ass'n 50 Union Sqr., New York City.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with your request of the 1st inst., we are enclosing you herewith, for educational work, Exchange No. 34935 for $516.28, on the National Bank of Commerce in New York, covering third installment of one cent per barrel on our sales during the year ending March 31, 1914.

Kindly acknowledge receipt, and oblige,

GALVESTON BREWING CO.,
A. L. G. GRIFFITH, *Cashier.*

Enc.—1.

EXHIBIT No. 1118.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY,
Washington, D. C., December 17, 1914.

Col. OTTO WAHRMUND,
San Antonio, Texas.

DEAR OTTO: I have just sent you a rather long day telegram advising you that in my opinion the most satisfactory way in which to defeat the proposed Hobson constitutional amendment is to defeat the special rule for its consideration which has been proposed by Bob Henry's committee. Without that rule the measure could not be considered in this Congress. If we can beat the rule it will be recognized as a defeat for the prohibition movement and will be unusually significant in that it will be the first step in the National prohibition program by a majority vote. We will beat the proposed amendment even if it comes to a vote because it takes a two thirds vote to have it adopted.

Let us suppose that the rule will be adopted by more than a majority vote and then we defeat the constitutional amendment which will require a two-thirds vote. What will then happen will be that the prohibitionists, headed by Hobson, will go to the country and say that a majority of Congress favored their proposition that under the constitutional rule requiring a two-thirds vote the amendment itself was defeated. It will equip them with a very strong argument before the country, and in my judgment, it is the part of wisdom and prudence to prevent the development of any such situation.

I was amazed to learn today that many anti-prohibition Members representing great brewing centers like Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, New York and Boston expected to vote for the rule and then vote against the amendment itself. That is why I took the liberty of wiring you as I did. Such a vote would be a grave mistake.

I think if you will confer with Galley Newton or any of your other friends you will find that they will agree with me that it would be unwise to let the enemy get possession of even our outer lines of defense.

My opinion is that if strong telegrams are immediately sent from distilling and brewing associations to the various centers named in my telegram and they in turn will communicate with their Members we can defeat the rule. All this for your earnest and early consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES L. SLAYDEN.

EXHIBIT No. 1119.

DEC. 18TH, 1914.

AUGUST A. BUSCH,
President, Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n, St. Louis, Mo.

My friend Mr. Slayden, Member of Congress, wires me as follows:

"The best tactics now possible to defeat the Hobson resolution and later efforts in the same line, is to defeat the rule under which it is proposed to consider it. This can be done if Missouri, Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts Anti members will vote against it. Am advised that some of the Brewing and Distilling interests want a vote on the resolution itself. I think that would be a tactical blunder, and advise that the special rule for consideration of the proposed constitutional amendment be fought and defeated."

Will you kindly take matter up with Washington correspondent of United States Brewers Association. Ans.

OTTO WAHRMUND.

Paid, Day Letter.

EXHIBIT 1120.

DEC. 20TH, '14.

Hon. JAMES L. SLAYDEN,
Washington, D. C.

FRIEND SLAYDEN: I am just in receipt of your favor of the 17th inst., and I really should have acknowledged receipt of your day telegram yesterday, but I was not feeling very well and got mixed up with my masseur.

I certainly appreciated advice and suggestions, and I fully agree with you that it is the proper way to proceed,—i. e. to defeat the special rule for consideration of the Hobson amendment, and with that object in view, I immediately wired Mr. August A. Busch, President of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association (Mr. Faust being no longer connected in an official capacity) suggesting that he take matter up with Washington correspondent and the United States Brewers Association in order to get our people into line agreeable your suggestions covering plan of action.

I received wire reply from Mr. Busch, who is in accord with our views, and I think that everything will turn out all right, at least I hope so. That you are right in your views, I think, will not admit of argument. If the rule was adopted, even though we defeated the amendment later, it would give the Pros. just that much prestige, and we must strike at the rest of the evil so to speak.

I certainly feel grateful to you, and remain with sincere regards,

Very truly yours,

_____.

EXHIBIT No. 1121.

FEBRUARY 20, 1915.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: The recent convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America was of such national importance that I am instructed, by a resolution of our Board of Trustees, to send you the February issue of the "Nation's Business," which contains the proceedings.

At the request of the Chamber, all its constituent organizations are requested to appoint committees to cooperate with the Federal Trade Commission. By resolution of our Trustees, the President has appointed our Counsellor, Mr. L. B. Schram, and our delegates; Messrs. C. W. Feigenspan, Gustave Pabst, Hugh F. Fox as the committee to represent the United States Brewers' Association.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBITS NOS. 1122–1123.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY,
March 12th, 1915.

Confidential.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

GENTLEMEN: At a meeting of the Board of Trustees held on the 11th of February, a resolution was adopted endorsing the National Association of Commerce and Labor's plan of raising funds for the maintenance of its educational work, by means of special stamps to be used by mutual agreement between the brewers and those from whom they purchase goods. It must be clearly understood that the operation of this plan is conditional upon the voluntary consent of the merchant or manufacturer with whom the brewer does business, and that it must be a matter of mutual understanding. The particulars may be obtained by applying to

The National Association of Commerce & Labor,
1132 Transportation Building,
Chicago, Illinois.

Our Board of Trustees recommends that these stamps shall be affixed by the merchants and manufacturers to their bills, but that it should be the duty of the brewers to see that this is done.

The National Association of Commerce and Labor will now take this matter up with the various State and Local Brewers' Associations, as well as with individual brewers, in their own way. We trust that you will give it your prompt consideration, and request you co-operation.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1124.

MARCH 18, 191[illegible]

U. S. BREWERS' ASS'N.,
50 Union Square, New York City.

GENTLEMEN: In January last, the State of Texas, through her Attorney General, instituted suit against this company for forfeiture of charter, together with penalties aggregating $3,000,000.

This suit, of course, operates as a lien against the property of the company and the Attorney General, after being consulted by our attorneys, declines to permit any further contributions by us to the U. S. Brewers' Association. We for that reason we regret to advise that we will be obliged to discontinue [illegible]

Yours very truly,

GALVESTON BREWING CO.,
Per I. A. STEIN,
Sec'y & Genl. M[illegible]

EXHIBITS NOS. 1125–1126.

MARCH 25TH, 191[illegible]

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association,

GENTLEMEN: This is to advise you that the Interstate Commerce Commission has suspended Supplement No. 9 to Official Classification No. 2, until July 1st as far as the rates on beer are concerned. This covers the proposed increase in freight rates on beer and empties.

A hearing will be ordered by the Interstate Commerce Commission to consider whether the proposed advances are reasonable, and it will depend upon the outcome of the hearing whether the advanced rates will be permanently suspended or not. The date of the hearing has not been set yet.

Yours very truly,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

On behalf of the Tarnsportation Committee:
EBERHARD ANHEUSER, *Chairman,*
WILLIAM J. LEMP,
J. GEORGE JUNG
WILLIAM UIHLEIN
G. M. DAUSSMAN

EXHIBIT No. 1127.

NEW YORK, *April 9, 1915.*

Mr. R. L. AUTREY,
Houston Ice & Brewing Co., Houston, Texas.

DEAR SIR: It is proposed that the first meeting of the Interstate Conference Committee be held at our headquarters in New York on Friday, June 25th at 10 A. M.

It is assumed that by this time all the legislatures will have adjourned, and that we shall be in a position to gauge the whole situation fairly. It is important that there should be a full attendance at the meeting. Will you kindly let me know if you will be present?

We shall be glad to have your suggestions in due course as to the program that is to be followed.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 1128.

UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION,
50 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY,
April 16th, 1915.

To the Members of the United States Brewers' Association.

DEAR SIRS: It is a matter of great importance that we should know at the earliest possible moment what the total barrelage of our membership is for the twelve months which ended March 31st, 1915, and I am instructed to ask if you will fill in the enclosed slip accordingly and return it without delay.

The general industrial conditions have caused a considerable decrease in the beer sales, and some of our members have lost a good deal of trade through the extension of "dry" territory. We cannot, therefore, make up our budget intelligently for the coming year without knowing just what our membership barrelage consists of.

In order to insure a prompt reply, we are enclosing a stamped envelope.

Very truly yours,

HUGH F. FOX, *Secretary.*

(The following survey of the German population in southern Illinois, by counties, is submitted as a sample of this character of survey work conducted by the National Association of Commerce and Labor; and, by order of the committee, is here printed in full in the record:)

EXHIBIT No. 1035.

ADAMS.

German Population: 40% of city and county population. Over 60% German & German-American combined.
(Population of Quincy, County Seat, 36,587—1910.)
(Population of County, 64,588—1910.)
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
August R. Dick, Dick Brewing Co., Quincy.
Emil Krietemeyer, Quincy.
Ed. Shon, Retired Merchant & Banker, Quincy.
Aug. Heidebreder, Druggist, Quincy.
Fred Wolf.
Henry Hornmann (With German Newspaper).
Theo Pate.
Henry Steinhamp.
Theo. Glindeman, City Comptroller.
F. C. Klene, Publisher of the "Germania" newspaper. All above located at Quincy, and are all *Wet.*
German Newspaper: Quincy Germania, 112 North 7th St., Circ. 1500. Anti.
Quincy Turn Verein, 926 Hampshire Street, Quincy.
Membership—150.
Pres. Oscar Keller.
V-Pres. Harvey Allen.
Sec. Albert Ursel.
Treas. Roy Keller.

ALEXANDER.

German Population: About 1,000.
German American Alliance: None.
Prominent Germans:
H. Schuh, Cairo.
Peter Day, Cairo.
E. Bucher, Cairo.
J. Roeth, Cairo.
Joe Bucher, Cairo.
J. Lattner, Cairo.
Phil. Lahning, Cairo.
No German Newspapers in County.
German Societies:
Cairo Mannerchor, membership 15.
Pres. E. Bucher.
Secy. Emil Thallmiller.

BOONE.

German Population: 3,500.
German American Alliance: None.

Prominent Germans:
John Krieger, Belvidere.
E. J. Haack, Belvidere.
F. G. Barr, Belvidere.
A. J. Schoefer, Belvidere.
Chas. Johanson, Belvidere.
No German Newspapers in County.

BUREAU.

German Population: About 800.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Charles Bansbauga, DePue.
Ernst Gunther, DePue, Mayor and Pres. of Council.
John Hersak, DePue.
Augustus Baush, DePue.
Jacob Fereren, DePue.
Stephen Nowa, DePue.
Chas. Faber, Clarion.
Geo. D. Bauer, LaMaille.
Geo. H. Steinberg, LaMaille.
Fred Grosch, LaMaille.
No German newspapers in County.

BOND.

German Population: 2,500.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Frank Sewall, Greenville, Dem. Soc. Anti.
Sam Miller, Greenville, Dem. Anti.
Adolph Wirz, Greenville, Dem. Anti.
John Tischhauser, Baden, Rep. Anti.
H. H. Mull, Mulberry Grove, Rep. Pro.
W. F. Rizman, Tamalco, Rep. Anti.
Fritz Nohlken, Tamalco, Rep. Anti.
Jule Myer, Tamalco, Rep. Anti.
Louis Birkenstock, Tamalco, Rep. Anti.
Albert Justi, Pocohontas, Rep. Anti.
Michael Schwendermann, Shoal Creek, Dem. Anti.
Fred Potthast, Greenville, Dem. Anti.
John Jansen, Greenville, Dem. Anti.
Henry Sirver, Greenville, Rep. Anti.
No German Newspapers.

BROWN.

German Population: 1,000.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Theodore Hagel, Mt. Sterling.
Frank Hagel, Mt. Sterling.
Henry Stark, Mt. Sterling.
Evert Schonen, Mt. Sterling.
V. J. Young, Mt. Sterling.
All liberal.
No German Newspapers.

CALHOUN.

German Population: 3,500.
No German-American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Herman Hanneken, Brussels. Wet.
John Knese, Hardin. Wet.
Edw. Heidenreich, Kampsville. Wet.
Peter Traufler, Michels. Wet.
Adam Roth, Michels. Wet.
No German Newspaper.

CARROLL.

German Population: 12% of county. (Population of county—18,035.)
No G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
M. C. Radke, Savannah.
Herman Lartz, Savannah.
Henry Zelenke, Savannah.
Wm. Henize, Mount Carroll.
Henry Egerene, Mount Carroll.
A. A. Stranch, Chadwick.
Geo. Stein, Chadwick.
Geo. Lang, Chadwick.
No German Newspapers.

CASS.

German Population: 40% of the county are German. (Pop. of county—17,372.)
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Albert Krohe, Beardstown. Wet.
H. J. M. Ruple, Beardstown. Wet.
Geo. Schweer, Beardstown. Wet.
Geo. Trussell, Bluff Springs. Wet.
No German Newspapers.

CHAMPAIGN.

German Population: 10,000.
No G–A alliance.
Prominent Germans:
H. Akcerman, St. Joseph.
H. Bussboom, St. Joseph.
Amos Elliott, St. Joseph.
H. H. Behmes, Royal.
G. Buhs, Royal.
John Duitsman, Ogden.
John Frenchs, Gifford.
L. Osterbur, Royal.
No German newspapers in County. Germans get their papers from Milwaukee and Chicago.
Most of the Germans are Catholic, although there are some Lutherans.

CHRISTIAN.

German Population: About 100 families within a radius of five miles from Taylorville. At Taylorville the German population is estimated at 8% of the entire population (Pop. of Taylorville 5446)
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Aug. Reher, Pana.
Wm. Maisch, Pana.
Louie Jehle, Pana.
Louis Johnson, Morrisonville.
Rev. Frederick Doctor, Taylorville.
Geo. Kramer, Taylorville.
Saengerverein at Pana, Henry Secrist, Secretary.
(Meetings are held on Friday evening, and lately women have been in attendance, and little talks urging them to come and vote have been made.)
No German Newspapers.

CLARK.

German Population: About 1,500.
No. G-A Alliance.

Prominent Germans:
Wm. G. Hollenbeck, Representative, Marshall.
O. O. Gauberneck, Farmer, Marshall.
John Hawker, Farmer, Marshall.
J. Hombrook, Lumber Dealer, Westfield.
No German Newspapers published in the County.

CLAY.

German Population: 1,200.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
P. W. Smith, Louisville.
Geo. Hinterscher, Noble.
Joe Suess, Noble.
Casper Dueker, Bible Grove.
Wm. Landweher, Bible Grove.
Chas. Schroeder, Louisville.
John Kerr, Louisville.
R. A. Ewen, Flora.
No German Newspapers published in the county.

CLINTON.

German Population: 60% of Clinton are Germans.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Otto Koch, Breese, Ill.
Ferd. Krebs, Breese.
Fred Brunt, Breese.
Henry Hummert, Breese.
Aug. Gruntz, Breese.
Aug. Vogelsang, Breese.
L. Osterwich, New Memphis, Ill.
Wm. Kueper, Jr., Carlyle.
Geo. Wickman, Carlyle.
A. Westerman, Carlyle.
H. W. Roberts, Carlyle.
Fred Schlafley, Carlyle.
J. D. Diepenbrock, Carlyle.
Leo Deters, Carlyle.
H. I. Halliman, Carlyle.
J. B. Muller, Carlyle.
The Zouren, Carlyle.
Wm. Bartelmeier, Shattuck.
Louis Jansen, Bartelso.
Gus Bockmeyer, Bockmeyer.
H. H. Bockmeyer, Bockmeyer.
J. T. Wellington, Germantown.
Frank Schrago, St. Rose, R. F. D.
No German newspapers in county.

COLES.

German Population: About 50 families in Lafayette, Charleston, and Humboldt townships.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Mattoon:
Valentine Schlicker.
John Mayer.
Wm. Daly.
Hans Hendricks.
E. Homans, R. F. D.
W. F. Weisenman, R. F. D.
H. Mohelnhoff, R. F. D.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Charleston:
Jacob Ernst.
Henry Gaiser.
Alex. Richter, Ex-Mayor.
John Wenz.
Geo. Gehrgert.
Prof. E. G. Koch.
Joe Sherer.
Humboldt, R. F. D.:
Fred Mohlenhoff.
H. Niehmyer.
Wm. Knollenburg.
No German Newspapers published in the county.

CUMBERLAND.

German population: About 500.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Philip Meyers, County Clerk, Toledo.
Adam Sehl, Farmer, Segel.
Frank Moyer, Farmer, Segel.
Philip Stuckey, Farmer, Segel.
Fred Wento, Farmer, Segel.
Henry Sumgler, Farmer, Segel.

CRAWFORD.

German population: About 150 families scattered throughout the county.
No German-American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
C. V. Coulter, County Clerk, Robinson.
W. A. Beam, Hardware, Robinson.
O. G. Oliver, Shoe Dealer, Robinson.

DEKALB.

German Population: 600.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
F. M. Schmidt, Hinkley.
G. W. Bastian, Hinkley.
J. H. Bander. Hinkley.
A. G. Schultz, Waterman.

DU PAGE.

German population: Nearly half of the county are Germans, or of German extraction. Population of County—33,432.
Prominent Germans:
J. H. Hattendorf, Rosello.
Otto W. Belgemann, Elmhurst.
Wm. Hammerschmidt, Lombard.
Edw. Ehlers, Bensenville.
C. F. Haseman, Bloomingdale.

DEWITT.

German Population: About 10% of population. (Population of Dewitt Co., 18,906.)
Prominent Germans:
Jacob Zeigler, Clinton.
H. B. Lundh, Clinton.
Fred Zeigler, Clinton.
Frank Zeigler, Clinton.
Louis Freudenstein, Clinton.
J. H. Schmidt, Clinton.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Jos Freudenstein, Clinton.
Edw. Freudenstein, Clinton.
Jacob Gates, Clinton.
Fred Laugenbacher, Clinton.
Henry Bloome, Clinton.
Jas. Schaffer, Waynesville.

DOUGLAS.

German Population: 3,000.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Chris Ritz, Farmer, Garrett.
H. H. Harder, Farmer, Garrett.
C. Kruse, Farmer, Tuscola.
J. Von Lanken, Farmer, Tuscola.
F. C. Abelek, Farmer, Vella Grove.
M. Clements, Farmer, Vella Grove.

EDGAR.

German Population: 1,000.
Prominent Germans:
Albert Waller, Paris.
Ernest Lahm, Paris.
Wm. Luther, Paris.
C. F. Lutz, Paris.
John Lutz, Paris.

EDWARDS.

German Population: 3,000.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Ernest Seigert, Grayville.
Ernit Seigert, Grayville.
Theodore Seigert, Grayville.
John A. Schrader, Browns.
Wm. Busefink, W. Salem.
G. Walser, W. Salem.
G. Schwarzlose, W. Salem.
Geo. Eimers, Albion.
W. A. Shock, Albion.
Louis Yokel, Albion.

EFFINGHAM.

German Population: 60% are German. Population of county—20,055.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
August Martin, R. F. D. 1, Effingham.
Charles Martin, R. F. D. 1, Effingham.
Henry Genaust, R. F. D. 1, Effingham.
A. G. Jansen, R. F. D. 3, Dieterich.
W. H. Dust, R. F. D. 3, Dieterich.
Geo. Overbeck, Dieterich.
Aug. Angelbarts, Dieterich.
Wm. Voelker, St. James.
Joe. Quatman, Altamont.
Otto Brower, R. F. D. 1, Altamont.
John Genaust, R. F. D. 1, Watson.
L. G. Ziegler, R. F. D. 2, Effingham.
Geo. K. Meyer, R. F. D. 3, Effingham.
Barney Nuxoll, R. F. D. 3, Effingham.
Barney Niebrugge, R. F. D. 3, Effingham.
John C. Rieman, R. F. D. 1, Teutopolis.
Frank Willenborg, R. F. D. 1, Teutopolis.
John L. Rundo, R. F. D. 1, Teutopolis.
Albert Gravenhorst, Editor, Volksblatt, Effingham.

German Newspapers: Effingham Volksblatt. Circulation 900 (Weekly), Albert Gravenhorst, Editor, Effingham.

FAYETTE.

German Population: About 4,000.
Prominent Germans:
John F. Kruse, St. Peter.
Adolph Ambuehl, St. Peter.
Louie Thille, Ramsey.
Herman Schmidt, Farina.
Fred Emmel, Sr., Vandalia.
Chas F. Emmel, Jr., Vandalia.
Geo. A. Dieckman, Vandalia.
Ed. Dieckman, Vandalia.
Amiel Stamm, Vandalia.
Wm. Gerks, Vandalia.
Nicholas Kramer, Vandalia.
Jacob Ehrat, Vandalia.
John Metzger, Vandalia.
S. B. Stout, Vandalia.
C. S. Stout, Vandalia.
F. D. Stout, Vandalia.
Jas. Bennyhoff, Vandalia.
Herman Meyer, Vandalia.
Ed. Meyer, Vandalia.
Frank Meyer, Vandalia.
Wm. Simma, Vandalia.
Fred Simma, Vandalia.
Fred Smith, Vandalia.
Charles Hausmann, Vandalia.

FORD.

German Population: 1,000.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
C. S. Schneider, Paxton.
Aug. Opperman, Piper City.
John Iohl, Malvin.
P. Brethorst, Sibley.
Chas. Kurchenfaut, Gibson City.

FRANKLIN.

German Population: 300.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Wm. Werner, Benton.
D. Spain, Benton.
H. Duppe, Benton.
W. Reumler, Benton.
W. Hullwig, Benton.
Wm. Weber, Benton.
Jake Werner Christopher.
Chas. Pflanz, Royalton.
W. J. Werner, Benton.

FULTON.

German Population: About 10%. Pop. of County—49,600.
Prominent Germans:
Jos. Strickler, Canton.
Jacob Miller, Canton.
Chas. Schwab, Canton.
Carl Rose, Canton.
Gus Miller, Canton.
A. L. Roth, Canton.
Wm. Hoke, Canton.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
W. H. Henry, Canton.
Henry Fingle, Canton.
Gus Popenhager, Ipava.
Thos Wickard, Ipava.
Nick Weber, Ipava.
Harmon Weber, Ipava.
Fred Hoffman, Lewistown.
Tom Seidell, Lewistown.
Jacob Singley, Lewistown.
Louis Kausmaugh, Cuba.
Robt. Zempel, Lewistown.

GALLATIN.

German Population: About 1,000.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Chas. Stein, Equality.
Tony Lohman, Shawneetown.
Joseph Gable, Shawneetown.
H. J. Fox, Shawneetown.
L. W. Goetzman, Shawneetown.
John Goetzman, Shawneetown.
Joseph Goetzman, Shawneetown.
Jacob Schiff, Ridgeway.

GREENE.

German Population: About 6,000.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans: Carrollton, Illinois—
Peter J. Achenbach.
Herman Geers.
Barney Meyers.
Chas. Fischer.
P. A. Daun.
Chris Daun.
Henry Schafer.
J. H. Pranger.
Julius Schumann.
W. H. Sieverling.
Geo. Keiper.
B. A. Pranger.
J. A. Hensler.
Geo. Baltz.
Adam Gimmy.
Nick Kirbach.
Henry Lake.
J. L. Osterman.
Schnelton Bros.
Joseph Kaiser.
John Henson.

GRUNDY.

German Population: 1,500.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
John Ray, Morris.
Wm. Bibheart, Morris.
H. Bann, Morris.
Edg. Woelfel, Morris.

HAMILTON.

German Population: 500.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Lewis Eswine, Dahlgren.
J. L. Anselmont, Dahlgren.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
L. A. Karcher, Dahlgren.
Wm. Acks, Dahlgren.
Peter Schneider, Dahlgren.
G. M. Schoemann, Dahlgren.

HARDIN.

German Population: About 300.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
C. B. Humm, Elizabethtown.
Anton Volkert, Elizabethtown.
Wm. Volkert, Elizabethtown.
Jacob Eichorn, Eichorn.
Geo. Herman, Eichorn.
Edw. Schneider, Cave-in-Rock.
Bass Shetler, Rosiclare.

HENDERSON.

German Population: 300.
Prominent Germans:
Adam Geompler, Oquawka.
Wm. Schlatshauer, Oquawka.
Gus Schlatshauer, Oquawka.
No Alliance.

HENRY.

German Population: 10% of county.
Prominent Germans:
Wm. Bauer, Kewanee.
Harm Seefield, Kewanee.
Wm. Gunther, Kewanee.
Louis Gunther, Kewanee.
Ed. Spigle, Kewanee.
Wm. Seefield, Kewanee.

IROQUOIS.

German Population: About 15%. Pop. of county—33,543.
Prominent Germans:
H. Wockner, Watseka.
L. Kuhn, Watseka.
Geo. Mueller, Watseka.
W. C. Volberding, Watseka.
E. H. Munsterman, Watseka.

JACKSON.

German population: 350 families.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Murphysboro:
H. Borgers.
J. Borgers.
Barney Borgers.
A. Hufnagel.
L. Klawar.
H. Borgenieller.
Ben Daniel.
Wm. Daniel.
R. Stecher.
J. Stoelcle.
H. Krauss.
A. Panthler.
Reed Morton.
Anton Wolf.
Joe Steiule.
W. F. Kull.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Murphysboro, R. F. D. #4:
Ben Arens.
Anton Young.
Sigmund Young.
Murphysboro, R. F. D. #5.
Matthias Weber.
Leonard Weber.
Joseph Weber.
Pelei Wagner.
Ed. Stein, Vergennes, Ill.

JASPER.

German Population: 3,500.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Gunga Bergbower, Newton.
A. P. Schifferstein, Newton.
F. J. C. Schackman, Newton.
John Weber, St. Marie.
John Staatman, St. Marie.
Frank Guthneck, St. Marie.
Thos. Dirmal, Wendelin.
Mich. Lustig, Wheeler.
Al. Spitzer, St. Marie.
Theo. Hartrick, St. Marie.

JEFFERSON.

German Population: About 200.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Adam Culli, Mt. Vernon.
Henry Weiner, Mt. Vernon.
Louis Hertenstein, Mt. Vernon.
Jake Liebingood, Mt. Vernon.
Charles Bertsch, Mt. Vernon.
Louie Roeder, Mt. Vernon.
Geo. Junker, Mt. Vernon.
Henry Johnson, Mt. Vernon.
Chas. Wetzel, Mt. Vernon.
Robt. Katner, Mt. Vernon.

JERSEY.

German population: About 2,500.
No G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans: Jerseyville:
F. J. Munsterman.
Geo. Englehoff, Sr.
Geo. Feyeraband.
Henry Feyeraband.
Henry Frazer, Sr. and Jr.
Philip Henryon.
Chas. Houseman.
Chas. Roher.
Carl Schneider.
Fred Schaeffer.
Wm. Tempe, Sr.
John Schneider, Sr.
Amer Tenzerburger.
John Bertman.
Frank Loellke.
John Kuebrich.
Henry Kramer.
Wm. Krotzsch.
C. F. Meyers.
K. Keller.
Chas. Englohoff, R. F. D.
Geo. Horn.
Jas. Henryon.

KANE.

German Population: About 28,000.
No Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Al. Schrader, Elgin, Ed. Germania Herald
Fred H. Ackerman, Elgin.
Wm. Grote, Elgin.
Wm. Richmann, Elgin.
Herman Berthold, Aurora.
Peter Kline, Aurora, Editor.
Jacob Marx, Aurora, Dem. Chairman
Mike Plain, Aurora.
Turners: 152.
(Elgin 52; Aurora, 100).
Elgin:
Pres. Frank Groeser.
Secy. Carl Nolte.
Aurora:
Pres. William Heiss.
Secy. Edw. Senft.
Germania Lodge #26—membership 96.
Pres. Joseph Clarizak.
Secy. Carl Duering.
German Newspapers:
Aurora Daily Volksfreund. Prog. Wet. Peter Kline, Editor. Circulation 2,500.
Germania Herald. Rep. Wet. Al Schrader, Editor.

KANKAKEE.

German Population: About 20% of population in county. (Population of county—40,752.)
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Henry Beckmann, Ex-Mayor. Now President Ill. Trust and Savings Bank.
John H. Becker, Attorney.
Walter C. Schneider, Attorney.
Albert Schneider, Secretary of the Building & Loan Asso.
J. G. Nett, Largest clothier in Kankakee.
Herman Kramer. C/o J. G. Nett & Co.
German Societies:
German Mannerchor at Kankakee.
(Officers not given.)

KENDALL.

German Population: 2,000.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Fred Bretthauer, Yorkville.
Wm. Freese, Yorkville.
Geo. Rhinegardt, Yorkville.
Ernest Kollman, Yorkville.
Gus Huth, Plano.
J. E. Boda, Plano.

LAKE.

German Population: About 3,000.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Theo. Durst, Waukegan, Banker.
Theo. Meyer, Waukegan, Merchant.
J. Lushner, Waukegan, Tailor.
Julien F. Bidinger, Waukegan, Mayor.
German Societies:
The German Workingmen's Association, Waukegan, 165 members.
Pres. Theo. Meyer.
Secy. Aug. Karmeworf.

LA SALLE.

German Population: 13,000.
Ottawa about 2,500.
Streator about 2,000.
Peru about 5,000.
La Salle about 1,500.
Turners Society:
Ottawa, 40.
Peru, 150.
Ottawa Turnverein:
Pres. Geo. Highland.
Secy. Geo. H. P. Fischer.
Prominent Germans:
Lewis W. Hess, Ex-Mayor, Ottawa.
Al. F. Schoch, V. P. Nat. City Bank, Ottawa.
Oscar Naeberle, Asst. Cash. 1st Nat. Bk., Ottawa.
Dr. R. Schurtz, Pres. Prog. Club, Streator.
C. Zwanzig, Ottawa.
T. T. Witte, Editor, Ottawa.
Herman Leis, Streator.
Chas. Werringer, Streator.
Joseph Kopf, Streator.
Jacob Koenig, Streator.
Rev. Paul Brauns, Peru.
John Goettner, Banker, Mendota.
Jacob Ruehl, Postmaster, Mendota.
Fred Henning, Mendota.
Theo Fisher, Mendota.
Misc. German Societies:
German Benevolent Society, Ottawa, 125 members.
Pres. Michael Helfrich.
Secy. Wm. Brookhouse.
German Benevolent Society, Streator, 125 members.
Pres. Fred Schefler.
Secy. Alvin Weber.
German Beneficial Union #250, 60 members.
Pres. Yaergel Mentz.
Secy. Carl Bohne.
Turn Gemeinde, Peru, 150 members.
Pres. Julius Krummeich.
Secy. Chas. Helwig.
Deutsch Lesseu Verein, 60 members.
Pres. Rev. Paul Brauns.
Secy. Henry Schuessler.
Germania Club, 55 members.
Pres. G. H. Eickhoff.
Secy. Wm. Beckermeyer.
German Newspapers:
Central Illinois Wochenblatt, Ottawa. Rep. Wet. 1,850 Circ. Editor. T. T. Witte.
La Salle County Herald, Rep. 1,000 Circ. Ottawa. Editor, C. Zwanzig.

LEE.

German Population: About 4,000.
No. G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
E. E. Fischer, Dixon.
Ernst Warnock, Dixon.
Geo. Aschenbreenner, Dixon.
Fred Fulsack, Dixon.
C. Aschenbrenner, Dixon.
John Melach, Sublette.
Frank Letle, Sublette.
Frank Oester, West Brooklin.
Frank Flach, Amboy.

LIVINGSTON.

German Population: About 1,000.
No. G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Rev. A. P. Lee, Pontiac.
Fred Frey, Waldo.
Geo. Goods, Flanagan.
Dr. C. W. Lehmar, Flanagan.
D. J. Augsburger, Flanagan.
C. L. Yoder, Flanagan.
D. Kalkwarf, Flanagan.
Henry Hummel, Strawn.
Henry Rudolph, Strawn.
Henry Ringler, Strawn.

LOGAN.

German Population: 12,000 to 14,000.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Jos. A. Tabke.
Meyer Greisheim.
John P. Keller.
Jacob Schwarz.
Emil Sexauer.
Peter Gamer, Hartsburg.
Marke Harris, Emden.
Henry Kromminger, Benton View.
Carl Groppe, Atlanta.
Rev. Barthel, German Zion Church, Lutheran.
Rev. Geo. Hofman, St. Johannes Church, Lutheran.
Geo. Schuster, German Immanuel Church, Lutheran.
Father J. E. Koppes, German St. Marien Gem. Catholic.
All of the Clergymen are liberal and are working with the liberal people in local fights.
German Newspaper: Volksblatt, Rundschau. German. 8,000 Circ. Emil Sexauer, Lincoln, Ill. Wet.

MACON.

German Population: 10,000.
German American Alliance, None.
German Societies:
Ther German Aid Society, 736, S. Broadway.
President, Geo. Moessner.
Secretary, Herman Lahme.
Membership 75 members.
St. James Aid Society (Catholic Church Society).
St. James Hall, E. Clay & Webster Sts.
Pres. Louis Scheurmann.
Secy. Theo. Brinkotter.
Turners—Membership 100.
Decatur Turnverein, 736 S. Broadway.
Prominent Germans:
Henry Schlie, 925 W. Wood St.
Henry Oehler, 648 W. Wood St.
Fred Kipp, 665 S. Webster St.
Ludwig Schuermann, 850 S. Webster St.
Joseph Schulte, 1474 N. College St.
William Laughfeldt, 962 S. Wood St.
Theo. Rademacher, 1020 E. Main St.
Ben F. Waggoner, 816 West Decatur St.
Arthur M. Waggoner, 230 E. Leafland St.
Charles J. Aschauer, 422 West Eldorado St.
Henry Meyer, 844 E. Lawrence St.
Frank Plumer, 156 South Main St.
Anthony Spaeth, 851 E. Cantrell St.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Geo. Moessner, 761 E. Leafland St.
Fred Mossner, 942 N. Union St.
Herman Lahme, 506 S. Webster St.
Fred Otille, 738 Lawrence St.
German Newspapers, None.

MACOUPIN.

German Population 15,000.
No German-American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Fred G. Oeltjen, Carlinville.
Wm. F. Bergdorff, Carlinville.
Chris. Seehausen, Carlinville.
Caspar Westermeyer, Carlinville.
Albert Mueller,, Carlinville.
Adam Hoch, Carlinville.
John Westemeyer, Carlinville.
Henry Leefers, Carlinville.
August Zehner, Palmyra.
H. A. Fisher, Staunton.
Otto Quade, Stanton.
Fred Voelkerl, Brighton.
Chas. Muhlenbeck, Virden.
Frank Kalb, Shipman.
Wm. Scheelger, Modesta.
Fred Winters, Nilwood.
John Ahrens, Gillespiek.
Geo. Drach, Girard.
Henry Bock, Girard.
Wm. Rathgeres, Girard.
H. A. Fisher, Staunton.
H. Salene, Staunton.
Ben Ackerman, Stauton.
M. Ashbacker, Staunton.
Henry Miller, Staunton.
Toney Schmidt, Staunton.
Ed. Schmidt, Staunton.
Henry Beinke, Staunton.
Rudolph Drieolz, Staunton.
W. Esselman, Staunton.
John Caerver, Staunton.
John Seaman, Staunton.
John Scheurer, Staunton.
Henry Brick, Staunton.
Ed. Felchner, Staunton.
Fred Heidkant, Staunton.
Otto Arndt, Staunton.
Geo. Luker, Staunton.
August Meyer, Staunton.
H. Fritz, Staunton.
J. H. Johnson, Mt. Olive.
Louis Simering, Mt. Olive.
Henry Sander, Mt. Olive.
Geo. J. Stiehl, Mt. Olive.
Wm. Hieromynus, Mt. Olive.
A. J. Keiser, Mt. Olive.
Fred G. Groste, Mt. Olive.
A. H. Marburger, Mt. Olive.
Robt. Beck, Mt. Olive.
Aug. Ruehlander, Mt. Olive.
Aug. Steinbach, Mt. Olive.
Frank Sassmannshausen, Mt. Olive.
Henry W. Behrens, Mt. Olive.
Henry Kruse, Mt. Olive.
Wm. E. Kruse, Mt. Olive.
H. Garrels, Mt. Olive.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
A. Fischer, Mt. Olive.
Theo. Tafelsty, Mt. Olive.
John Rudolph, Gillespie,
Henry Behrens, Gillespie.
C. W. Schmidt, Gillespie.
D. Snieder, Gillespie.
Louis Fuess, Gillespie.
Wm. Clocke, Gillespie.
Chris. Mathias, Virden.
Al. Myersteins, Virden.
Sol. Myersteins, Virden.
Andrew Myersteins, Virden.
German Societies:
Turners, Membership 200. Mt. Olive, Ill.
Mt. Olive Liederkranz, Mt. Olive, Ill.
Pres. Mm. Thiesen.
Secy. Emil Jaubelt.
Membership 75
Western Catholic Union, Carlinville, Ill.
Pres. Joe Scholl.
Secy. John Hoppe.
Membership 47.
German Newspaper: Mt. Olive Teutonia, Mt. Olive, Ill. German Circ. 457 (weekly). F. U. Cakmannshaufen.

MARION.

German Population, 5,000.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Adam Bachman, Salem, Ill.
G. J. Kelp, Salem, Ill.
John Lieni, Salem, Ill.
Chas. Rudolph, Salem, Ill.
Jacob Grosch, Centralia, Ill.
Moses Hoffman, Centralia, Ill.
J. Langenfeld, Centralia, Ill.
Aug. Langenfeld, Centralia, Ill.
Ernest Lanbrecht, Centralia, Ill.
A. Saxer, Centralia, Ill.
A. D. Rodenburg, Centralia, Ill.
Julius Rhinehard, Centralia, Ill.
Max Prill, Centralia, Ill.
Joe Hoefer, Centralia, Ill.
J. J. Paff, Centralia, Ill.
Geo. Pfeiffer, Centralia, Ill.
Jake Pfeiffer, Centralia, Ill.
J. Schmelzer, Centralia, Ill.
D. Kugler, Centralia, Ill.
Martin Beck, Centralia, Ill.
No German Newspapers.

MASSAC.

German Population, 2,500.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Chas. W. Hausman, Metropolis.
Aug. Quante, Metropolis.
C. E. Hilgeman, Metropolis.
Louis Moller, Metropolis.
Henry Buddenbaum, Metropolis.
F. W. Rodenberg, Metropolis.
F. W. Bormann, Metropolis.
Geo. Verbarg, Metropolis.
A. E. Miller, Metropolis.
Louis Henne, Metropolis.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
William Trampe, Metropolis.
Geo. W. Wollbright, Metropolis.
J. H. Kempler, Round Knob.
Henry Korte, Round Knob.
John Marlman, Poaz.
E. H. Foss, McNoel.
No German newspaper.

MASON.

German Population, 6,951.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Rev. Groth, Wet, Ger. Luth. Church.
Henry Hahn, Havana, Wet.
G. C. Kreabaum, Havana.
E. J. Krampff, Havana.
No German Newspaper.

MARSHALL.

German Population, 5,000.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
John Heim, Lacon.
C. C. Roth, Lacon.
William Quiram, Lacon.
Frank Schafer, Lacon.
Robt. Theodore, Lacon.
Paul Wenk, Lacon.
A. L. Lenz, Lacon.
Wm. Kamp, Lacon.
J. N. Kreng, Henry.
Peter Toemes, Henry.
Henry Conise, Henry.
No German Newspaper.

M'HENRY.

German Population, 14,000.
No German-American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Joe Friends, McHenry.
Gankes Bros., Woodstock.
Stomon Stoffel, McHenry.
M. J. Justin, McHenry.
Herman Eickstadt, Marengo.
Geo. W. Lemmers, Secy. Elks.
No German Newspaper.

M'LEAN.

German Population, 22,916.
German-American Alliance:
Pres. John B. Gummerman.
Secy. Peter F. Holerman.
Other German Societies:
Bloomington Maennerchor, 60 members.
Pres. Gus. Bixchoff.
Secy. A. E. Windolf.
Deutscher Krieger Verein.
Pres. Ernst Lockenfitz.
Secy. John Hinckelman.
Deutscher Unterstuetzungs Verein.
Pres. H. W. Ulbrich.
Secy. Martin Moews.
Deutscher Unterstuetzungs Bund.
Pres. George Gudekunst.
Secy. Oscar Scholz.

Other German Societies—Continued.
Concordia Unterstuetzungs Verein.
Paul Tapel, Secy.
Membership of above societies from 40–60 each.
German order of Masons.
Peter F. Hoierman.
Division No. 1, Ancient Order Hibernians, 300 members.
Pres Col. J. F. Heffernan.
Rec. Secy. John Lynch.
Turners membership 50.
Bloomington Turnverein, 112½ Main St.
Prominent Germans:
Jacob Bohrer, Atty. and ex-Post. Master, Bloomington.
Albert, Adolph & Herman Wochner, Bankers, Bloomington.
Frank Oberkoetter, Banker, Bloomington.
Paul F. Beich, Pres., Bloomington.
John B. Gummerman, Editor German paper, Bloomington.
Peter F. Hoierman, Post Office, Bloomington.
Gus Bischoff, Grocer, Bloomington.
Oscar, Henry, William & Edw. Meyer, Brewers, Bloomington.
A. A. Rothmann, Brewer, Bloomington.
German Newspaper:
Bloomington Journal. About 2,000.
John B. Gummerman, Pub., 311 S. Main St

MENARD.

German Population, 2,000.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
H. H. Schieting, Petersburg.
Geo. Waising, Petersburg.
H. Jurgeus, Petersburg.
H. H. Marbold, Greenview.
H. Wersing, Greenview.
No German Newspaper.

MONROE.

German Population, 10,800.
No German American Alliance.
Turners, Membership 127.
Columbia, Ill., Gym. Assn.
Turn Verein.
Pres. Geo. Roessler.
Sect. Henry Reickenbach.
Prominent Germans:
Louis Stumpf, Waterloo.
Emil Kolmer, Waterloo.
Henry Loehr, Waterloo.
Aug. Rustenberg, Waterloo.
Conrad Kolmer, Waterloo.
Otto Litzenberger, Waterloo.
Fritz Bange, Waterloo.
Louis Nobbe, Waterloo.
Otto Kuehn, Waterloo.
Herman Koechel, Waterloo.
Henry M. Kunz, Columbia, Ill.
Chas. Schnur, Columbia, Ill.
Adolph Lambrecht, Columbia, Ill.
Fred Meyer, Columbia, Ill.
Philip Gummersheimer, Columbia, Ill.
Henry Kolmer, Columbia, Ill.
E. F. Schrening, Columbia, Ill.
E. J. Schneider, Columbia, Ill.
Henry Reickenbach, Columbia, Ill.
Louis Bickelhaupt, Waterloo, Ill.
No German Newspaper.

MONTGOMERY.

German Population: 4,000.
No. G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Fritz Weingand, Hillsboro.
J. H. Bremer, Hillsboro.
L. W. Bremer, Hillsboro.
Aug. Weingand, Hillsboro.
L. H. Mey, Hillsboro.
Chas. Weber, Hillsboro.
Albert Fricke, Hillsboro.
Fritz Weingand, jr., Hillsboro.
Jacob Weber, Hillsboro.
H. F. Caspers, Litchfield.
W. F. Brell, Litchfield.
Otto Rentz, Litchfield.
A. J. Johnson, Litchfield.
H. C. Holderread, Litchfield.
J. H. Michaelson, Litchfield.
Adolph Neuber, jr., Litchfield.
Henry Mass, Litchfield.
Chris Zuber, Litchfield.
Wm. Fricke, Raymond.
Adam Weller, Raymond.
H. Fricke, Harvel.
F. C. Reineke, Harvel.
Wm. Schmidy, Harvel.
Henry Haupmann, Harvel.
Wm. Hicke, Butler.
C. H. Henties, Butler, great politician.
Aug. Schweppe, Butler.
No German Newspapers in county.

MORGAN.

German Population, 600; 3,500.
No German American Alliance.
German Population:
Dr. A. E. Obermeyer, Jacksonville.
Chas. Aufencamp, Chapin.
H. H. Brockhouse, Chapin.
Edw. B. Brockhouse, Jacksonville, Cy. judge.
Wm. Batz, Jacksonville.
Wm. Larken, Jacksonville.
John Hauser, Meredosia.
Herman Webber, Jacksonville.
No German Newspaper.

MOULTRIE—14,630.

German Population 10%–15%.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Fred Eberherdt, Arthur, Ill.
John Eberherdt, Arthur, Ill.
Levi M. Yoder, Arthur, Ill.
Sam Helmuth, Arthur, Ill.
Sam Otto, Arthur, Ill.
Andrew Diener, Arthur, Ill.
E. Nisley, Arthur, Ill.
Henry Mast, Arthur, Ill.
Dan L. Yoder, Arthur, Ill.
Dan Beachey, Arthur, Ill.
Jacob L. Beachey, Arthur, Ill.
Jos. Miller, Arthur, Ill.
Dan Graber, Arthur, Ill.
Dan Yutzy, Arthur, Ill.
Wm. Knoblock, Arthur, Ill.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Lawrence Krause, Sullivan.
W. M. Hangst, Sullivan.
Geo. Brosom, Sullivan.
John Brosom, Sullivan.
No German Newspaper.

OGLE.

German Population: 15% of populaion of county (Pop. of County 27,864).
No. G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Frank Wertz, Foreston,
Okle Winters, Oregon.
Chas. Snider, Oregon.

PUTNAM.

German Population: Between 12½ and 20%.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Wm. Croft, Hennepin.
Wm. Burger, Hennepin.
August Bangor, Hennepin.
Henry Feltes, Hennepin.
Henry Mattern, McNabb.
Henry Baughman, Putnam.
Wm. John Schammed, Hennepin.
Fred Sucher, Granville.
Gus Otto, Granville.
Gus Otto, Magnolia.
Henry Louis, Putnam.
Anton Hammerschmidt, Hennepin.

PEORIA.

German Population: About 25,000.
German American Central Alliance—About 1,500 members.
Pres. C. H. Kammann, 2408 Main.
Secy. Herman Goldberg, 322 So. Jefferson Ave.
Members:
The Concordia Singing Society.
The Liederkranz Singing Society.
The Cruotle Singing Society.
The Immergruen Singing Society.
Peoria Turnverein.
South Side Peoria Turn Verein.
Schiller Lodge #335.
The German Benevolent Society.
The German Free School.
The German Comrades in Arms.
Volunteer Fire Co. #4.
St. Joseph's Benevolent Society.
St. Boniface Benevolent Society.
St. Anthony Benevolent Society.
Catholice Order of Foresters.
Unland Lodge #1039.
Knights and Ladies of Honor.
Knights of St. George.
Prominent Germans:
Simon Trefzger, 108 S. Monroe, Peoria.
Val. Jobst, 54 No. Madison Ave., Peoria.
Dr. O. J. Roskoten, 303 Masonic Temple Bldg., Peoria.
R. F. D. Klemchow, 308 N. Orange, Peoria.
Albert Schimp, 601 N. Madison, Peoria.
Val. Schlink, 133 North St., Peoria.
Henry Kuck, 917 North St., Peoria.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Chris Kingel, 1014 N. Madison Ave., Peoria.
J. M. Gross, 710 N. Madison Ave., Peoria.
Henry Hedrich, 1017 N. Jefferson Ave., Peoria.
B. F. Zinser, Chillicothe, Ill.
John H. Rediger, Chillicothe, Ill.
Cap. F. H. Mehl, Chillicothe, Ill.
L. Ph. Wolph, % Peoria Sonne, Peoria.
B. Gremer, % Taglicher Demokrat, Peoria.
German Newspapers:
Peoria Sonne, Weekly. Circ. 3200. L. Wolf, Editor and Prop. Rep. Wet.
Taglicker Peoria Demokrat. Daily. Circ. 2500. B. Gremer & Bro. Publ. Peoria. Dem. Wet.
Turners Society: 123.
Peoria Turn Verein, 112 Second Ave., 58 members.
Peoria Turn Verein, South Side, 1506 SO. Adams St., 85 members.
Pres. Ernest Templin.
Secy. Leo Halzapfel.

PIATT.

German Population: 750.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Geo. Meyers, Monticello.
John Gaken, Monticello.
A. J. Wett, Monticllo.
Otto Lubbers, Monticello.

PULASKI.

German Population: About 2,000.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Mound City—
Wm. Bestgen.
Ed Westerman.
Wm. Westerman.
Cal Wahrenburg.
Ben Blum.
Peter Colwater.
John Trampert.
Sam Rack.
Geo. Keller.
Geo. Neadstine.
Geo. Eichhorn.
Jos. Lutz.
F. J. Kuny.
Fred Hoffman.
Dr. Weissenberg.
Henry Senne.
Robt. Arnold.
Wm. Martin.
Chas. Dishaiger.
Chris Keller.
Al. Schuler.
Wm. H. Ashbaugh.
Ullin, P. O.—
F. Eichhorst.
J. S. Keller.
R. R. Kratz.
L. E. Lingenfelter.
J. W. Lingenfelter.
J. W. Sichling.
J. Tapprich.
W. J. Rhymer.
Fred Hoffueier.
J. H. Lentz.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Ullin, P. O.—
Wm. Standacher.
J. B. Sydeustricker.
G. F. Taake.
Perks, P. O.—
T. C. Groner.
H. C. Lentz.
Wetang, P. O.—
W. W. Eddlemann.
E. A. Elbert.
S. Knupp.
D. J. Horner.
Pulaski, P. O.—
Wm. Bundschuh.
H. B. Eshlemann.
Jas. Hogendobler.
Olmstead, P. O.—
C. Egner.
C. G. Schnaare.
A. J. Schocuborn.
Villa Ridge—
Frank Troester.
Tony Webber.
J. H. Weltnig.
America—
Fer. Daucksch.
H. Niestrath.
R. A. Schnaare.
E. F. Ungler.
H. Wesenberg.
F. A. Bendig, Grand Chain.
Grand Chain—
F. A. Diepenbrock.
M. H. Ehrnstine.
J. D. Evers.
Henry Heisner.
Thos. Eddlwman.
J. Heisner.
Ohil Wiesenborn.
J. F. Reichert.
Chris Stahlheber.
E. A. Reichert.
A. C. Reichert.
A. P. Schroder.
Wm. Schwartz.
M. Ulrich.
Ed. Wiesenborn.
S. Elselmiere, Olmstead.
H. M. Hogendobler, Olmstead.
Olmstead—
J. Hollinber.
Chris Huecker.
H. Jacobmyer.
J. Kirschmer.
R. Urdbruegger.
L. Kissman.
G. Kreighauser.
W. Richter.
F. W. Schweiger.
D. M. Scholtz.
W. Schumaker.
Mound—
John Pletcher.
Silas Booker.
Frank Bower.
John Frederick.
John Bundschuh.

PIKE.

German Population: 800.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
F. W. Neibur, Pittsfield, Ill.
J. R. Gicker, Pittsfield, Candidate for Treasurer.
Ed Hess, Barry.
Barney Miller, Hull.
Chris. Tockey, Perry.

PERRY.

German Population: About 6,000.
No G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Pinckneyville:
Jacob Lambert.
Wm. Bray.
H. Hincke.
John Neissing.
Rev. Jos. Schneider.
Geo. Biederweiden.
Henry Driemeyer.
Ed. Fischer.
J. J. Bischof, St.
C. C. Hofman.
Jacob Doer.
J. H. Hermany.
John Caupert.
John Wildermuth.
Henry Pick.
John Kanzler.
J. Heinrich.
Wm. Beck.
John Schwartz.
John Brune.
Philip Becker.
Chas. Feltzmeyer.
F. L. Ulrich.
Geo. Hincke.
Ed. Hincke.
Rev. Higgenmeier.
Anton Scherle.
Frank Foster.
Wm. Dippel.
P. A. Gruner.
Theo. Waggner.
J. Young.
J. Bischof, Jr.
Chas. Doer.
Geo. Caupert.
David Wildermuth.
Chas. Pick.
H. Schrader.
W. Heinrich.
Ed. Timptner.
Henry Hoffman.
Geo. Beck.
Henry Berg.
Fred Ahlers.
Casper Killerman.
Chas. Matchenbacher.
Du Quoin:
Henry Hom, Sr.
Louis Cressman.
Val Pflanz.
Fred Koerber.
John Mann.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Du Quoin—Continued.
Aug. Stein.
Geo. Schneider.
Chris. Schickedanz.
Aug. Schneider.
Frank Schleper.
Clem Flundsack.
Frank Sattel.
Louis Hess.
Chas. Schlueter.
Louis Kinderman.

ROCK ISLAND.

German Population: About 9,000.
Prominent Germans:
Dr. Carl Bernhardir, Rock Island.
Albert Huber, Atty., Rock Island.
Ed. Shoede, Atty., Rock Island.
R. G. Shriver, Rock Island.
Arthur H. Harms, Rock Island.
Adolph Oppenheim, Moline.
Peter Oswald, Edit., Rock Island.
Walter Rosenfeld, Moline.
C. F. Geathger, Rock Island.
Lothar Harms, Rock Island.
Henry Gripp, Banker, Moline.
Henry Verick, Banker, Moline.
German Societies:
Turn Verein: 275 members—Moline and Rock Island.
Rock Island—85 members.
Pres. John Greere.
Secy. Edw. Hemmerich.
Moline—190 members.
Pres. Henry Effiandt.
Secy. Henry Clausen.
Plattdeutsche Bruder.
Rock Island, membership 100.
Pres. Hy. Groediche.
Secy. Carl Nauschultz.
No G-A Alliance.
German Newspapers: Rock Island Volks Zeitung. Germ. Ind. Semi-Weekly. 2800 circ. Editor: P. Oswald.

RANDOLPH.

German Population: About 10,000.
No. G.-A. Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Albert Schrieber, Red Bud.
The. Saxenmeyer, Red Bud.
C. D. Pautler, Evansville.
N. R. Lessley, Sparta.
J. W. Tweed, Sparta.
J. C. Beare, Chester.
Sig. Aszman, sr., Chester.
F. H. Middendorf, Chester.
Wm. Werre, Steeleville.
W. O. Dudenbostel, Percy.
T. F. Lindsey, Tilden.
A. R. Lindsey, Tilden.
Geo. W. Wright, Ellisgrove.
A. G. Nauling, Ellisgrove.
T. H. Tutor, Rockwood.

RICHLAND.

German Population: About 600.
No. G.-A. Alliance.

Prominent Germans:
Fred Sterkey, Olney.
Martin Copper, Olney.
David Burguer, Olney.
Wm. Ginder, Olney.
Sam Weiller, Olney.
Jacob Kiser, Olney.
Paul Wetzel, Olney.
Joseph Weiller, Olney.

STEPHENSON.

German Population: 40%. Pop. of County—119,870.
No. G.-A. Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
E. A. Blast, Freeport.
Henry Baier, Freeport.
Otto Wagner, Freeport.
Wm. Ascher, Freeport.
Al. Schulte, Freeport.
Turners Society: 300 members.
Germania Society, Freeport.
Pres. Adolph Brandt.
Secy. S. P. Ohdes.
German Newspaper:
Deutsche Anzeiger. Circ. 1800. Publishers: W. H. Wagner & Sons. Freeport.

ST. CLAIR.

German Population: 65,000.
German-American Alliance: 2,100.
Pres. A. P. Lauschner, Belleville.
Secy. Geo. Busick, Belleville.
Turners: 500.
Belleville, Ill.
Pres. Geo. Weiss; Secy. J. J. Gummesheimer.
Leseverein Singing Society—15.
Pres. Chris Lischer; Secy. Miss Sohpie Schubkegel.
Mascoutah Turnverein—200 members.
Pres. Geo. F. Umbacker; Secy. Henry Legendre.
Prominent Germans:
East St. Louis—
Anton Moser, St. Louis Ave. & 8th St.
Wm. Kayser, St. Louis Ave. & 8th St.
Zurwolla Thesieres (Cafe).
C. Stief, St. Louis Ave. & 13th St.
Fred Reif, St. Louis Ave. & 7th St.
Wm. Beteman, Heim Brewing Co.
Wm. Degen (Undertaker).
H. Lieberstein #14 Collinsville Ave.
Ike Lieberstein, Summitt & Collinsville Ave.
C. Rohm, C/o Ill. Cent. R. R.
John Ruhl.
Phil Stoeger, 1139 St. Louis Ave.
J. Gohn, Ill. Ave. and 11th St.
J. Anheuser, St. Louis Ave. & 13th St.
H. Eckel, St. Louis Ave. and 13th St.
H. Rohm, St. Louis Ave. and 13th St.
H. Moehlmann, East St. Louis Laundry.
E. Schmalzried (Delmonico Restaurant).
Geo. Drengler, St. Louis Ave. & 15th St.
Theo. Vogt (Liquor business).
Rev. Henry Bode, 1135 Gaty Ave.
William Hauss, 133 Collinsville Ave.
Charles Hauss, 133 Collinsville Ave.
Belleville—
Adolph Beyer.
Herman Semmelroth.
Jacob Leiner.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Lenzburg—
Martin Kaiser.
Fred Groh.
Frank Lesker.
Mascoutah—
Geo. Liebig.
R. F. Lischer.
J. W. Stoffel.
Geo. Draser.
New Athens—
Geo. Probst.
Henry Dressler.
Marissa—
Ed. Huelburg.
John Hotz.
Lebanon—
Adolph Stoffel.
A. J. Herman.
German Newspapers:
Belleviller Post Zeitung, Republican. Wet. Circ. Daily 1,100.
Belleviller Post Zeitung, Republican. Wet. Circ. Weekly 2,300.
Publisher—Herman Semmelroth, Belleville.

SHELBY.

German Population: About 4,000.
No G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
A. W. Bigler, Sigel.
S. A. Bigler, Sigel.
J. A. Berchtold, Sigel.
Henry Gier, Sigel.
John Kaufman, Sigel.
N. H. Kunkler, Sigel.
J. Schumaker, Sigel.
H. Mense, Sigel.
Henry Schwerdt, Sigel.
Geo. Siemer, Sigel.
Peter Handfland, Sigel.
Philip Handfland, Sigel.
John W. Siemer, Sigel.
Ferdinand Kaufman, Sigel.
Geo. Schwerdt, Sigel.
B. J. Mense, Sigel.
Barney Schwerdt, Sigel.

SCHUYLER.

German Population: About 400.
No G.-A. Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Louis Strellberger, Rushville.
Wm. Boham, Rushville.
August Shaeffer, Rushville.
John Rinehart, Rushville.

SCOTT.

German Population: 1,000—All American born.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Chas. Hieronymus, Winchester.
Henry Krueger, Winchester.
Albert Weeder, Winchester.
Henry Rolf, Oxvolle.
Chas. Friday, Winchester.

SALINE.

German Population: About 300.
No G.-A. Alliace.
Prominent Germans:
John D. Reak, Ledford.
Geo. Bussler, Raleigh, R. F. D.
Ed. Weidemann, Harrisburg.
John W. Baker, Harrisburg.
Chas. Baker, Harrisburg.

SANGAMON.

German Population: Between 20,000 and 25,000.
German American Alliance: None—but Mr. Sexauer, Editor Staats-Wochenblatt, says he has been requested by the State G. A. A. to make an effort to reorganize same to oppose Women's Suffrage and Local Option).
German Societies: Vorwaerts Society—150 members.
Prominent Germans:
Carl Krueger, Chatham.
Ben Resler, Pleasant Plains.
Aug. Denkert, Riverton.
A. Steffen, Pawnee.
Aug. Beck, Rochester.
Fred Amshein, New Berlin.
Fred Faust, Auburn.
J. H. Regnarth, Springfield.
Henry Mueller, Springfield.
B. F. Sexauer, Springfield.
German Newspapers: Staats Wochenblatt, Dem. Weekly, Circ. 3,400 in Sangamon County. Ben F. Sexauer, Editor and Pub..

TAZEWELL.

German Population: About 10,000.
German-American Alliance. Over 400.
Jacob Schmidt, of the German Freie Presse, Local Manager and Secretary.
Prominent Germans:
Albert Weiss, Pekin.
Henry Birkenbusch, Pekin.
Henry Ehrlicker, Pekin.
Geo. Hergel, Pekin.
F. A. Volk, Pekin.
Jacob Hoffman, Mackinaw.
M. C. Martin, Washington.
Henry Moethis, Morton.
Leonard Vetter, Green Valley.
Ernest Suckert, Tremont.
German Newspapers:
Freie Presse, Pekin. Circ. 2,200.
Jacob Schmidt, Publisher, Dem.
German Societies:
Pekin Maennerchor, over 100 members
Pres. Wm. Skarnickat.
Secy. Wm. Lawss.

UNION.

German Population: About 600.
No German American Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Jos. Ransmeier, Jonesboro, R. D.
Fred Hehenberger, Jonesboro, R. D.
Arthur Bauer, Jonesboro, R. D.
Chris. Zwalen, Jonesboro, R. D.
John Pickle, Jonesboro, R. D.
Chas. Bauer, Jonesboro, R. D.
Geo. Foehr, Jonesboro, R. D.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Wm. Wible, Jonesboro, R. D.
Jos. Bauer, Jonesboro, R. D.
Henry Grieb, Clothier, Jonesboro.
Chas. Grieb, Jeweler, Jonesboro.
Fred Matthis, Anna.
Fred Henberger, Jonesboro, R. D.
John Ditter, Jonesboro, R. D.
Jos. Kollehner, Jonesboro, R. D.
Matt Dischl, Jonesboro, R. D.
Philip Kollehner, Jonesboro, R. D.

VERMILION.

German Population: 20% of county. Pop. of County—77,966.
No G–A Alliance.
German Organizations:
Danville Deutscher Liederkranz, 70 members, 304 E. Main St., Danville.
Pres. Lucas Strebel.
Secy. John Levin.
German Benevolent Association, 55 members, 567 E. Main St.
Pres. Theo. Drews.
Secy. Fred Sadwasser.
Prominent Germans: Danville:
Ernest Blankenbury, 33 N. Vermilion St.
Joe. Schlingel, 207 No. Hazel St.
Aug. Faulstick, 621 E. Main St.
Columbus Schatz, 405 E. Main St.
C. J. Miller, 15 E. Main St.
Henry Schroeder, 122 So. Bowman St.
Wm. Stuebe, 431 E. Main St.
Aug. Kuemmerle, 12 N. Hazel St.
Henry J. Bahls, 111 E. Main.
Jos. Meis, 102 E. Main.
Alphonse Meis, 102 E. Main.
W. E. Bryant, 140 No. Walnut.
A. W. Kappelhoff, 140 No. Walnut.
Rev. Bruno Howe, 620 E. Main.
Turners Society:
Danville Sozialer Turnverein, 60 members, 422 E. Main Street.
Pres. Lucas Strebel.
Secy. Aug. Blankenburg.
German Newspapers:
Danviller Hereld, und Zeitung. Circ. 1,800.
Publisher, A. Kappelhoff.
Editor, Wm. E. Bryant.

WABASH.

German Population: The Germans claim about one-half population is of German descent, but the foreign born is less than one-third of entire population. (Pop. of county, 14,913.)
No. G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
S. Weigand, Mt. Carmel.
Christian Bosecker, Mh. Carmel.
Reuben Seibert, Mt. Carmel.
A. E. Leonard, Mt. Carmel.
E. J. Kolb, Mt. Carmel.
Mont Walters, Mt. Carmel.
Louis Walters, Mt. Carmel.
John Walters, Mt. Carmel.
S. Ankenbrandt, Mt. Carmel (Mail at Bellemont).
Henry T. Henning, Mt. Carmel.

WILL.

German Population: About 7,000.
No. G-A Alliance
Turners: 103.
Joliet Kreager Verein, #14.
Pres. Geo. Hein.
Secy. Fred Fiebelkorn.
Joliet Frauen Verein.
Pres. Andrew Stroeble.
Secy. N. Hess.
Prominent Germans:
Andrew Stroeble, Joliet.
W. Hess, Joliet.
J. A. Wilhelmi, Joliet.
Frederick Grassle, Joliet.
Chris J. Braun, Joliet.
Wm. C. Bettenhausen, Green Garden.
Henry J. Schluntz, Joliet.
German Newspaper:
General Anzeiger, R. Zintsch, Ed. Cir. 2615.

WASHINGTON.

German Population: 14,000.
No. G-A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Henry Mueller, Nashville.
G. T. Brink, Nashville.
Henry Westerman, Nashville.
Theo. Myer, Nashville.
Everett Halme, Nashville.
Henry Bachs, Nashville.
Fred Mueller, Nashville.
Fred Ziegler, Nashville.
Geo. Hasemeyer, Nashville.
Henry Thies, Nashville.
C. L. Schultz, Nashville.
P. S. Schaurer, Nashville.
Louis Hasemeyer, Nashville.
Geo. Ahlf, Nashville.
Henry Nogt, New Minder.
Hosea Poole, Nashville.
Chris Sudmeyer, Nashville.
Louis Althoff, Nashville.
Wm. Kroeger, Nashville.
Henry Frederking, Nashville.
Wm. Grattendich, Addeville.
Chris Altemansberger, Oknville.
Henry Klanke, Oknville.
Chas. Harbke, Oknville.
K. G. Schreget, Oknville, Lutheran Minister.
German Newspaper:
Nashville Volksblatt. Rep. Wet.

WARREN.

German Population: About 4% of population. Pop. of county—43,612.
No. G-A.
Prominent Germans:
Henry Stokes, Monmouth.
John Stokes, Monmouth.

WILLIAMSON.

German population: 3,500.
No G-A Alliance.

Prominent Germans:
John B. Heyde, Marion.
John Naurer, Marion.
Mike Shafley, Marion.
Emil Fuerer, Marion.
Arthur Fuerer, Marion.
Edward Fossy, Marion.
Chas. Bachman, Marion.
Gus Egner, Marion.
Geo. Knobelock, Marion, R. F. D.
Louis Sanders, Marion, R. F. D.
August Bresking, Marion, R. F. D.
W. O. Christ, Marion, R. F. D.
Wm. Qualls, Herrin.
Dr. W. O. Curry.
Ed. Hassenjaeger.
Geo. Nachtel.
Phil Aikeman.
W. A. Snyder.
H. Sibold.

WINNEBAGO.

German population: About 600.
No G-A Alliance.
Saengerverein—100.
Pres. Robt. Moyer, Rockford.
Secy. C. G. Reinhart, Rockford.
Prominent Germans:
Robt. Meyer, President Saengerverein.
C. C. Doctor, Editor Rockford Germania, Rockford.
German Societies:
Catholic German Lodge—St. Josephs Verein—48.
Pres. C. C. Doctor.
Secy. Joe Stadler.
German Newspapers:
Rockford Germania. Weekly. Circ. 1200. Dem. Wet. C. C. Doctor, Editor. Ex-saloonkeeper.

WHITE.

German Population: 2,500.
No G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Wm. Botch, Carmi.
Chris Winters.
Jake Fetzig.
John Friedman.
Nick Neu.
Thos. Kallenbach.
Herman Prazsch, Crossville.
Joe Bisch, Grayville.
Fred Roser, Sr., Maunie.
B. Ramming, Maunie.
John Botch, Calvin.
Geo. Matz, Burnt Prairie.
H. H. Stockhouse, Carmi (Dry).
Geo. Zigler, Carmi.
Jake Hartwig, Carmi.
Paul Zigler, Carmi.

WAYNE.

German Population: 1,000.
No G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
Wm. Danzhenbaugh, Rinard.
Christ Blessing, Jeffersonville.
Henry Kiser, Liberty.
Ed. Winsenberger, Liberty.

Prominent Germans—Continued.
Jacob Lambrecht, Cisne.
Jacob Barr, Cisne.
Frank Kutz, Cisne.

WOODFORD.

German Population: About 20%. Pop. of County—20,506.
No. G–A Alliance.
Prominent Germans:
H. B. Schumaker, Eureka.
Jos. Hertschuh, Eureka.
Dr. Fred Seidl, Eureka.
Christian Hasse, Washburn.
John Vissering, Mayor, Minonk.
Albert Minger, Minonk.
John Hinderer, Minonk.
Geo. Wernsman, Metamora.
Peter Loser, R. F. D. 35, Peoria.

(Pursuant to the instructions of the committee, and after consultation with the chairman, the following documentary data from the files of the Department of Justice, as produced by Mr. Bielaski, relative to the German University League, are submitted for the record:)

GERMAN UNIVERSITY LEAGUE.

CONSTITUTION.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting, October 30, 1915.

I. NAME.

The name of the organization is the GERMAN UNIVERSITY LEAGUE.

II. PURPOSES.

The purposes of the organization shall be:
(1) To establish in the United States a well-organized center for former students at German Universities and other German Institutions of similar standards in Germany, Austria-Hungary and other countries.
(2) To co-operate with every effort to strengthen the regard for the German and for their aims and ideals and to secure for them fair play and proper appreciation.
(3) To correct misinformation about German conditions and problems by placing before educated Americans and before the press of this country reliable material bearing on German affairs.

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IX. QUALIFICATIONS OF MEMBERS.

Any person nominated for membership after November 1, 1915, who has studied at a German University or at other German Institutions of similar standards in Germany, Austria-Hungary or other countries, shall be eligible to membership in this League. Any person nominated after November 1, 191[illegible] (a) who is a graduate of an American University or College, (b) who has shown to the satisfaction of the Committee on Admissions an intelligent interest in the aims and purposes of this League, shall be eligible to associate membership in this League. Such associate members are entitled to all the privileges of the League, with the exception of the right to vote.
As to persons nominated for membership before November 1, 1915, the provision adopted on February 3, 1914, shall apply.

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OFFICERS FOR 1915–1916: President, Camillo von Klenze; Vice-Presidents, M. R. Hein, William R. Shepherd; Treasurer, H. C. A. Seebohm; Assistant Treasurer, R. Pagenstecher; Recording Secretary, Hugo Kirbach; Executive Secretary, O. J. Merkel.

TRUSTEES: Elected to serve from one to four years—Ernst Bilhuber, Dr. H. J. Boldt, Prof. A. Busse, Louis Doelling, F. Haas, M. R. Hein, Dr. Hugo Kirbach, Dr. Henry G. Krause, Dr. U. D. Marquardt, Hon. Charles Nagel, R. Pagenstecher, Prof. W. W. Rockwell, H. C. A. Seebohm, Carl L. Schurz, Dr. Hugo Schweitzer, Prof. William R. Shepherd, H. E. Stoeher, Prof. Camillo von Klenze, Dr. Edmund von Mach, Dr. F. Zimmermann. Elected to serve for the current year—Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Ad. K. Fischer, Louis Guenzel, W. S. McNeill, O. J. Merkel, Dr. Anton Schoen, F. Stallforth, G. Steinhagen, Dr. W. L. Wirbelauer.

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The four pamphlets, which we have published up to the present—their distribution was not limited, of course, to the universities—are the following:

"To the Universities of America." Von Rudolf Eucken und Ernest Haeckel.

"German Thoughts and Wishes for the New Year, 1915." Von Rudolf Eucken.

"United States of Germany" aus "The European War." Von John W. Burgess.

"Germany's Future." Von Karl Lamprecht.

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In addition, up to now, the following papers have either been published or distributed by us:

"Can Germany be Starved into Submission?" Dr. H. Schweitzer. 1 Exemplar 5c.

"The German Women and Modern Problems." Privy-Councillor Dr. Meyer-Gerhardt. 1 Exemplar 5c.

"Die Zukunft der deutschen Kultur in Amerika." Prof. Camillo von Klenze. 1 Exemplar 5c.

"Race and Veracity." Dr. W. M. Schultz. 1 Exemplar 5c.

"Sir Edward's Evidence." Dr. Edmund von Mach. 1 Exemplar 5c.

"Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg's Speech." 5 Examplare 10c.

"Protection of Neutral Rights at Sea." Prof. W. R. Shepherd. 1 Exemplar 25c.

BULLETIN No. 3.

UNITED STATES OF GERMANY.

[Extract from the chapter "American Interests in the Outcome of the War," contained in "The European War," by Prof. J. W. Burgess, formerly dean of the faculties of Political Science, Philosophy and Pure Science, in Columbia University, New York City.]

The present organization, economic and political, of the German Empire also bears in its constitution the more significant title of the United States of Germany. Its economic system is by far the most efficient, most genuinely democratic which exists at the present moment in the world, or has ever existed. There is no great state in the world today in which there is so general and even a distribution of the fruits of civilization, spiritual and material among all the people as in the United States of Germany. And there is no state, great or small, in which the general plane of civilization is so high. Education is universal and illiteracy is completely stamped out; there are no slums, no proletariat, and no pauperism; prosperity is universal; and the sense of duty is the governing principle of life, public and private, from the highest to the lowest.

AGRICULTURE.

German agriculture has been systematically developed, improved and protected until it has reached the highest point of productiveness known to the world. It is a land of small proprietors, where relatively few great estates exist and where the relatively few tenant farmers hold leases of communal land rather than of land in private ownership. Forests are preserved for furnishing wood and lumber and protecting the water courses, but pasture land is limited and the greatest possible area is kept under the plow. Fostered by law, pursued with intelligence and individual interest, and enriched by science, the German agriculture is so intensive that one acre of German land produces as much as three acres of Russian land, although originally poorer and more difficult to cultivate. Feed the people with home products has been the first principle of the German system. With two hundred and eight thousand square miles of territory, an area not as great as our single State of Texas, the United States of Germany can sustain seventy millions of people.

MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

Upon this natural and healthy foundation for their economic system, consciously and tenaciously preserved, the Germans have built their manufactures and their commerce. They have built these carefully and scientifically, and with unwearying industry. They have not allowed factory life to make slums of their cities, nor to produce a proletariat. By requiring employers to contribute with the State and the employees to the establishment of insurance and pension funds, they have secured to labor its proper share in the wealth produced.

The open door is all Germany needs, with the excellence of her manufactures and the efficiency of her commerce and methods of trade, to assure her indefinite industrial expansion. Her economic system is thus not the system of a land-grabbing empire. In the twenty years of her wonderful industrial development, between the years 1890 and 1910, she acquired less than two thousand square miles of foreign territory, while Great Britain acquired nearly two million, Russia almost as much, France six to eight hundred thousand, Belgium a million, and the United States of America about one hundred and fifty thousand, and while Germany acquired the bits of this small area, in about every case, by purchase or lease, all the other countries seized most, if not all, of their gains by military conquest.

POLITICAL SYSTEM.

Let us now turn to the German political system. In the first place, it is a federal union of self-governing States. Such a system requires a written constitution to delimit with necessary exactness the relative governmental spheres of the Central Government and the States of the Union. The German political system is founded upon such a constitution, which was framed by representatives of the governments of the several States, adopted by a convention of popular delegates chosen by universal manhood suffrage, and ratified by the legislatures of the different States.

Besides distributing all governmental power between the Imperial Government and the States of the Union, it distributes the powers of the Imperial Government between the legislature and the executive, conferring upon the Imperial Legislature—a body, the members of one house, of which are chosen by universal manhood suffrage and direct election, while those of the other are appointed by the States of the Union—the power to make the laws, and upon the executive, the Emperor, the power to execute the laws or rather to supervise the execution of the laws. The German Government is thus constitutionally limited government, limited politically by the distribution of governmental powers between the Imperial Government and the States of the Union and by the distribution of the powers of the Imperial Government between the legislature and the executive, and limited judicially by the bills of individual rights in each of the State constitutions and by the fixing of certain of the fundamental duties and rights of the individual in the Imperial Constitution.

MILITARY SERVICE.

One among these duties, which must also be regarded as a fundamental right, is the constitutional requirement upon every able-bodied male German to bear arms, and the fixing of the time for which his services are or may be acquired, which also means beyond they may not be required. I call this a right as well as a duty. In the Constitution of the United States of America it is so treated and is declared as follows: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." It is the German way to put the duty first and treat the right as the attending incident. This is the keynote to the German character, political and economic as well as private. The rights guaranteed to the individual by this constitutional provision requiring universal military service are that there shall be no professional army separate from the general citizenship of the Empire with separate interests from those of citizenship.

COMMUNAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Finally, the German communal and local governmental organization is the most perfect known to modern politics. Under it the most honest, efficient and prosperous communal life which the world has ever known has been

produced and developed. No slums, no illiteracy and no proletariat are to be found in any German city or commune, while the control is more genuinely democratic and the distribution of the fruits of civilization is more even and general than what prevails in any other country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Everything has been done, and done systematically, and done according to a seemingly long-matured and sinister plan to give the American people not simply an erroneous, but an absolutely false, conception of German institutions, purposes, and aspirations. But all this is vain and futile, shortsighted and injurious. As Lincoln said, "You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you can not fool all of the people all of the time."

Europe is now writhing in the agony of a great labor pain of human development, and while, God grant, that we may escape active participation in the suffering, we can not avoid having our own interests most profoundly involved in the outcome. Let us make sure that we correctly conceive what those interests are and how they will be best subserved.

(From the annual report of the German University League for 1915 and 1916 the following extracts are submitted for the record:)

GERMAN UNIVERSITY LEAGUE.

OFFICERS FOR 1916–17.

President: Edmund von Mach. Vice presidents: M. R. Hein, Charles Nagel, Camillo von Klenze. Treasurer: H. C. A. Seebohm. Assistant treasurer: R. Pagenstecher. Recording secretary: Hugo Kirbach. Executive secretary: O. J. Merkel.

Trustees: Elected to serve from one to four years—Ernest Bilhuber, 1919; Dr. H. J. Boldt, 1918; Prof. A. Busse, 1917; Louis Doelling, 1920; F. Haas, 1917; M. R. Hein, 1917; Dr. Hugo Kirbach, 1918; Dr. Henry G. Krause, 1917; Dr. U. D. Marquardt, 1918; Hon. Charles Nagel, 1918; R. Pagenstecher, 1919; Prof. W. W. Rockwell, 1917; H. C. A. Seebohm, 1918; Dr. W. L. Wirbelauer, 1920; Ad K. Fischer, 1920; Prof. W. R. Shepherd, 1920; H. E. Stoehr, 1920; Prof. Camillo von Klenze, 1919; Dr. Edmund von Mach, 1919; Dr. F. Zimmermann, 1919. Elected to serve for the current year—Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Prof. Albert B. Faust, Louis Guenzel, Prof. Hans Carl G. von Jagemann, Dr. Anton Schoen, Dr. Hugo Schweitzer, Prof. Thomas C. Hall, W. S. McNeill, O. J. Merkel, F. Stallforth, Carl L. Schurz, G. Steinhagen.

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ANNUAL REPORT AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT, PROF. CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome here so large an assembly on this occasion. Your presence is the clearest evidence of the fact that the influence of the German University League is spreading, and that its aims are being understood and appreciated by an ever-increasing number of Americans of whatever descent. It must, however, be a source of satisfaction to us to remember that our league is now represented in virtually every State of the Union and that its members may be found at well-nigh every university of our country. Especially in Milwaukee, New York, and Philadelphia the league has instituted lectures and carried on other forms of local activity. It may not be amiss at this juncture to pass in review our efforts of the past year.

For the purpose of giving the widest possible circles of our fellow citizens an opportunity of better acquaintance with the ideals, the problems, and the achievements of modern Germany we have established lecture courses, making a beginning in New York; we have issued pamphlets relating to the war and expository of German conditions; and we have encouraged the publication of a goodly number of books. Moreover, in view of the fact that it is impossible to import from Germany at present we have recently started the publication in the German language of a few works of general interest, such as "Grimm's Fairy Tales," "A Collection of German Folksongs," etc.

Among the pamphlets and bulletins which we have published are the following:

PAMPHLETS.

Annual Report, 1914–15.
Anniversary Speeches.
Germany, Dr. Ernest Flagg Henderson.
International Understanding and
International Cooperation, Prof. M. J. Bonn.
Present-day Issues, Hon. Charles Nagel.
Introductions, by Prof. William R. Shepherd, of Columbia University.
The Germans in the United States, Prof. Albert, Bernhardt Faust.
German War Finance, Prof. M. J. Bonn.

BULLETINS.

Deutsche Oden, Rudolf Alexander Schroder.
Austria-Hungary's Awakening, Richard Charmatz.
Thrift and Foresight (tables of German war loans).
The bulletins we shall reprint as an appendix to the annual report and to the anniversary speeches.
Some of the publications which we have recommended and encouraged are:
Justice in War Time, Bertrand Russell.
The Making of Modern Germany, Ferdinand Schevill.
Modern Germany, various German writers.
La Guerre qui vient (The Inevitable War), Francis Delaisi.
Germany of To-day, George Stuart Fullerton.
The German Spirit, Kuno Francke.
Official Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War, Edmund von Mach.

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On April 20, the day after the critical note from Washington to Berlin had been sent, a number of our trustees, as many as could quickly be asked for their consent, dispatched the following telegram to Germany:

Rektor Dr. ULRICH VON WILIAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF,
Friedrich Wilhelm University, Berlin:

We, citizens of the United States, trustees of the German University League of America, wish to express to your magnificence our strong desire to see peace preserved between the United States and Germany. Knowing both countries well we fear that Germany may interpret the message of our President as a provocation, something surely not intended. On the contrary, we are convinced that the majority of the American people wish to have the relations of amity maintained which have always existed between your country and our country. To help in avoiding the calamity of a misinterpretation we ask you to bring this to the attention of the German people.

Bilhuber, Dr. Boldt, Dr. Krause, Dr. Schweitzer, Dr. von Mach, Haas, Hein, McNeill, Pagenstecher, Prof. Busse, Prof. Cutting, Prof. Shepherd, Prof. von Klenze, Steinhagen.

According to advices received in this country, the Wolff Bureau, the largest press bureau of Germany, at once circulated the cable. It was subsequently widely reprinted in this country with the comment that it had been sent in pursuance of one of the policies of the League to interpret in Germany, through University circles, opinion and feeling in this country and vice versa.

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SPEECH BY HON. GEO. FRED WILLIAMS ON AMERICAN INTERPRETATION OF GERMAN CIVILIZATION.

Ladies and Gentlemen, members of the German University League: I entertain a strong sense of obligation to the German Universities and to the people whose guest I was in the student days. My democratic idealism which may not have been especially suited to the atmosphere of American politics, was born and nurtured in the Universities of Heidelberg and Berlin. Only men who know the German University can understand me when I say that it was there in the atmosphere of absolute academic and spiritual freedom that my American patriotism was kindled into the consuming passion which has dominated my life.

I have not been unconscious of my duty as an interpreter of German thought. Early in the War I tried to testify against the misrepesentations which confronted Germany in the United States, but I soon found that I was encountering a propaganda more powerful than any I had known even in the intensity of the democratic struggle. I ceased my efforts simply because the press was practically closed to me. To interpret German thought and character under such conditions was impossible. A reaction is sure to come among a fair-minded people against unfair methods, and I confidently await the time when, even in their own interest, the people of the United States will insist on understanding the system, the principles, the philosophy, which underlie the wonderful power of Germany unfolded to the world during this war.

The need of American interpretation arises from the fact that the German conception of economic policy is philosophical, and the United States does not deal in terms of philosophy. German phraseology fails to reach the mark. We need to reduce philosophy to the rugged terms of every-day life, and apply it to the institutions that the American touches and handles. It will be quite useless to read from the pages of Schmoller, or introduce to the American people the "Verein für Socialpolitik." If, however, you can satisfy an American that some one has accomplished results he has failed to accomplish, he will eventually demand to know how it was done. To be quite frank, let me say that I think a true interpretation of German civilization will help the people of the United States more than it will help Germany.

I trust I may render some service tonight by an analysis of the conditions which seem to me to affect such interpretation.

Very crudely let me outline the approaches to the American mind:

First: It should be and can be made clear that this war is in its origin essentially economic. The circle of enemies about Germany must suggest, by the very incongruity of its elements, that racial and strategic considerations are not sufficient to account for the hostile alliances.

Truth as the dominant individualism of the last century has approached collapse under the pressure of economic conditions and is fighting for life. Germany seasonably averted the catastrophe by substituting for revolutionary socialization a definite policy of state intervention in the disastrous processes of the laissez faire principle. Epitomized, this policy consisted, first, in the assumption by the state of the social utilities; second, the extension of public educational processes into the entire social, industrial and commercial activities of the nation, and, third, the recognition by the state of its obligation to strengthen and protect the weaker classes. All these measures were direct and conscious attacks on the world system which had grown up under the unrestrained operation of the individualistic principle. It proved to be a body blow to a system already in partial collapse under the assaults of democracy and socialism. Under the new policy the German empire leaped forward into new life, and its accomplishments have become known to the world under the name of 'German Efficiency.' Under the pressure of Germany's marvelous internal organization, the policy of world conquest by the three mighty allies—Great Britain, France and Russia—was violently hastened with the absorption of Persia, Egypt, Morocco and South Africa. This process, however, could not stay the deadly competition of the new German system; the colonial policy, built up in generations of human and material sacrifice, was proving itself ineffective. There are two methods of meeting competition; one is to undersell the rival; but the laissez faire victims possessed no power of regeneration. The other method is to kill the rival; and the war resulted.

The diplomatic world well understood what the Kaiser meant when he spoke of German world conquest by peaceful methods, though the average American deemed it either a sentimentalist's dream or a cover for military domination.

Nothing has so emphasized the dread of this new method of peaceful conquest as the recent proposals of the allied forces to enter into an international union at the end of the war for mutual protection through exclusive co-operation and particularly through preferential tariffs. There is no other conclusion to be drawn from this proposition than that the allied powers have at last become conscious that they cannot destroy Germany by the process of force. It is announced that Germany must be made harmless for the future, and that allied success in arms is assured. Why is it necessary to form an international combination against Germany after she is conquered? This second line of defence seems to me plainly an admission that war cannot destroy the economic, commercial and industrial power of Germany, and that the contest must still

be waged in these fields even after she has been crippled by the implements of war and the utmost hardships of surrender. In truth the allies are quite correct in this conclusion. War may make inroads upon population, may impose frightful debts and miseries, but in the end a nation which has, without other spur than its own ambition, built so powerful a civilization will, in defeat, only intensify the methods that have made her great, and continue to occupy the place which competition must award to her.

This line of argument the American can understand, and hence I deem it an act of patriotism to remind my countrymen that they are vitally concerned to study the system which has made Germany great and is bound to keep her great.

Our problem of interpretation becomes simpler if we can make clear to the American mind, first, the nature of the conflict between laissez faire and the doctrine of the serviceable state; and, second, the contrast in actual results. The principle of laissez faire is based on the conception that human activities should be allowed unrestrained operation, and that the state should not interfere except in the exercise of necessary executive functions. It insists that the conflict of individual competition will bring order and system into the affairs of men and must not be disturbed. So powerful has been the influence of this doctrine that it has become almost a religious conviction. The doctrine has so far been drilled into the constitutional states that the average man has quite lost the dividing line between individualism and democracy. It will require patient effort to correct this confusion. The privileged classes have yielded from time to time in matters of democratic forms, but the resistance to attack upon the individualistic system has been unrelenting. The propaganda of this school has an intensity and solidarity unparalleled in any other human sphere. In the United States all the powers of privilege in its various forms have been centered on protecting the vast prizes which this doctrine has brought them. Even the representative system has considerably yielded to pure democracy, but party lines are broken when proposals are made for state action to curb monopoly, to acquire the railroads or even to furnish absolutely essential means of ocean transportation. The average American believes the help of the state to be fundamentally undemocratic, though nothing should be clearer than that it is of the essence of democracy that a sovereign people may make such use of their state as they choose. It is hard to conceive paternalism from a state which is the offspring of the governed.

This confusion of individualism and democracy we have inherited or acquired from Great Britain, a state in which the reign of privilege has acquired the firmest hold and developed most hardships to humanity.

Transportation monopoly, banking control, industrial and commercial powers, and, above all, a land-controlling nobility have been potent in the policies of Great Britain, domestic and foreign. Until the late liberal ministry came into power, the social and economic status of Great Britain's people had received scant consideration. The privileged classes forgot their Bibles and worshipped at the shrines of Adam Smith, Malthus and Ricardo: the English-speaking peoples became impregnated with their economic doctrines. If one pointed at the frightful slums of Liverpool and London, the Englishman referred you to the gospel of Malthus, by which poverty was a law of nature and the submerged tenth was a necessary part of God's mercy. Illiteracy, poverty and soddenness among the industrial population, and the increasing wealth of the privileged classes, were confidently referred to Ricardo's tenet, that in the nature of things rents would rise and wages would be reduced to the margin of existence. The poor laws of Great Britain have shocked even their own philanthropists, but the question of pauperism has hardly passed beyond the stage of public charity. The doctrine of individualism, or non-interference by the state, the freedom of each man or corporation, or combinations of both, to push their energies into humanity's fate without let or hindrance has been driven to the very verge in England; France has not escaped its meshes, and our own haphazard political philosophy has accepted it, bag and baggage, until our innocent people consider that it is the sum and substance of democracy. It is this unhappy error which perverts the democracy of the United States.

'The less government the better' is regarded as axiomatic, though it is a principle which freedom aimed against tyranny, and which has no logical place in a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The vital distinction between the police function and the power of service hardly exists even in the minds of public men. Meantime monopoly and various forms of privilege have done disastrous work under the license of the individualistic

theory, and become so powerful as not only to control the government itself, but to educate the people in the belief that their privileges are an integral part of the democratic system.

It may fairly be said that the developments in Great Britain, France and the United States in the last century partake more of a riot of individualism than the orderly advance of democracy.

Our next step is to make clear the Germany policy:

At the outset it must be emphasized that Germany, speaking through the mouth of Bismarck, gave direct challenge to this conception of the impotence of the state in controlling individual activities and framing positive programs for the public good. 'I have the feeling,' he said, 'that a state may also be responsible for its omissions.' He and his coworkers proceeded upon the theory that it was not only proper that the state should interfere with quasi-public functions, but that it was the duty of the state to administer these functions.

While France was fatally dallying with the private control of her transportation system, and Great Britain delivered over the railroads bodily to high finance, Bismarck declared that railroads were not designed to be the subject of financial competition, but were intended for the service of traffic. In taking over the railroads of Prussia and providing for the control of the imperial government over the German railroads, he was not acting as an opportunist, but held firmly to the idea that to the state belonged the duty of controlling the avenues of commerce. A government guided by such a principle could not be trapped by high finance into the sophistries which have crippled the private transportation systems of the world. The German government wasted no time in the vain project of railroad regulation. It declared prophetically that 'regulation would cut down the receipts of railroads until private capital would shun enterprises so rigorously controlled; when railroads thus began to break down, the government must waive its demands for regulation in the general interest.' Hence, it is concluded 'the system of private companis must disappar on account of these inconsistencies.' The present status of the railroads in Great Britain, France and the United States proves the wisdom of this reasoning. Capital has been piled upon capital until the requirements of industry and the necessities of railroad development have come into inevitable antagonism. Meantime the railroads of Germany have in a generation earned more than sufficient to pay off the entire capital cost, which would, if so applied, leave as transportation burdens merely the cost of operation. The extension of this idea in Germany to all quasi-public functions and the demonstration of its success are naturally regarded by high finance as a menace to its most cherished resources.

This line of effort is not, however, Germany's most notable offence against the individualistic theory. In the field of social protection and development her activities have been far more profound. Bismarck pried away the foundations of the Malthusian theory by denying that poverty was a necessary condition in a well-ordered state. He declared, on the contrary, that it is the duty of the state to protect the weak, and to abolish or minimize poverty and its attendant economic waste. In a few words he challenged the individualistic principle as an instrument of the powerful for the oppression of the weak. 'Those,' he said, 'who deny the operation of the state for the protection of the weak expose themselves to the suspicion that they wish to use the strength they possess, either in capital, rhetoric or otherwise, for the oppression of others, and for the securing of party supremacy, and they shudder when this process is disturbed by any influence of government.' No man has in so few words exposed the whole scheme of human exploitation involved in the laissez faire doctrine. In this small frame is the whole picture of monopolistic development which has proceeded so far in the United States that honest men are questioning whether plutocracy in possession of a government is an improvement on the imperial system.

In trenchant and prophetic language Bismarck announced the system of poor laws to be a mere stage of development in the process of destroying pauperism. In the place of charity, he declared the absolute right of him who serves the state with his industry to be protected against the menace of poverty. In conferring the right upon the German to protection against disability in old age, sickness, unemployment or injury, he said, 'such laws tend to promote a sense of human dignity, which I would have the poorest German retain, that he may not stand defenceless as a mere receiver of charity.' In the very beginning he confessed that he could hardly refrain from substituting the words 'every German' for the words 'every workingman' in the statutes for disability insurance.

Against the charge that his plans were socialistic he said: 'Let the name be practical Christianity, not paying the people with words and phrases, but providing them with something substantial.' 'I would rather,' he said, 'that a state which has a majority of Christians should be in some measure influenced by the tenets of the religion we profess.' Straightaway he exposed the developments of the individualistic theory, and met the socialistic attack by pointing out that 'the state which provides real help for the workingmen will give them confidence that the state is not an institution devised practically for the protection of the better situated classes of society, but one which serves their needs and interests.' Out of this principle of the duty of the state to the citizen has been evolved the great system of individual improvement which has raised Germany to a height of economic, industrial and commercial power that has astonished and alarmed the world.

The process of education has found no line of demarcation at the period of youth or the abolition of illiteracy. It has pushed into the fields of human effort, to train all the productive functions to a higher efficiency. Hence, undoubtedly, is her supremacy in the fields of competition.

The operation of this system of state service to the people passes beyond the mere limits of material efficiency; it has made illiteracy a thing of the past, has torn up the slums by their festering roots, brought science, industry, commerce and labor to the highest pitch of productivity, and gone far to substitute for pauperism a self-respecting independence; it has made physical, moral and mental degeneracy a discredit to the state, and inspired the people with a sense of gratitude and loyalty born not of professions but of deeds; it has built a state upon the theory that it cannot escape the weakness of its units; it has not only brought to the government the support of the weak whom it has helped, but the service of the strong and expert in promoting the powers of the nation. The military prowess of Germany, a natural result of a strengthened citizenship, has, I believe, not as deeply affected the thoughts and imaginations of men as its wonderful regulation of internal affairs.

The United States should have no share in the conflict of arms; but it cannot escape participation in the economic contest that will go on quite indifferent to the clash of arms. Here before us are tangible evidences of a system which has so bettered the efficiency of a people as to attract the mingled admiration, fears, envy and hostility of the world.

Facing as we do the political urgency of a socialized state, shall we refuse to study the efficacy of a serviceable state? We need not contemplate the adoption of foreign methods, but it is not wisdom or patriotism to avoid the adaptation of any system which appears to have strengthened another people. We may discard it, but we should at least understand it.

The answer will not suffice that such methods are inapplicable to a free state. I beg to assert that they are primarily fitted to a free state.

It is an accident if imperial forces see the wisdom of perfecting the individual welfare in order to strengthen the state; it should be the natural order that a people governing themselves should utilize to the full all the functions of their own organization, the state, to build up the welfare of themselves.

It may even be said that only by democratic methods can social services be properly administered. Those who are to be served are the best judges of the effectiveness of the service. In no way has this been emphasized more definitely than in the management of the German railways. A democratic system has been perforce evolved by an imperial government. In the different railroad districts the chambers of commerce, agricultural societies, trade unions and other organizations concerned with transportation form by their delegates the local councils, which in turn elect members of the national council. These popular organizations practically regulate the business of the state railroads; in short, the organizations of those who are served.

If an imperial power like Prussia has devised such a democratic system, shall it be said that a democracy is incompetent to furnish like service to itself?

We are a self-governing people; we are free to study world systems, and need ask the permission of no man to adopt or adapt the good we find, and dismiss the evils. That freedom of the people from the will of any man I would not abandon for all the blessings which the benevolence of an imperial will could bestow; but how poor a patriot I should be were I to reject truths from any source, that may add to the happiness of my fellow citizens and strength to the republic which I have faith to believe is to become the highest example of justice, mercy, liberty and the lasting peace of human brotherhood.

(Of the file of the American Embargo Conference left with the committee by Mr. Bielaski, the following are submitted for the record:)

(The following excerpts from the Campaign Book of the American Embargo Conference:)

THE CAMPAIGN BOOK OF THE AMERICAN EMBARGO CONFERENCE.

THE PURPOSE.

The one purpose of the American Embargo Conference is to bring about the organization of all American citizens who, in the name of humanity, favor an embargo on all Munitions of War now being sought in the United States by the warring powers of Europe.

THE WORK.

The American Embargo Conference is now engaged in a practical effort to organize the men and women of the country, who are opposed to the shipment of munitions, into a body of voters strong enough to compel the lawmakers of the nation to heed its expression of sentiment and its demand that the United States maintain a strict neutrality.

THE REASON.

The plan of campaign adopted by the American Embargo Conference is necessary, firstly, because in this country, where practical politicians direct the elections, it is imperative to adopt practical politics in any effort to secure results.

Time and again it has been demonstrated definitely that the circulating and signing of petitions is a sheer waste of time. The same must be said of the plan of flooding the lawmakers with circulars, though they may be mailed in by the hundreds and from sections of the country.

The petitions and the circulars go into the waste-paper baskets.

The one way to convince the elected representatives of the people that they must listen to the demands of their constituents, and either grant their just demands, or be retired to private life, is to adopt the method of the practical politician, or organize the men and women, and with the voters solemnly pledged to give their support only to the candidate who declares himself willing to devote his best efforts to their cause, then make the demand that the United States place an embargo on all munitions sought by any of the warring powers.

THE PLAN.

There is just one way to do this. That way is to organize, and in this instance, to organize means far more than the holding of mass meetings, the applauding of speakers and the general expression of the opinion that the movement deserves support.

Signing your name to one of the post card pledges, in favor of an embargo on munitions is but the beginning. After you have done this much for the movement, you can begin to aid in making it possible for the Conference to accomplish what it has been organized for—the organizing of a political power that will be strong enough to compel the lawmakers to heed the just demands.

LINING UP THE VOTE.

In a nutshell, here is the method. The post cards sent to you call for the names, addresses, wards and precincts of the voters who are pledging themselves for an embargo on munitions. When these cards are returned to the headquarters of the Conference, experienced clerks will classify and index all names so that at all times the Conference will be able to hold a check on, and will be able to show the exact voting strength of the movement in every precinct of the nation.

The Conference will be able to supply you, at any time, with the exact conditions in your particular precinct; will be able to tell you just what proportion of the vote of your precinct is pledged to the movement, and will in this way show to you how much work will be necessary on the part of you and

the other sincere workers, who have so generously given time and services to the movement.

Have your committeemen visit the influential men of the section—men of all nationalities—and make a sane argument for what we are working for. You will find that it is not hard to convince many men that your arguments are sound and you will have made new converts.

Line up the big men of your section who are in favor of the embargo; list them with your members and on your committee and when you have them with you call upon them, if it becomes necessary, to curb the rabid attacks that will be made upon the movement by men of marked pro-Allies tendencies and by some of the newspapers. A word from some of your business men will often convince frenzied editors that your movement is entitled to fair play.

Do everything to impress upon all interested that this movement with its plan of an organized voting force is the first movement to promise success and that there is to be no doubt of the success if all who join do all in their power to spread the work."

* * * * * * *

(The following forms of circular letters are also submitted:)

[The American Embargo Conference (Incorporated), Room 905, 139 North Clark Street (City Hall Square Building), Chicago. Col. Jasper Tucker Darling, president, chairman of the executive committee; W. R. MacDonald, general manager; J. H. Forrest, secretary; C. Hjalmar Lundquist, secretary; William D. Falk, treasurer. Telephone Randolph 3189.]

EXHIBIT 19.

APRIL 24, 1916

REVEREND SIR: We are making this extraordinary appeal to you, a minister of the Gospel because we feel that the reliable information we have from Washington, makes it necessary for us to ask the citizens of the entire country to join in a mighy expression of the real peace sentiment of the people of the United States.

We give you the most earnest assurance that the situation today is most critical, and that there is not enough time left for the expression of sentiment to be mailed to Washington. *It must be telegraphed.*

We have prepared form telegrams of a night letter and we are appealing to you to sign these messages and have them signed by members of your congregation and by other patriotic citizens who do not want to see this country involved in the terrible European war. Signed by the men who will have to bear the real burdens and who will be forced to realize all of the horrors of war.

We appreciate the fact that in the caring for the poor and unfortunate of your congregation, and in doing other work for God, you could not be expected to be asked to care for any expense involved in this telegraph expression, but we assure you that *we will bear all the cost.* All that we ask is that you get the messages signed. Have one man sign but one message. Then, if you will we would like to have you seen to the sending of the night letters and if you will send us the bill for all of the expense *a check will be mailed to you at once.*

We call your attention to the fact that the telegrams instruct you to hold them until a further words from us. Please ignore these instructions on the messages, and instead of this please see that they are filed with the telegraph companies as soon as signatures are secured. Since the forms were printed the situation has become even more serious and we cannot waste a minute by delaying. *The messages should be sent at once.* Will you please do this for the peace loving people of your country?

Again assuring you that all costs for the work will be paid for by us, and thanking you for what you will do, we beg to remain,

Most earnestly yours,

THE AMERICAN EMBARGO CONFERENCE.

[The American Embargo Conference (incorporated), room 905, 139 North Clark Street (City Hall Square Building), Chicago. Col. Jasper Tucker Darling, president, chairman of the executive committee; W. R. Macdonald, secretary; William D. Falk, treasurer. Telephone Randolph 3189.]

APRIL 19, 1916

DEAR SIR: Readers of Eastern newspapers are taught to believe that Nation is clamoring for war, and many who depend upon these papers their information as to public sentiment are led to believe that this is true.

For this reason, we take the liberty of enclosing herewith an editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune, of April 17th, which reflects the public sentiment of the great middle west, and seriously urge that you read it carefully and give heed to its points.

It reflects the opinions of the man in the street, who is the man who typifies the Nation. He is the man who foots the bills, pays the taxes, furnishes the ranks of armies, and decides political questions at the polls.

This man is opposed to shedding his blood and that of his sons in a war that he does not believe justified, and he is too honorable to wage war in any other way. He knows that England was told that financial assistance and her navy would be all that would be expected of her, and that England now has conscription, and has shed the blood of hundreds of thousands of her best sons.

For this reason his voice should be supreme in the land, and heard over the voices of those whose personal or financial interests may warp what they may believe is true patriotism.

The Tribune says that "the people of the country would vote against entering the European war, or taking any step which would bring us within reach of such a catastrophe because of any of the issues of law and fact raised in the submarine controversy," if "it were possible to refer the question to them."

Congress is supposed to represent the people. When the people go to the polls, they vote to have a representative in Washington. If the people would vote against a war over the present issues, what then, should be the vote of their representatives in Congress? Do they represent the people? If they do, *there is only one way to vote.*

Very sincerely yours,

THE AMERICAN EMBARGO CONFERENCE.

[The American Embargo Conference (Incorporated), Room 905, 139 North Clark Street (City Hall Square Building), Chicago. Col. Jasper Tucker Darling, President, Chairman of the Executive Committee; W. R. Macdonald, General Manager; J. H. Forrest, Secretary; C. Hjalmar Lundquist, Secretary; William D. Falk, Treasurer. Telephone Randolph 3189.]

REVEREND SIR: We are certain you have looked with abhorrence upon the continued slaughter of human beings on the battlefields of Europe and that as a friend of Humanity you have deplored a continuation of that slaughter and have wished you might raise your voice in effective protest. That these wholesale murders have been perpetrated in large part with arms and ammunition manufactured in the United States has caused a general protest from friends of Humanity throughout this country and has resulted in hundreds of thousands of letters to Congress urging an Embargo Resolution that would free this country of the charge of complicity in the slaughter and enable us to live up to the spirit as well as the letter of the neutrality we have proclaimed.

We take pleasure in sending you literature showing how you may join with thousands of other ministers and laymen to put a stop to this traffic in the instruments of death. This literature will show you what the American Embargo Conference has done and is trying to do.

If you do not care to join the organized movement, which is having a real effect upon Congress, will you not write to your Senators and Representatives urging them to stand for an Embargo that will help stop the slaughter in Europe? If they favor an Embargo, will you not write them your thanks and assurance of support in the matter.

Your voice will carry weight to help stop this traffic, which is also causing great economic as well as moral injury to the United States *for the profit of only a few.*

One of the letters enclosed will show you just how this Conference has undertaken to organize the tremendous sentiment in this country against the traffic in arms. It has brought results only because it was organized, that Congress might hear the voice of the people at home.

Voters had not realized the power their letters might have until they joined in a concerted movement to call the attention of the Congress to the sentiment. Only American citizens have been asked to join the movement.

The fight now in Congress is in a critical stage and your letter may be the one to decide a wavering Congressman or Senator.

This is your opportunity to join in a movement that stands for the best interests of humanity and real neutrality. Will you help?

If you feel you cannot find time to join this Appeal for Humanity, will you not turn the matter over to some friend who is interested?

Trusting for an early and favorable reply, we are,

Very sincerely yours,

AMERICAN EMBARGO CONFERENCE.

[The American Embargo Conference (Inc.), room 905, 139 North Clark Street (City Hall Square Building), Chicago. Col. Jasper Tucker Darling, president, chairman of the executive committee; W. R. MacDonald, general manager; J. H. Forrest, secretary; C. Hjalmar Lundquist, secretary; William D. Falk, treasurer. Telephone Randolph 3189.]

DEAR SIR: We take great pleasure in enclosing check for $ to reimburse you for the telegrams sent to Congress for which the senders were unable to pay.

We wish to thank you sincerely for your co-operation in this patriotic move to show Congress that a great mass of the people who have not been heard before because they had no means of expression at their command are for peace and real neutrality during the present world-wide war.

We are sure that Congress and the country were impressed by the earnestness of the appeal which came so spontaneously and overwhelmingly, and again wish to thank you for your share of what was done.

Sincerely yours,

THE AMERICAN EMBARGO CONFERENCE.

[The American Embargo Conference (Inc.), Room 905, 139 North Clark Street (City Hall Square Building), Chicago. Col. Jasper Tucker Darling, President, Chairman of the Executive Committee; W. R. MacDonald, Secretary; William D. Falk, Treasurer. Telephone Randolph 3189.]

DEAR SIR: With this letter we are sending to you a supply of a special letter addressed to your Congressman. We are very anxious that you have as many of these letters as is possible signed and mailed to him at Washington. *Please see that the letters are sent in separate envelopes as individual letters.*

We call your attention to the fact that in having this done you will be doing a *very important work* for the embargo movement.

The situation is this:

Your Congressman is a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The Embargo Resolution is in the hands of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

At the present time our latest information gathered in Washington is that the Embargo Resolution will be passed by the Senate when it is called up for consideration, and that *it will be passed by the House if it is reported out by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.*

There are a number of Congressmen who will support the resolution if it reaches the floor of the House. But we believe that *some of these men are not at all anxious* to cast their votes for the measure and would like to see it held in the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

For this reason we are asking you that the enclosed appeal to your Congressman be sent by as many of the voters of your district as possible.

The appeal to the Congressman is a fair one. He is asked to at least vote to have the resolution reported out to the House if he can not give it his support.

Remember that *the fight for the embargo is at the critical stage. The fight is won in the Senate*, and it will be won in the House if the resolution is reported out by the Committee.

So we again urge you to do all that is possible toward inducing your Congressman to give the resolution just and fair treatment, and we repeat that each letter sent to him by a sincere voter means just one step nearer to final success.

We know that you will not let any failure to act in this matter bring about the defeat of the Embargo Resolution.

If the voters do not want to mail the letters get them to sign them and then mail them in the separate envelopes and we will reimburse you for the expense incurred.

Will you please let us know what you will do?

Very sincerely yours,

THE AMERICAN EMBARGO CONFERENCE,
WILL R. MACDONALD, *Secretary.*

[The American Embargo Conference (Inc.), room 905, 189 North Clark Street (City Hall Square Building), Chicago. Col. Jasper Tucker Darling, president, chairman of the executive committee; W. R. Macdonald, secretary; William D. Falk, treasurer. Telephone Randolph 3189.]

CHICAGO, *April 8, 1916.*

DEAR SIR: You have signed one of our cards, pledging yourself to work for an Embargo on War Munitions, when the matter is taken up by Congress. Doubtless you have been one of the thousands who have written their Congressmen and Senators asking them to support this measure. For that reason, you will be interested to know that the Resolution has gained scores of friends in Congress, and that Congress has shown the world that it realizes the peace sentiment and the demand for real neutrality in the United States.

At this time, we wish more support in your State. Because you have pledged yourself to aid this movement, we take the liberty of enclosing more cards, and trust *you* will make it *your* duty to have other friends of the Embargo Movement sign them, and then return the cards to us. If you get more signers than you have cards for, paste a sheet to the cards, or send the names on another sheet of paper.

If you know the Congressional District in which the signers live, mark it on the cards, in the place indicated.

All victories gained through the efforts of this Conference are not won by the Conference, *but by the voters.* The Conference can only show them how to make their voices heard in Washington, and they have spoken with such a loud voice that Congress has heeded them.

It is, therefore, your duty to assist in enlisting more voters for this worthy cause and all we ask is that you have the cards signed, *by voters*, and returned to us as soon as possible.

We know that you will do your share in this great work, because you already have helped.

But do not delay. Let us hear from you at once.

Sincerely yours,

AMERICAN EMBARGO CONFERENCE.
WILL R. MACDONALD, *Secretary.*

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